PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWELFTH SESSION

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1943-4

VOLUME I

Proceedings, Transactions, Bulletins, Minutes of Meetings, Lists of Members, Delegates, etc.

Price Rs. Two

EDITED BY

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M. A. LL. B.
THE LOCAL SECRETARY,

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

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BY RADHAVINODE GOSWAMY, M. A.

PREFACE TO VOLUME I

The First Volume of the Proceedings of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is being published herewith. At one time it was feared that the necessary quantity of paper may not be available to print this formal part of the Proceedings; hence priority was given to the publication of Volume II, which contained the presidential addresses and the papers accepted for six of the Sections and was published in October 1946.

The printing of this Volume was carried out under peculiar difficulties. I could not be present in Benares throughout the time it was being printed. There were frequent strikes in the press, and skilled labour was not available. There was some defalcation of the paper by some hands in the press, which led to the suspension of the printing for several months. Owing to all these difficulties, a number of blemishes have remained in this Volume, which could not be removed at the proper time. Thus the folio headings could not be put in the first forme, the page number was printed in the wrong corner in forme 6, pp. xlii to xlviii, etc. I very much regret these imperfections, but they were unavoideable in the circumstances under which the printing had to be carried on.

Vol. III consisting of papers in the Archaeology, Linguistics, Iranian and Technical Sciences sections will take some more time to come out. The Hindu University Press, where it is being printed, is out of order for a long time. Vol. IV, consisting of the papers in the Sanskrit and Hindi Sections, is nearly ready and may be soon out. It is feared that Vol. V, consisting of the papers in the Arabic and Persian Sections, which was being printed in a Hindu press in Lahore, has been completely destroyed during the August holocaust.

22-12-1947. A. S. Altekar.

CONTENTS OF VOLUME I

A Brief Account of the Organisation Work		i
List of the Office-bearers of the 12th Session		v
Programme of the Conference		x
The Conference Proceedings		xiii
Appendix 1,	First Bulletin	xxii
Appendix 2,	Second Bulletin	xxiv
Appendix 3,	Invitation for the Pandit Parishad	xxvi
Appendix 4,	Final Bulletin	xxviii
Appendix 5,	Minutes of the Meeting of the (retiring) Executive Committee.	xxxi
Appendix 6,	Minutes of the Meeting of the Council	xxxix
Appendix 7,	Minutes of the Meeting of the New Executive Committee	xliii
Appendix 8,	Proceedings of the Closing Session	xlviii
Appendix 9,	Proceedings of the different sections	l
Appendix 10,	List of the members of the Council of the All-India Oriental Conference.	lxiii
Appendix 11,	List of the Members of the Conference	lxvi
Appendix 12,	Statements of Accounts.	lxxxii

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE ORGANISATION WORK.

When towards the end of September 1943 it became clear that owing to various causes and circumstances the Delhi University would not be in a position to impliment its undertaking to hold the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference in the Christmas of 1943, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the President of the Conference and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, a member of the Executive Committee, requested Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of the Hindu University, to invite the Conference to the Benares Hindu University and hold its 12th Session in the Christmas of 1943, as originally planned. Though the time for preparation was hardly three months, Sir S. Radhakrishnan acceded to the request and asked me to become the Local Secretary. It was not without some hesitation that I accepted the responsibility, for on no previous occasion had a session of the Oriental Conference been ever organised at so short a notice. There were additional difficulties created by the war conditions, the dearness of things all round, the scarcity of petrol and paper and the havoc recently caused in the city and its suburbs by the disastrous flood of the Varuna. Thanks however to the guidance of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and the cooperation of my colleagues, all difficulties were overcome and the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference did take place in the Christmas of 1943 as envisaged in 1941, only not in Delhi but at the Benares Hindu University.

On the 5th of October 1943, a meeting of the members of the staff of the University was convened to constitute a Reception Committee and form its different sub-committees. The first bulletin (Appendix 1) was issued on the 10th of October, announcing the change in the venue of the Session and requesting individuals to enroll themselves as members. Simultaneously a circular letter (Appendix 2) was sent to Universities, Research Institutions and Societies and to different governments to send delegates to the Conference. Owing to shortness of time this letter could not be sent to foreign countries. Scholars were requested to submit research papers by the 1st of December. Though the notice was short, the response was very encouraging. As many as 366 persons enrolled themselves as members within ten weeks' time. Most of the Universities and learned societies in India sent their delegates.

When the necessary funds for the purpose were secured, thanks to the generous donation of Raja Dr. Baldevadas Birla, invitations for the Pandit Parishad (Appendix 3) were issued by the middle of November. Special invitees were offered II or Inter Class fares. Papers were invited on a number of specially selected subjects, the chief of them being the curriculum in Sanskrit Colleges and the desirability of the proposed legislation about the marriage and inheritance laws. More than 40 papers were received in less than one month. The Reception Committee invited Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi, the retiring Principal of the Sanskrit College, Jaipur, to preside over the Parishad, and he kindly agreed to do so, generously foregoing the travelling allowance offered to him.

The work of the fund collection was started towards the end of October. A good impetus was given to it by the princely donation of Rs. 300 /- of Raja Baldevadas Birla. H.H. Sir Hari Singh Gaur, the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu and the Chancellor of the University, very kindly agreed to give a lunch to the delegates on the New Year's Day and the Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga, the Pro-Chancellor of the University, consented to open the Conference and give an At-Home to the delegates on the opening day. The Nagari Pracharani Sabha and Sir Vijaya of Vijayanagaram kindly agreed to invite the delegates for an At-Home on the 2nd and the 3rd day of the Conference respectively. Seth Gauri Shankar Goenka kindly agreed to meet the entire boarding and lodging expenses of all the invitees of the Pandit Parishad. A number of Rais and trade magnates came forward with handsome donations. A large number of professors in the University and gentlemen in the city joined the Reception Committee, the minimum subscription of whose membership had been fixed at Rs. 15/-.

Papers began to be received from the end of November and the Local Secretary, Dr. A. S. Altekar, had to spend the first two weeks of December in classifiying and arranging them, and in some cases in preparing their summaries also. The printing had to be done in ten days time and the work had to be divided between two presses. A booklet on Benares: Past and Present was also prepared by the Local Secretary, Dr. A. S. Altekar, and published for the benefit of the members of the Conference. All delegates and members were provided with free copies of these publications.

A second bulletin (Appendix 4) was sent to all members by the beginning of December, giving the exact timings of the trains and requesting them to supply the precise time of their arrival. The information thus obtained became very useful for the Boarding and Lodging Committee.

The account of the work of the different committees is briefly given below.

BOARDING, LODGING AND AT-HOME COMMITTEE

Convener; Prof. S.L. Dar,Members; Messrs. B.K. Zutshi, V. L. Pawar, Dr. R. B. Pande, Dr. B. L. Atreya, Prof. V. M. Rane, Prof. C. Chakrawarti, Prof. M. C. Pande, Prof. U. V. Bhatt, Mr R. N. Vyas and Dr. A. S. Altekar (ex-officio).

The committee met on the 15th of December and decided to get the necessary alterations and repairs carried out in the different buildings to be used for the guests. The Guest House and Women's Club were reserved for delegates coming with families and the Holkar House for those accustomed to live in the European style. Prof. Rane's house, the Old Students' Home and the Children's School were selected as other centres of delegates' camp. The Birla Hostel was however the main camp for delegates. Orthodox types of messes were arranged in Ruia Hostel. A special South Indian orthodox mess was organised for South Indian delegates.

It was decided that each camp should be in charge of two professors and four volunteers. Tenders were invited from reputed caterers, and the rate approved was Rs. 4/4/-, per member per day. A book of dinner coupons was given to each delegate with a request that the proper coupon should be given to the contractors, so that the Reception Committee may find it easier to ascertain and pay the correct dues.

TRANSPORT AND RECEPTION COMMITTEE

Convener : Vaidyaraja D.A. Kulkarni ; Members: Messrs S.S. Gairola, U.A. Sah, G.K. Patvardhan, and Dr. A.S. Altekar (ex-officio). At the request of this committee the president of the Municipality agreed to make conveyances available at the station and in the University at reasonable rates and in sufficient numbers. 35 gallons of petrol were obtained for the trips to the Nagari Pracharani Sabha and to Sarnath. It was decided to depart from the usual practice and to take

the guests free to these trips. Volunteers were sent to the station at train times from the 29th of December onwards to receive the guests, and from the 30th morning to the 31st evening they were stationed there throughout. A member of the staff was also in attendance at the station.

VOLUNTEERS COMMITTEE

Convener : Capt. Chandra Bal; Members; Messrs D.A. Kulkarni, N.M. Kulkarni, S.S. Gairola, M.C. Pande. Dr. R.B. Pande and Dr. A.S. Altekar (ex-officio). Recruitment of the volunteers was started from the 15th of December, and was mainly done through leaders. 8 volunteers were allotted to the office, to each lodge and to each wing of the Birla Hostel, two to each sectional meeting and 16 for the station duties. The work and behaviour of the volunteers were appreciated by the guests.

ENTERTAINMENT COMMITTEE

Convener : Mr. U. A. Vasavada, M. A. ; Members : Mr. Sitaram Chaturvedi, Dr. P. N. Mishra and Dr. A. S. Altekar (ex-officio). It was decided to arrange entertainments on the night of the 31st of December, 1943 and the 1st of January, 1944. Thanks to the cooperation of the authorities of the Central Hindu Girls' School, some scenes from the Śākuntala and the Svapnavāsavadattā were arranged for the first night along with some pieces in English and Hindi. They were all very much appreciated. The entertainment programme for the 2nd night was abandoned owing to the sudden death of M.M. Pandit Balkrishna Mishra, the Principal of the College of Oriental Learning.

FUND COLLECTION COMMITTEE

Convener : Pandit G.P. Mehta, Members : Messrs. G.B. Pant, T. Pant, S.C. Dasgupta, Madhusudan Mishra and Dr. A.S. Altekar (ex-officio). The work of the committee is already referred to above. It was extremely arduous because several funds were afoot in the city. Owing to the absence of cars members had to move about mostly in *ekkas* and rikshas. Prof. S. C. Das Gupta was appointed the Honorary Treasurer of the Conference.

PAPERS AND MEETINGS COMMITTEE

The work of editing the summaries and seeing them through the press was done by the Local Secretary

himself. Prof J. C. De made the necessary arrangments for the meetings of the different sections in suitable rooms of the Central Hindu College. The work of the decorations and arrangements in the Sir Sayaji Rao Library was entrusted to Prof. G.B. Pant and his band of volunteers, who had to work hard for several days. The decorations were widely appreciated.

PANDIT PARISHAD COMMITTEE

Convener and Chairman of the Reception Committe, M.M. Pandit Principal Chinnaswami Shastri; Members: Pandit Kali Prasad Mishra, Pt. Gaya Prasad Jyotishi, Pt. Madhusudan Mishra, Pt. Hiravallabh Shastri, Prof V.V. Deshpande and Dr. A.S. Altekar (ex-officio)

The Committee drew a list of special invitees for the Parishad, who were offered as a rule Inter Class fare. Arrangements for the boarding and lodging of the Pandits were made in the Ruia Hostel; those who preferred to stay in the city were to be paid Rs. 10/- for the expenses of their Benares stay.

PATRONS AND OFFICE-BEARERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

INVITING BODY.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

PATRONS.

H. H. Maharaja Sir Hari Singhji Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I., K.C.V.O. LL.D., of Jammu and Kashmir, the Chancellor of the University.

The Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshvar Singh Bahadur, K.C.I.E., LL.D., D. Litt. of Darbhanga, Pro-Chancellor of the University.

Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Rector of the University
Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vijayanagram.
Raja Dr. Baldevdas Birla, Benares.

CHAIRMAN OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D.Litt., LL.D., F.B.A., Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University.

LOCAL SECRETARY.

Prof. A. S. Altekar, M. A. LL. B., D. Litt., Manindrachandra Nandi Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient

Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University.

N. B. :—The names of the Chairmen and Members of the sub-committees have been already given on pp iv and v.

LIST OF DONORS AND MEMBERS OF THE RECEPTION COMMITTEE

	Rs.
Raja Baldevdas Birla, Benares	3,000
The Benares Hindu University	1,000
Government of Baroda.	1,000
Government of the United Provinces.	1,000
Seth Gauri Shankar Goenka, Benares	640
Babu Jyotibhushan Gupta (on behalf of Textile Supplying Co.)	501
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Mr. Harishchandra, Inspector of Schools, Benares,	15

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Secretary : Prof. K. P. Mishra, Head of the Hindi departmant.

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Local Secretary.

Dr. A.S. Altekar, Manindrachandra Nandi Professor and Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Benares Hindu University.

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Rao Saheb C.S. Shrinivasachari, M.A., Professor of History, Annamalai University.
Dr. I.J.S. Taraporewala, Gamdevi, Bombay 7.

PROGRAMME OF THE CONFERENCE.

30th December, 1943.

3 P.M. Meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee. (Central Hindu College, Room No. 20).

31st December, 1943.

Morning: Arrival and reception of members.

8 A.M. Tea.

9 A.M. Pandita-Parishad : Preliminary Meeting—Room No. 45.

10 A.M. Meeting of the Museums Association of India; Room No. 12.

11 A.M. Lunch in the respective camps.

12 noon. Inaugural Meeting :—Sayajirao Library Hall. The President's procession. Prayers and welcome songs. Welcome address by the Chairman, Reception Committee. Inaugural Address by Maharajadhiraja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga.

Messages to the Conference. Presidential Election.

Presidential address by Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belwalkar.

Condolence Resolutions.

Group Photo of the members and delegates.

Afternoon

2-30 TO 4-45. Pandita-Parishad and Sectional Meetings. Pandita-Parishad will be held in Room No. 45 of the Central Hindu College (First Floor) and the meetings of sections I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, XII & XIII will be held in Room Nos. 1, 3, 16, 18, 4, 5, 8, 8A, 9, 10, 23, 24 and 25 respectively, of the same building on the ground floor.

2-30 Welcome and Presidential addresses of the Pandit-Parishad. Room No. 45.
Sectional President's address :—Islamic History and Culture section Room, No. 17.

3 P.M. Sectional President's address; Arabic and Persian; Room No. 18.

3-30 P.M. Sectional President's address ; Iranian Section, Room No. 3.

4-45 TO 5-30 At-Home to the members of the conference and the staff of the University by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. Agricultural Research Institute Lawn.

6-45 TO 7 P.M. Meeting of the Council of the Conference*: Old Physics Theatre.

7 P.M. Popular lecture in the Old Physics Theatre; by Dr. M. H. Krishna : Hoyasala Architecture.

9 TO 11 P.M. Variety entertainment : Central Hindu College Hall. Music, dances, scenes from Svapnavāsavadattā and Śākuntala; some English and Hindi pieces.

1st January 1944.

Morning : Sectional Meetings and Pandita-Parishad. Special items will be the following :—

9 TO 10-30 The symposium on 'Who overthrew the Kusāna Empire, the Bhārasivas, the Vākātakas or the Yaudheyas ?' Old Physics Theatre.
Speakers : Dr. A, S. Altekar, Dr. D. C. Sircar, R. B. K. N. Dikshit, Mr. Jaganath, etc. The symposium will be illustrated by slides.

10-30 TO 12-30 The symposium on the Vikrama Era.
Speakers : Drs. R. C Majumdar, A. S. Altekar, R. B. Pande, Mr. J. S. Karandikar.

11-45 : Meeting of the New Executive Committee. Room No 20, Central Hindu College.

9 A.M. Presidential address, Section I (Vedic, Room No. 1)
9-30 A.M. do do do VI (Philosophy, Room No. 5)
10-15 A.M. do do do VII (Buddhism, Room No. 8)

*Those members only, who have attended three sessions of the Conference, including the present one and submitted papers accepted for publication, are entitled to participate.

11 A.M. Presidential address, Section VIII (Jainism, Room No. 8A)
11-30 A.M. „ „ „ XII (Tach. Sciences, Room No. 24)
9-30 A.M. Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India, Room No. 12.
11-45 A.M. Lecture on Polish Learning by Dr. Ludwic Sternbach, Room No. 8.
12-30 A.M. Luncheon by H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir to the members of the Conference in Sir Sayaji Rao Library hall.
2 TO 4-15 P.M. Sectional Meetings and Pandit-Parishad. Special items :
2 P.M. Symposium on the Date of the Mahābhārata War, speakers : J. S. Karandikar, Dr. Daftari, Prof. Sengupta, Room No. 10.
3 P.M. Presidential Address : Hindi Section, Room No. 25.
4-15 P.M. Departure to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha Hall from the C.H.C. porch.
4-45 P.M. At-Home by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha.
5-30 P.M. Visit to the Museum of the Kalabhavan and the Exhibition of Paintings.
6-30 P.M. Public Lecture by Mr. K. M. Munshi in the Nagari Pracharini Sabha.
9 P.M. Variety entertainment : Central Hindu College Hall.
Orchestra, choruses and music in different languages and a pantomine by Prof. B. G. Khaparde.

2nd January, 1944.

Morning :—

8-30 TO 11 A.M. Sectional Meetings. Speccial items :
8-30 A.M. Presidential address : Section V (Sanskrit) ; Room No. 4.
8-45 A.M. do do do XI (Linguistics), Room No. 23.
9 A.M. Symposium on the Authenticity of Bhāsa plays. Speakers :—Drs. Pusalkar, C. Kunhan Raja and Prof. Kshetresh Chandra Chattopadhyaya, Room No. 4.
9-30 A.M. Presidential address, Section X (Archæology), Room No. 10.
10 A.M. do do do IX (History), Room No. 9.
9-30 TO 11 Symposium on Hindi as the Lingua Franca for India.—Room No. 35.

11 A.M. TO 12 noon General concluding session—Central Hindu College Hall.

Afternoon :

1-30 P.M. Departure to Sarnath from respective camps.

do Guests are earnestly requested to be punctually ready.

4-30 P.M. At Home by Sir Vijaya of Vijayanagram, Vijayanagaram Palace.

6-30 P.M. Public Lecture : Old Physics Theatre. Excavations in Hyderabad State by Mr. Khwaja Ahmad, B.A., LL.B.

3rd January, 1944.

Morning : Sight seeting in the city ; departure of guests.

1-30 P.M. Closing of the delegates' camp.

The Conference Proceedings.

30TH OF DECEMBER 1943.

The delegates' camp officially opened in the evening, but unofficially it had started work from the morning of the 29th as a large number of members arrived two days earlier owing to the difficulty of getting accommodation in the train. They were entertained as free guests even for the earlier period.

7 P. M. : A meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee was fixed at 3 P.M. but it was postponed to 7 P.M. to suit the convenience of some late arrivals. The meeting took place at that time and adjourned to 4 P. M. on the 31st of December to transact the business left over. The proceedings of the Retiring Executive Committee are given in Appendix 5.

31ST OF DECEMBER 1943.

9 A. M. : A preliminary meeting of the Pandit Parishad was held to settle the agenda and rules of the procedure.

12 noon : The Inaugural Meeting of 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference commenced in the Sir Sayajirao Library Hall which was very artistically decorated for the occasion. The President-elect, Rao Bahadur Dr S.K. Belvalkar arrived at 11. 50 A. M. in the porch of the Agricultural Research Institute and was received by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee. The Hon'ble Sir Kameshwar Singhji, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, arrived

at 12 noon and was received by Sir S. Radhakrishnan, who introduced to him the General President, the Sectional Presidents and the members of the Executive Committee. These then formed into a procession. The Local Secretary, Dr. A. S. Altekar was at the head ; then followed the members of the Executive Committee, the Sectional Presidents in pairs, then the Generl President and the Chairman of the Reception Committee and finally the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. The Procession then marched from the porch of the Agricultural Research Institute to Sir Sayajirao Library Hall. On entering the Hall it was received by the audience standing. It then went to the dais and its members occupied the prearranged seats.

On the dais were seated Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee, Sir Kameshwar Singhji, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga; Rao Bahadur S. K. Belvalkar, the General President; Pandit Madan Mohan Malviyaji, the Rector of the University; Sir Vijaya of Vijayanagaram, the Sectional Presidents and the Local Secretary. The audience in the Hall was more than 3,000.

The proceedings commenced with a Vedic prayer sung by the students of the D.A.V. High School. A Song to Sarasvati was then sung by the girls of the Central Hindu Girls School, which was followed by a welcome song sung by the students of Women's College. At the end of this song, there was a shower of flowers on the head of the President. The President, the Chairman of the Reception Committe, the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga, and Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya were then garlanded by little girls.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee then delivered his welcome address, which was heard with rapt attention. This Address is printed in Part II, pp. 1-5 He then requested Sir Kameshwar Singh to open the Conference. The Maharajadhiraja, while doing so, delivered an inspiring address, which was received with wide acclamation. The Inaugural Address is printed in Part II pp. 6-8

Mr. Yazdani then proposed that Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar be elected the General President of the Conference. Drs. J. M. Unwala, S. K. De, and M. H. Krishna supported his proposal. While doing so, the speakers pointed out how Dr, Belvalkar was one of the founders of the Conference, how

he had worked hard in its cause during the last 25 years and how his contributions in the different spheres of Indology were both varied and original.

Dr. Belvalkar then took the Presidential chair. Messages of greetings were then delivered and read. Dr. Miss M. Falk, the head of the Polish Government delegation personally conveyed her Government's greetings and good wishes for the Conference. While doing so, she feelingly described the attrocities committed by the Gernans against the Polish men of learning. Dr. Li, the representative of the Chinese Government, then read a message on behalf of the Chinese Government.

Other messages expressing wishes for the success of the Conference were then read. These were received from the following :—

1. Rao Bahạdur Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, Madras.
2. Mr. M. S. Aney, Representative of Government of India in Ceylon.

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar then delivered his presidential address. It was heard with profound attention by the audience, the loud speakers making it audible to the entire big gathering. The speech is printed in Part II, pp. 9-22

After the speech was over, the following resolutions were moved from the chair and unanimously passed :—

(I) The Conference expresses its gratitude to the Governments of Poland and China for sending their delegates to this Session to convey their greetings and good wishes. It hopes that both these countries will soon be restored to prosperity and enabled to make important contributions to the advancement of knowledge in general and Oriental Learning in particular.

(2) That the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference, held at Benares in December 1943, places on record its sense of deep sorrow at the demises of

1. M. M. Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar.
2. M. M. Dr. M. V. Swaminatha Aiyer.
3. M. M. Dandapani Swami Dikṣhitar.
4. Prof. Carlo Formichi.

5. M. M. Pandit Haranchandra Shastry.
6. Prof. E. J. Johnstone.
7. M. M. R. V. Krishnamachari.
8. M. M. S. Kuppuswamy Shastry.
9. Prof. H. Luders.
10. Sir Flinders Petrie.
11. Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray.
12 Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids.
13 Mr. N. G. Sardesai.
14 Mr. Schayer.
15. Prof. Hardatta Sharma.
16. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.
17. Prof. Th. Stcherbatsky.
18. Sir Aurel Stein.
19. Dr. S. S. Suryanarayan Sastri.
20 Dr. J. Ph. Vogel.
21. Prof. Zimmer.

Certain announcements about minor changes in the printed programme were then made after which the Inaugural Meeting came to an end.

Members and delegates then moved to the Central Hindu College Quadrangle where their group photo was taken. After this they spent some time in meeting and greeting one another and then went to the different rooms of the College allotted to the different sections, where the sectional meetings transacted their business from 2. 30 P. M, to 4. 45 P. M. During this period the Presidential address of the Iranian, Arabic, History and Hindi sections were delivered.

At 4. P. M. the adjourned meeting of the Retiring Executive Committee was held to transact the remaining business. Its proceddings are given in Appendix 5.

At 4. 45 P. M. the members moved to the Lawn of the Agricultural Research Institute to join the At-Home given by the Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga. About 700 persons, consisting of the members of the conference the professors of the University and their wives and the elite gentry from the city were present on the occasion.

The meeting of the Council of the Conference was held at 5. 45 p. M. in the Old Physics Theatre to consider certain changes in the Constitution and to elect members of the Executive Committee. Its proceedings are given in Appendix 6.

At 7 P.M. Dr. M. H. Krishna delivered a popular lecture on Hoysala Architecture in the New Physics Theatre. After his lecture Mr. S. Kataki spoke upon the Scupltures of Kāmarūpa. Both these lectures were illustrated with slides and largely attended.

There was an entertainment programme at 9 P. M. in the Hall of the Central Hindu College. It was given by the students of the Central Hindu Girls School. In the beginning there were songs by Misses Malati Gadgil and Mridula Banerji, which were followed by the Indra, Sachi and Śiva-Pārvatī dance by Misses Vinoda, Gita Sengupta and Maya Das. Next there was the English piece, Mr. Cox and Mr. Box in which Usha Altekar, Vimala Vaidya and Usha Dongare figured as actresses. Then there was an Act from the Vāsavadattā, followed by the Hindi drama, Panna Dai. At the end the 4th and 5th Acts of the Śākuntala were enacted.

The following girls took part in the different dramas :- Svapnavāsavadattā :-Sarala Khanna, King; Shiva Kamu, Vāsavadattā ; Prabha Atreya, Vidushaka : Sudarsana Jasra, Cheti.

Śākuntala : Shivakamu : Dushyanta and Kanva; Śakuntalā, Usha Altekar; Śārangarava, Sarala Khanna; Śāradvata, Sudarshan Jasra; Anusūyā, Reva Dikshit; Priyamvadā;, Pushpa Bhargava, Gautamī: Prabha Atreya.

Panna Dai : Panna Dai : Padma Altekar; Raj Singh, Nirmala Pradhan; Udaya Singh,. Vira Chakravarti; Banbir Hansi Banerji ; Vikramaditya, Putul ; Ajit Singh, Chandra Malkani ; Maya, Kusum Jharkhandi ; Lila Nene ; Chopdar : Shanti Singh ; Dasi : Sarda Gadgil.

1st January, 1944.

The different sections of the Conference began their work at 9 A.M. in the morning. Presidential addresses were delivered at the time fixed for them in the different sections. They were largely attended. In the Archaelogy section two symposiums were held in the morning, one on the Bhārsivas and the other on the Vikrama Era. A large number of speakers participated in them; some of their speeches are summarised as papers in the section concerned.

The New Executive Committee met at 11-30 A.M. to

elect the office-bearers of the new Session. Its proceedings are given in Appendix 7.

12. 30 P.M.: The Sectional meetings were adjourned at 12. 30 P. M, when members assembled for a luncheon in the Sir Sayaji Rao Library Hall given by the Chancellor of the University, the Maharaja of Kashmir. It was a grand function, all delegates, members of the conference and reception committee and the elite gentry of the city being present.

2 P. M.: After the luncheon, members resumed their work in different sectional meetings at 2 P. M. The Symposium on the Vikrama Era was resumed this time in the History Section. In the Archaeology Section, the Symposium on the Date of the Mahābhārata War was started by Mr. J.S. Karandikar. Prof. Sengupta joined issues with him later on. Dr. Daftari, who could not be present at this time, put forth his case on the morning of the 2nd inst.

4. 45 P. M.: At 4. 45. P. M. sectional meetings came to a close for the day and members started for the Nagari Pracharini Sabha in order to participate in its At Home and see the Bharat-Kala-Bhawan Collection of terracottas, sculptures and paintings. The members were welcomed at the Sabha in a short speech by Dr. V. S. Agrawala. After the At-Home Dr. Altekar and R.B., K.N. Dikshit thanked the Sabha for its splendid At Home and wished it continued prosperity and and progress. Members then inspected the valuable collection of antiquities in the Bharata-Kala-Rhawan with the able guidance of Dr. V. S. Agrawala and Rai Krishana Das. A large number of delegates spent the evening in the city in shopping and sight:-seeing.

The programme for the entertainment fixed for the night of this day was cancelled owing to the sad demise of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Balkrishna Mishra, the Principal of the Oriental College, Benares Hindu University.

2ND OF JANUARY, 1944.

8. 30 A. M.: The sectional meetings commenced this morning at 8. 30 A. M. In the Sanskrit section the Symposium on Bhasa commenced at 9 A.M. It was a very interesting item and drew a large audience. In the Hindi section, the symposium on the Hindi as Rāshtrabhāshā started at 10 A.M. and attracted a very large audience. In the Archaeo-

logical Section the symposium on the Date of the Mahābhārata War was continued for a short time in order to hear the view-point of Dr. K.L. Daftari, who could not speak on the day before.

11 A. M. : The Concluding Session.

The sections finished their business at 11 A. M. and then the members assembled in the Central Hindu College Hall for the concluding general session. Its proceedings are given in Appendix 8.

At the end of the session Dr. R. C. Majumdar arose to thank the various University authorities for their work and hospitality in connection with the 12th Session of the Oriental Conference. He said that the Conference was particularly grateful to Sir S. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-Chancellor of the University. When the Delhi University expressed its inability to hold the Conference by the end of September, it appeared that its session would be indefinitely postponed; but Sir. S. Radhakrishnan came to the rescue and agreed to invite the conference at the scheduled time, though the time for preparatin was very short. The Benares Hindu University was thus a friend in need; it showed that Benares was as keen as ever in championing the cause of Oriental research and learning. The Chancellor, though unable to be present owing to previous engagements, had given them a grand and sumptuous lunch on the New Year's Day. The Pro-Chancellor had kept up the old traditions of his distinguished house by agreeing to open the Conference and giving an At-Home on the opening day. Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit thanked Sir Vijaya of Vizayanagaram for helping the conference in various ways and for the splendid At-Home with which the Conference Session was going to conclude that evening. He also expressed the gratitude of the Conference to the University authorities in general and to the Vice-Chancellor in particular. Though given too short a notice they had organised the conference in a splendid manner.

Dr. J. M Unwala moved a vote of thanks to the Reception Committee, the Local Secretary and Office-bearers of the Local Working Committee, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, the public of Benares, the delegates sending institutions and the scholars who had sent the papers and participated in the proceedings. It was gratifying to find that at so short a notice more than 200 papers should have been submitted to the

Conference and more than 350 members should have been enrolled for it. Inspite of the travelling and other difficulties scholars had mustered strong at Benares and made the session a success. The credit for the success, however, was largely due to the energy, foresight, organising capacity and literary talent of the Local Secretary, Dr. A. S. Altekar. The arrangements which he and his splendid band of co-workers had made were so perfect that no one could believe that the session was being held at the short notice of ten weeks. Dr. Altekar had not only made the usual arrangements for the session, but also edited the summaries of papers. The latter task included the preparation of summaries of papers themselves in some cases. His booklet on Benares, Past and Present was a short a but sweet literary treat. The five symposiums which he had organised at this session on the different topics of controversy were its new and special feature and materially contributed to its splendid success. The other office-bearers of the Local Committee also deserved their thanks for their splendid work in making excellent arrangements for boarding and lodging.

Dr. P. L. Vaidya moved a vote of thanks to the Central Hindu Girls School authorities and the band of volunteers who worked for the Conference. The entertainment which the former had given to them on the opening day was of a very high order and he congratulated the girl actresses for their exquisite performance. The band of volunteers was a splendid one: they were all of them always courteous, efficient and attentive. The success of the conference was largely due to their painstaking and efficient work.

Rao Bahadur C. Krishnamacharlu proposed a vote of thanks to Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar for conducting the proceedings of the session in an efficient and admirable manner. He said that the President was working throughout the two years; but for his alertness the session could not have been held this year.

Sir S. Radhakrishnan then delivered a short speech expressing his gratitude for the vote of thanks. He was conscious, he said, that owing to the shortness of notice the arrangements could not be as perfect as he would have wished. But he was anxious that the session should be held at the scheduled time, as desired by the conference authorities. Owing to previous engagements he could not remain in Benares

for the larger period of ten weeks during which the work of the conference was organised, and so the brunt of the burden fell almost entirely on Dr. A. S. Altekar and his splendid band of co-workers, to whom he desired to express his special and personal thanks.

The Vande Mataram was then sung by a band of girls and the general session of the conference then came to an end.

1. 30 P. M. : *Trip to Sarnath.*

After the lunch, the members went in a trip to Sarnath, the birth-place of the Buddhism. As one of the buses unfortunately went out of order, a group of members had to remain behind. They were, however, taken on the morning of the 3rd January in a new bus specially hired for the purpose. The trip to Sarnath was without any charge.

5. P.M.: On their return from Sarnath, the mebers were entertained at an At-Home by the Maharajakumar of Vijayanagaram in his splendid palace. The party was largely attended, the elite from the city also being present.

The delegates camp was kept open till the afternoon of the 3rd Jan. in order to enable the members to depart by convenient trains.

MEETINGS OF OTHER SOCIETIES

The Museum Association of India held its meeting at 10 A. M. on the 31st of December, 1943 for the purpose of drafting a constitution. Mr. M. S. Vatsa presided.

The Linguistic Society of India held its meeting at 9. 30 A. M. on th 1st of Jan, 1944. It participated in the symposium on Hindi as Rashtrabhasa.

APPENDIX 1

First Bulletin.

Invitation for enrolment.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY,
Date the 10th of October 1943.

DEAR SIR,

You must have already read in papers that owing to certain unexpected difficulties elsewhere, the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference is being held at the Benares Hindu University on the 31st of December 1943 and the two following days. Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph.D., is the president-elect of the Conferene.

Benares has been the centre of traditional Oriental Learning for ages and it hopes to make this session of the Oriental Conference a success, though it has been given a very short notice in this connection. It can however succeed in achieving this goal only if scholars like you extend their valuable co-operation to the conference by enrolling themselves as its members, by sending their research papers and by taking active part in its discussions and deliberations. May I therefore request you to enroll yourself immediately as a member of the conference and to send your valuable paper, along with its short summary of about two typed pages, not later than the 1st of December 1943 ?

Besides the usual activities of the Conference, we shall be organising excursions to the famous Ghats of Benares, to the recent excavations at Rajghat and to Sarnath, the birthplace of the Buddhism.

The climate of Benares is very cold during Christmas and you should therefore take sufficient warm clothing with you. You should alight at the *Benares Cantonment station only*, where volunteers will be ready to receive you from the 30th of December 1943. This is the nearest station to the Hindu University, which is about five miles from it.

In case you are likely to be accompanied by any ladies in your family, kindly let us know a fortnight in advance, so

that adequate arrangements can be made. The accommodation for delegates coming with families is very limited.

As arrangement for vegetarian food alone can be made on the University premises, delegates desirous to have non-vegetarian food will be accommodated in the Clarke's Hotel in Benares Cantonment.

Hoping to be favoured with an early reply on the form below,

Yours sincerely,
A. S. ALTEKAR,
Local Secretary.

REPLY FORM

To

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR,

Local Secretary, the 12th Session, All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University.

DEAR SIR,

I am in due receipt of your invitation to join the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference which is being held at the Benares Hindu University on the 31st of December 1943. I desire to be enrolled as a member of the Conference and am sending by Money order / postal order the sum of Rs. ten only for that purpose.

I shall be sending a paper for the conference before the 1st of December 1943 and its subject will be ....

I shall be able to attend the conference, and shall let you know before the 28th of December the exact time of my arrival at the Benares Cantonment Station. I am a vegetarian / non-vegetarian and live in Indian / European style. In case I am unable to attend the conference owing to unexpected difficulties, I shall inform you to that effect, if necessary by telegram, before the 25th of December 1943 at the latest.

Yours sincerely,

Place............

Date............

APPENDIX 2

Second Bulletin.

Invitation for sending delegates.

From

Dr. A.S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt.,
The Local Secretary,
All-India Oriental Conference,
Benares Hindu University.

To ....

....

....

Dated the 11th of Oct., 1943

Sir,

The 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at the Benares Hindu University on the 31st of December 1943, and the following two days. I have the honour to invite you to send delegates on behalf of your ______________ as has been your usual custom in the past. All individual scholars are of course welcome, but we will be very glad if your ______________ is represented by its own delegates.

The All-India Oriental Conference is the greatest and oldest institution of its kind in India and has rendered during the last twentyfive years valuable service to oriental scholarship in its different branches. It is divided into several sections like Vedic and Iranian Studies, Religion and Philosophy, Classical Sanskrit, Modern Indian Languages, Philology, Ancient Indian History and Archaeology, Fine Arts, Technical Sciences, Islamic Culture and Religion etc. It also organises a conference of Pandits, trained on the old traditional lines.

Right from its inception in 1919, the Conference has enjoyed the privilege and honour of being represented by the delegates of the different Universities in and outside India, of the Government of India and of the different Provincial Governments and Indian States. I shall therefore feel very

grateful if you will kindly let me know at an early date the names of the delegates whom you propose to send to the conference. The delegates selected should kindly be requested to enroll themselves as members of the Conference,* and to send to me the papers they propose to read at the ensuing session not later than the end of November 1943.

As the venue of the Conference had to be suddenly shifted to the Benares Hindu University, only about a week ago, I regret that an earlier intimation for sending delegates could not be sent to you. I however feel sure that your ....and delegates will extend their full co-operation in making the conference a full success.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most obedient servant,

A. S. ALTEKAR,

Local Secretary.

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*The enrolment fee for the members and delegates of the conference is *Rupees ten* only and is to be sent to the Local Secretary at the Benares Hindu University.

APPENDIX 3

INVITATION FOR THE PANDIT PARISHAD.

अखिलभारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनम् ।
काशी-विश्वविद्यालयः

स्वागताध्यक्ष :— स्थानीयमन्त्री

सर् एस० राधाकृष्णन् **डा० अ० स० अलतेकर**

श्रीमन्तो मान्यतमा मनीषि-प्रवराः !

अखिलभारतीयप्राच्यविद्याविद्वत्सम्मेलनस्य द्वादशतममधिवेशनं काशीविश्वविद्यालये २००० तमविक्रमसम्वत्सरे पौषशुक्लपक्षे पञ्चमीतः सप्तमीं यावत् भविता। सम्मेलनस्य सभापतिपदं प्रसाधयिष्यन्ति डाक्टर-रावबहादुर-श्रीपाद-कृष्ण-बेलवलकर-महोदयाः।

इदं सम्मेलनं प्रतिद्वितीयसम्वत्सरं संघटते। तस्मिंश्च वेदास्तदङ्गानि, दर्शनानि इतिहासः, पुरातत्त्वम्, बौद्धमतम्, जैनमतम्, धर्मशास्त्रम्, भाषाशास्त्रम्, संस्कृतप्राकृतसाहित्ये, आरबी-फारसीसाहित्ये, इत्येवमादिविषयेषु, गवेषणात्मकप्रबन्धानामांग्लभाषया गीर्वाणभाषया च वाचन-विवेचने भवतः।

संस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदोऽप्यधिवेशनमस्मिन्समये पौषशुक्लपञ्चम्यां षष्ठ्यां चापराह्णे भविता। तस्मिन्समये गीर्वाणगिरा निम्ननिर्दिष्टविषयेषु निबन्धवाचनं विचारविनिमयश्च सम्पत्स्येते।

१ अखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदः स्थायिसंघटनम्, तद्द्वारा मुखपत्रसञ्चालनञ्च

२ संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठन-पाठनपद्धतिः।

३ हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनवर्धमानधर्मानादरस्य निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते।

४ हिन्दूनां पुरातनपरिणयप्रणालिकापरिवर्तनाय विधिमण्डले (असेम्बली) उपस्थितस्य प्रस्तावस्येष्टत्वमनिष्टत्वं वा।

५ सभ्रातृकाः कन्याः पैतृकं दायमर्हन्ति न वा।

६ ज्यौतिषशास्त्रानुसारेण फलं कस्मान्न लभ्यते।

७ दर्शनविरोधपरिहारः।

सम्मेलनसमये शास्त्रार्थः समस्यापूर्तिरभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलाभिनयश्च भवितारः।

अतः श्रीमन्तः सबहुमानं निवेद्यन्ते यद्भवद्भिरुपरिनिर्दिष्टेषु विषयेषु कस्मिंश्चिदप्येकः

प्रबन्धो दशपत्रदेशीयो दयया मन्त्रिणः समीपे पौषामावास्यां यावत्प्रेषणीयः सम्वर्धनीयश्च शोभासम्भारस्सभाया निजपादपाथोजार्पणप्रयासेन ।

श्रीमतामिहागमनगमनादिव्ययकृते ············ रौप्यमुद्रास्सम्मेलनमिदमर्पयिष्यति विश्वविद्यालये च स्थानाशनादिप्रबन्धं विधास्यति । यदि गङ्गास्नानविश्वनाथदर्शनादिसौकर्यार्थं नगर एव वासोऽभिलष्येत तदा मनोनुकूलः प्रबन्धः स्वयमेव कार्यः । स्थानाशनगमनागमनादिव्ययार्थं दशरौप्यमुद्राः सम्मलेनमिदं दास्यति ।

कृपया प्रतिपत्रं पूरणीयेषु पदे प्रपूर्य त्वरया प्रेषणीयम् येन प्रबन्धे सौकर्यं स्यादिति प्रार्थयते–

भवदीयसद्दर्शनलालसमानसः

मार्गशीर्षकृष्ण १०, अलतेकरकुलप्रसूतः सदाशिवसूनुरनन्तः ।

संवत्, २००० अखिलभारतीय-प्राच्यविद्यासम्मेलनस्य स्थानीयो मन्त्री ।

* डिसेम्बरमासस्यान्तिमे दिने जानेवारीमासस्य प्रथमे दिने ।

प्रतिपत्रम्

अयि डा० अ० स० अलतेकरमहाशयाः !

मया पण्डितपरिषद आमन्त्रणपत्रं प्राप्तम् । अधिगतं च यद् गमनागमनादिव्ययार्थं ...रौप्यमुद्राः सन्मेलनं दास्यतीति ।

अहं ··························

विषयमधिकृत्य प्रबन्धं प्रेषयिष्यामि । सम्मेलने ममागमनं सम्भाव्यम् (असम्भाव्यम्) । अहं विश्वविद्यालये (नगरे) स्थास्यामि । मम बनारस-कन्टोन्मेन्टस्टेशने ········ दिने ······ समये आगमनं भविष्यति । यदि प्रतिपत्रप्रेषणानन्तरं कुतश्चित्कारणादागन्तुं न शक्ष्यामि तदा तत्पत्रद्वाराऽवश्यं सूचयिष्यामीति—

स्थानम् ······················ निवेदयति

तिथि ················· ···················

APPENDIX 4

Final Bulletin

Rly Station:-Benares Cantt. *Tele. Address* :-Altekar, Benares Hindu Univer.

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *Chairman of the Reception Committee*

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, *Local Secretary.*

The 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will open at the Benares Hindu University on the 31st of December, 1943, at 12 noon. Members will be supplied with the programme of the three days' session and other literature on their arrival.

All persons interested in Oriental Learning are cordially invited to immediately become members of the Conference by filling the form below, and to send research papers along with their short summaries.

The climate of Benares is very cold in Christmas and the intending visitors are therefore requested to provide themselves with sufficient warm clothing. They should alight at the *Benares Cantonment Station only*, where volunteers will be ready to receive them from the afternoon of the 30th of December.

The present timings of trains reaching Benares are as follows:--Lahore Howrah Express, 17-44; Lahore Howrah Mail, 19-50; Delhi Howrah Express, 10-9; Howrah Lahore Express, 8-5; Howrah Punjab Mail, 11-24; Howrah Delhi Express 15-27. The timings of trains reaching Moghulserai are as follows:—Bombay Calcutta and Delhi Calcutta mails, 23-55; Toofan Express from Delhi, 15-48; Toofan Express from Calcutta, 10-25; Howrah Mail, 6-10; Calcutta Bombay Mail; 9-15. Connecting trains are usually available at Moghulserai within an hour or so.

Free boarding and lodging arrangements will be made on the University grounds for all guests, who take vegetarian diet and have enrolled themselves as members of the Conference and intimated their intention to attend it *before the 20th of December 1943*. The delegates' camp will be open for the reception of guests from the evening of the 30th of December, 1943 to the afternoon of the 3rd of January, 1944.

Non-vegetarian delegates living in European style will be accommodated, at their own expense, in the Clarke's Hotel and the Cecil Hotel in the Benares Cantonment and in the Grand Hotel in the city, situated about six miles from the University. Accommodatton in these Hotels also is rather limited ; delegates are requested to note that at least a week's notice is necessary for securing it. Vegetarian messes on the University premises will also be open to non-vegetarian guests, if they kindly intimate their intention to join them before the 25th of December, 1943.

The Visvanātha temple and the Ganges are about four miles from the University. Those guests who want to be in their vicinity will have to stay in the city and make their own arrangements for boarding and lodging. The Local Secretary will be glad to help them, if they will write to him at least a week earlier.

The accomodation for delegates coming with families is limited. Those who desire to have it should write to the Local Secretary *before the 15th of December*. It is necessary that all the members in the family, who desire to stay in the delegates camp, should have also enrolled themselves as members of the conference.

Benares Hindu University, A. S. ALTEKAR,
1—12—1943 *Local Secretary*.

To

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR,
LOCAL SECRETARY, ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE,
BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.

Dear Sir,

I desire to be enrolled as a member of the All-India Oriental Conference and am sending Rs. 10/4/- by cheque/Rs. 10/- by money order/postal order for that purpose.

I shall be sending a paper for the Conference and its subject will be .... ______________

....

I have already attended ______________ sessions of the Conference and a paper of mine has been printed in the proceedings of the ______________ session.

I shall be able/unable to attend the conference and shall let you know before the 25th of December the exact time of my arrival at the Benares Cantonment Station.

I shall stay in the University and join the vegetarian mess.

OR

I shall stay in the city and make my own arrangements.

OR

I desire to be accommodated at my own cost in a hotel in the Cantonment/city, providing accommodation in European style and non-vegetarian diet.

OR

I shall be accompanied by____________members in my family, who have been enrolled as members of the Conference, and desire family accommodation on the University grounds.

Yours sincerely,

PLACE________________________

DATE________________________

APPENDIX 5

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE (RETIRING) EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Held on 30. 12. 1943 at 7 P.M. in the Central Hindu College, Benares Hindu University.

PRESENT

Rao Bahadur Dr. S.K. Belvalkar (President)
Dr. S.K. De (Secretary)
Dr. M.H. Krishna
Mahamahopadhyaya P.V. Kane
Prof. K.C. Chattopadhyaya
Dr. R. N. Dandekar
Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Dr. A. S. Altekar
Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri (Secretary)

I. The Proceedings and Transactions of the Hyderabad (Eleventh) Session (Part I) and the statement of accounts relating to the session were presented by the Local Secretary Dr. M. Nizamuddin and approved by the Committee.

Resolved that the grateful thanks of the Committee be conveyed to Dr. Nizamuddin and his colleagues for the timely publication of Part I of the proceedings.

The price of the part was fixed at Rs. 3/- per copy.

Resolved further that Mr. Nizamuddin be requested to print 750 copies of Part II which is to contain only the addresses delivered by the Presidents of the different sections; and that Dr. Nizamuddin be authorized to return the papers to their authors expressing regret that they could not be included in the Proceedings under present conditions.

II. The President made the following statement regarding the financial position of the Conference:

1. The late Honorary Treasurer of the Conference, Dr. V.S. Sukthankar took charge of his office in February 1942 from his predecessor in office, Rao Bahadur K. V.

Rangaswami. Dr. Sukthankar died suddenly on the 21st January 1943. The amount that he held as Honorary Treasurer was in all Rs. 9150-15-6, from out of which Rs. 5640/- were invested in purchasing postal cash certificates of the face value of Rs. 6400/- the balance (less annas fifteen and pies six only withdrawn for petty expenses) is just Rs 3510/- After I took over the papers, files and Savings Bank Account Book of the Imperial Bank of India, I wrote to the Agent, Imperial Bank of India, Poona Branch (letter No. 199 of the 4th Octr.) to which I received the Bank's reply, No. 7612 dated the 6th Octr. 1943. Both these are submitted herewith along with the accounts book for instructions of the Executive Committee.

2. The Local Secretary of the Tirupathi Conference has submitted a final statement of accounts of the Session showing a balance of Rs. 909-14-6. All liabilities are cleared up and this sum is now available for amalgamation with the general funds of the Conference. The details of the amount are :—

Rs. 100/- with the General Secretary, Madras.
Rs. 800/- with the President
Rs. 9-14-6 with the Local Secretary, Tirupathi

3. The account statement of the sale proceeds of the Conference Report is submitted herewith showing Rs. 925-11-6 with Savings Bank, Rs. 5-7-3, cash on hand Rs. 40-12-0 for bills to be paid, thus showing a net credit of Rs. 890-6-9. Thus on the date of submitting this statement the Conference has to its credit :—

1. Rs. 809-14-6
2. Rs. 890 -6-9
3. Rs. 3510-0-0

Rs. 5210-5-3 plus cash-certificates of the face value of Rs. 6400/-

4. Regarding the amount standing in the personal name of Dr. Sukthankar, the following correspondence with the eldest son of the deceased is submitted for information. It is expected that there would be no difficulty in recovering the amount once the probate is granted.

III. Read the final statement of accounts of the Tirupathi (Tenth) session submitted by Rao Bahadur K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar, Local Secretary :—

Final Statement of accounts by the Local Secretary of the Tenth Session, Tirupathi.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS AS ON THE 5TH DECEMBER, 1943.

INCOME

	Rs.	a.	p.
1. Reception Committee Membership Fees	744	12	0
2. Subscriptions (Membership, Delegation Fees)	2827	10	6
3. Donations	6118	13	11
4. Miscellaneous receipts	281	12	6
5. Andhra Parishad	259	15	0
Total.	10232	15	11

EXPENDITURE

1. Stationery and Printing	3002	14	0
2. Boarding and catering	2005	11	6
3. Conveyance and Travelling Expenses	1822	2	6
4. Postage and telegrams	536	13	10
5. Entertainments	101	4	0
6. Pandals, decoration and lighting	370	4	2
7. Sanitation and cleaning	160	15	3
8. Establishment	476	9	5
9, Miscellaneous	796	7	2
Total.	9323	1	5
Balance	909	14	6

Amount transferred by cheque to Prof. K.A Nilakanta Sastri, General Secretary, at his request with the approval of the President	900	0	0
Balance at the M.P.C. Bank Ltd., Madras.	9	14	6

Resolved to accept the statement of accounts and thank the Local Secretary for his valuable services to the Conference.

IV. The names of the following gentlemen were reported as elected by the Reception Comittee on 10. 12. 1943 for

co-option as members of the Council for the ensuing session: (Rule VIIc)

1. Dr. U.C. Nag
2. Prof. S.V. Puntambekar
3. Dr. Parmatmasaran
4. Dr R.S. Tripathi
5. Dr. S.C. Mookerjee
6. Dr. S.K. Maitra.
7. Mr. Srinath
8. Prof. S.L. Dar
9. Dr. Boolchand
10. Prof. J.C. De

V. Resolved to place the the following condolence resolution before the ensuing session of the Conference :—

(Resolution printed on pp. xv-xvi)

VI. Considered letter from Mr. Nagesh Upadhyaya offering a prize of Rs. 100/- for the best essay upon a subject connected with astronomy ;

Resolved that while commending the idea of the prize, the Committee regret their inability to accept the responsibility of arranging for its award.

VII. Resolved that the President, MM. P.V. Kane and Dr. S.K. De form a sub-committee to consider the objects of the Conference and the duties of its officers and make proposals to the Committee by tomorrow with a view to the registration of the Conference. Resolved that the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute be made the headquarters of the Conference for this purpose and the authorities of the Institute be thanked for their readiness in acceding to the request of the Committee.

Resolved further that the question of the permanent habitat of the Conference be reconsidered immediately the war is over, the present arrangement of locating it in Poona (Bhandarkar Institute) being only temporary.

VIII. Considered the following proposals from the Honorary Secretary, Greater India Society, Calcutta :

1. That in view of the exceptional importance of Greater India Studies, the Provincial Governments and Univer-

sities of India be requested to create fellowships, travelling scholarships and, if possible, chairs for stimulating such studies.

2. That the Government of India be requested as soon as funds permit to create a Central Library of Greater India Studies in a convenient situation like Calcutta for encouraging advanced studies in that field.

Resolved to accept the suggestions and take suitable action.

IX. Considered the following resolution of which notice had been given by Dr. M. Nizamuddin :

That a Sub-Committee of the Executive Committee be formed to review the rules and regulations of the All-India Oriental Conference in order to obtain uniformity of procedure of business of each session and to ensure the successful working of the Academic side of the Conference by clearly stating the duties and responsibilities of various elected office bearers (such as the sectional presidents, etc.) as is enforced by the Indian Science Congress (See the proceedings of the 20th I.S.C., Calcutta, 1938, Pt. I. 7/72.

Resolved that while noting with approval the aims underlying the proposal, no sub-committee be appointed at present.

X. Considered letter from Mr. K.C. Chattopadhyaya regarding Pandit Parishad and controversial topics.

Resolved to refer the letter to the Sub-Committee under item VII above.

XI. Resolved that as a special case that notwithstanding rule XIII (4) all collections of funds for the XII session excepting those ear-marked for the General Funds be made over to the Local Secretary to meet the expenses of the session, it being understood that the balance remaining at the end will be handed over to the Conference by him.

XII. Adjourned to 4 P.M. on the 31st December 1943 to meet in the same place (Room 52 of the Central Hindu College)

Minutes of the adjourned meeting of the (retiring) Executive Committee.

(Held on 31. 12. 43. at 4 P. M. in the Central Hindu College, Benares Hindu University.)

PRESENT

Dr. S.K. Belvalkar (President)
Dr. Lakshmana Swarup (Treasurer)
Mr. G. Yazdani
Rao Bahadur K N. Dikshit
Dr. B.N. Dandekar
Rao Bahadur C.S. Srinivasachari
Mr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar
Dr. R.C. Majumdar
Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Dr. S.K. De (General Secretary)
Prof. K.C Chattopadhyaya
Mahamahopadhyaya P.V. Kane
Dr. A.S. Altekar (Local Secretary)
Dr. M.H. Krishna
Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri (General Secretary)

I. Read and confirmed minutes of yesterday's meeting.

II. Mr. Yazdani made the following statement:—

In response to the Appeal issued for donations to the permanent Fund of the All-India Oriental Conference with a view to enabling it to carry out the measures envisaged in the proposed scheme (Proceedings XI session, pp. 93-5) the following Governments, Indian States, learned institutions and philanthrophic personages have contributed :—

BEFORE THE HYDERABAD SESSION (XI)

Trustees of Sir Dorabji Tata	Rs.	5000	0	0
Raja Pannalal Bahadur of Hyderabad		1000	0	0
Mr. G. Raghunathmull (Banker)		300	0	0
Mr. G.D. Birla		250	0	0
Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai		200	0	0

Mr. Kastur Bhai Lalbhai		200	0	0
Nawab Salar Jung	O. S. Rs. 1500			
Raja Sukhdeo Prasad	„ 400	6950	0	0
Rajaram Bakhsh Jaichand	„ 100			
	O. S. 2000	1714	4	7
		*8664	4	7

*This amount was made over to Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Aiyengar before the Hyderabad session (1941) and receipt given to the donors over mine and his joint signatures.

AFTER THE HYDERABAD SESSION.

U.P. Government	RS.	1000	0	0
His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir		2500	0	0
	RS.	*3500	0	0
*This amount was sent to the late Dr. Sukthankar and receipts sent to the donors over mine and his joint signatures.	Total.	12164	4	7

As the effort for collecting funds has so far been made by myself alone, the amount collected (Rs. 12,164-4-7) is not negligible and I am confident that if a committee comprising 3 or 4 members of the Executive Committee who possess influence in their respective provinces, was appointed a sum of Rs. 1,00,000 can easily be collected and from the interest of it the honorarium of a part time secretary and clerk and the cost of publishing an Annual Bibliography be paid. I would therefore suggest that the new Executive Committee may kindly take necessary action in the matter, preferably in regard to the appointment of a Committee for the collection of donations to the Permanent Fund.

III. Read the following report of the Sub-Comittee appointed on 30-12-43.

Report of the Sub-Committee appointed by the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental

Conference, Twelvth Session, on the 30th December. 1943, to suggest the changes in the bylaws of the Conference and particularly in its objects with a view to the registration of the Conference under Act 21 of 1860 at an early date.

The Committee unanimously recommend that Rule II should have the following addition made at the end:

(f) without prejudice to the foregoing, in particular :—

(i) To found, maintain and endow a central library of works bearing on Oriental Studies including periodicals

(ii) To prepare and publish rare and important texts, scholarly monographs, bibliographies and encyclopaedias on Oriental Learning ;

(iii) to create and maintain, for the diffusion of accurate historical knowledge, museums, collections of mss., coins, copperplates, monuments, inscriptions, sculptures, pictures and other rare valuable antiquities.

(iv) to coördinate by starting journals or similar publications, research work in Oriental Learning done in India and abroad.

(v) to etstablish and maintain professorships and fellowships for research and to provide for lectures on subjects connected with Oriental Learning*.

That the following be added as rule II and the numbering of the subsequent rules increased by one :

"II. That the Central office of the All-India Oriental Conference be located at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona".

That the rule at present numbered IV (c) be modified as follows :—

"(c) Two General Secretaries, one Local Secretary to be nominated by the body inviting the next session, and the Hon. Secretary of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as an additional secretary, in case he is not already included in the foregoing three".

That in the opinion of the Sub-Committee no other changes in the rules are necessary at present.

Resolved that a new clause (f) 'and to do such other acts and things as may be considered necessary to promote advancement of Oriental Learning' be inserted and that clause (f) of the Sub Committee be changed as (g) and that the report as modified be placed before the Council.

APPENDIX 6

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL OF THE CONFERENCE HELD ON THE 31ST OF DEC. 1943, at 5.45 P.M. IN THE OLD PHYSICS THEATRE.

The rules about the membership of the Council were explained to the persons present. Those who were not entitled to attend the meeting as members separated from the rest and occupied a different section of the Hall.

Dr. S.K. De, the General Secretary, then announced that the following persons have been nominated to the Council by the Local Reception Committee:-(1) Dr. U. C. Nag, (2) Prof. S. V. Puntambekar, (3) Prof. J. C. De, (4) Dr. Paramatma Saran, (5) Dr. R. S. Tripathi (6) Dr. S K. Maitra, (7) Prof. S.L. Dar, (8) Dr. S. C. Mookerjee, (9) Dr. Bool Chand, (10) Mr. Srinath Sah.

The following members of the Council were present for the meeting :- (1) Prof. E. V. Viraraghavacharya. (2) Mr. K. Sitaramaiya. (3) Dr. A. N. Upadhye. (4) Dr. R. N. Dandekar. (5) Dr. P. M. Modi. (6) Prof. S. L. Dar. (7) Dr. Baburam Saksena. (8) Prof. K. Chattopadhyaya, (9) Dr. A.C.Chettiar. (10 Mr. P. Sambamoorthy. (11) Mr. M. K. Rama Krishnaiya. (12) Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai. (13) Dr M. Nizamuddin. (14) Dr. M. H. Krishna. (15) Dr. R. C. Majumdar. (16) Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari. (17) Dr. N. Venkataramanayya. (18) Dr. T. R. Chintamani (19) Mr. K. R. Srinivasan. (20) Mr. K. R. Venkataraman. (21) Mr. A. N. Md. Khaledi. (22) R. B. K. N. Dikshit. (23) Mr. G. Yazdani. (24) Prof. S. V. Puntambekar. (25) Dr. H. D. Bhattacharya. 26) Prof, V. R. Dikshitar. (27) M. M. P. V, Kane. (28) Dr. M. Rama Rao. (29) Dr. A. D. Pushalkar, (30) Prof. V. A. Gadgil (31) Prof. H. D Velankar. (32) Dr. V. M. Apte. (33) Mr. P. C. Diwanji. (34) Dr. V. G. Paranjape. (35) Dr. P. L, Vaidya. (36) Mr. J. P. Birdy. (37) M. M. Pt. Bisheshwar Nath Reu. (38) Dr. S. M. H. Nainar. (39) Dr. Maryla Falk. (40) Dr. P. V Bapat (41) Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sahtri (42) Dr. S. K. De. (43) Dr. S. K. Belvalkar. (44) Dr. A. S. Altekar.

Mr. Belvalkar, the Chairman, then made a short speech, explaining how it had become necessary to register the Con-

ference, and how as a consequence it had become desirable to define the objects of the Conference more accurately and comprehensively. Registration, he observed, presupposed a Central Office for the Conference and its place also had to be fixed. He pointed out that all these matters were very carefully considered by the retiring Executive Committee and by a sub-committee of it consisting of himself, M. M. P. V. Kane and Dr. De, and then proposed that the following addition be made to Rule II at its end as reccomended by the Executive Committee :—

(g) Without prejudice to the foregoing, in particular—

(i) To found, mantain and endow a central Library of works bearing on Oriental Studies including periodicals.

(ii) To prepare and publish rare and important texts, scholarly monographs, bibliographies and encyclopaedias on Oriental Learning.

(iii) To create and maintain, for diffusion of accurate historical knowledge, museums, collections of mss., coins, copper-plates, monuments, inscriptions, sculptures, pictures and other rare valuable antiquities.

(iv) To coordinate, by starting journals or similar publications, research work on Oriental Learning done in India and abroad.

(v) To establish and maintain professorships and fellowships for research and to provide for lectures on subjects connected with Oriental Learning.

After a short discussion the Council accepted the proposal,

The Chairman then proposed that the following rule be added as rule II and that the numbering of the subsequent rules be increased by one :—

"II. That the Central Office of the All-India Oriental Conference be located at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona."

This proposal was also accepted unanimously by the Council.

The Chairman then moved that the rule at present numbered IV C be modified as follows :—

(c) Two General Secretaries, one Local Secretary to be nominated by the body inviting the next session, and the Hon. Secretary of B. O. R. Institute, Poona as an additional Secretary, in case he is not already included in the foregoing three.

This proposal was also unanimously passed.

The Council then proceeded to elect the members of the Executive Committee. The following 26 names were proposed and on votes being taken the first fourteen were declared to have been duly elected, the 13th & 14th ones being elected by lots as they had secured the same number of votes as No. 15. The names of the persons proposed and the votes secured by each of them are given below :-

1. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, 32.
2. Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri, 32.
3. M. M. P. V. Kane, 29.
4. Dr. A. S. Altekar, 29.
5. Dr. S. K. De, 28.
6. R. B. K. N. Dikshit, 24.
7. Dr. M. Nizamuddin, 25.
8. Mr. G. Yazdani, 23.
9. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, 21.
10. Dr. R. C Majumdar, 20.
11. Dr. M. H. Krishna, 19.
12. Dr. L. Swarup, 18.
13. Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya, 17.
14. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, 17.
15. Dr. R. N. Dandekar, 17.
16. Prof. C. Srinivasachar, 14.
17. Dr. Venkataramanayya, 14.
18. Dr. Nainar, 12.
19. Prof. Heras, 12.
20. Dr. Chintamani, 12.
21. Mr. V. R. Dikshitar, 11.
22. Dr. Rama Rao, 11.

23. Prof. H. D. Velankar, 10.
24. Dr. Pillai, 10.
25. Dr. P. V. Bapat, 9
26. Mr. P. C. Diwanjee, 6.

Before concluding the meeting, the Council recorded its thanks to Messrs. Devasthali and Shaikh, who acted as tellers.

N.B. When the office-bearers were elected by the Executive Committee on the 1st of Jan. 1944, there occurred six more vacancies in that body and Dr. R. N. Dandekar, Prof. C. Srinivasachari, Dr. Venkatramanayya, Dr. Nainar, Prof. Heras and Dr. Chintamani were coopted on it.

APPENDIX 7

Minutes of the new Executive Committee.

(Held on 1. 1. 1944 at 11. 45 A. M. in the Central Hindu College, Benares.)

PRESENT:

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (President)
Dr. A. S. Altekar (Local Secretary)
Dr. S. K. De (Secretary)
Dr. S. K. Chatterji
Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Dr. R. C. Majumdar
Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane.
Dr. P. L. Vaidya
Mr. G. Yazdani
Dr. M. H. Krishna
Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
Mr. K. C. Chattopadhyaya
Dr. Lakshmanaswarup (Treasurer)
Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri (Secretary)

I. The election of the following fourteen members to the Executive Committee at the meeting of the Council held on 31-12-43 at 5. 45. P. M. was reported.

Dr. S. K. Belvalkar
Prof. B. N. Shastri
M. M. P. V. Kane
Dr. A. S. Altekar
Dr. S. K. De
Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit
Dr. M. Nizamuddin
Mr. G. Yazdani
Dr. S. K. Chatterji
Dr. B. C. Majumdar
Dr. M. H. Krishna
Dr. Lakshmanaswarup
Dr. P. L. Vaidya
Prof. K. C. Chattopadhyaya

Resolved that the report be recorded and that the thanks of the Committee be conveyed to the tellers, Messrs G.

V. Devasthali and C.H. Shaik for their kind assistance at the election.

II. The President made a statement of the position regarding the next venue referring to the correspondence with Delhi and Nagpur Universities and his talk with H. H. the Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga.

Resolved that the venue of the next session of the Conference be fixed by the Committee in the course of the next three months or so.

III. Election of office bearers :—

1. Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was elected Secretary, and in his place Mr. R. N. Dandekar was coopted to the Executive Committee.

2. Dr. M. Nizamuddin was elected second secretary, and in his place Dr. N. Venkataramanyya was coopted to the Executive Committee.

3. Dr. R. N. Dandekar was elected third secretary under the new rule adopted by the Council on 31-12-43, and in his place Rao Bahadur C. S. Srinivasachari was coopted to the Executive Committe.

4. Dr. Lakshmanaswarup was elected Treasurer and in his place Dr. M. H. Nainar was coopted to the Executive Committee.

5. Dr. R. C. Majumdar was elected Vice-President, and in his place Rev. Father Heras was coopted to the Executive Committee.

5. M. M. P. V. Kane was elected President, and in his place Dr. T. R. Chintamani was coopted to the Executive Committee.

In each case the coopted members joined the meeting at the stage of the proceedings indicated above.

IV. Resolved that the Committee place on record their grateful appreciation of the work done for the Conference by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar as President and Dr. S. K. De as

Secretary and that the Secretary be authorized to convey the thanks of the Committee to them for their services.

V. The financial position of the Conference as accepted by the retiring Executive Committee was reported to the Committee, (vide item II of Minutes of Executive Committee dated 30, 12, 43 and item II of same dated 31-12-43 ante, pp. xxxi-iii, xxxvi-vii)

VI. Items VIII and IX of minutes of the Executive Committee dated 30. 12. 43 were reported.

VII. Read the following recommendation from the Linguistic Section of the Conference in joint session with the Linguistic Society of India:

This 12th All-India Oriental Conference held at Benares on the recommendation of its Philological Section and of the Linguistic Society of India (assembled at its biennial meeting on the occasion of the Conference) places on record its appreciation of the services rendered by Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Praharaj to the Oriya language in particular and to the modern Indo-Aryan languages in general by his complettion of the great quadrilingual lexicon of the Oriya language published in seven volumes, and congratulates Rai Bahadur Praharaj on the successful termination of his labours which occupied so many years of his life and cost him so much energy and money.

In this connection, the Conference notes with regret that, although some recognition has been shown by the Government of the importance of the work done by Mr. Praharaj in this direction by awarding him the title of Rai Bahadur and giving him the Kaisar-i-Hind Medal, the enterprise of Mr. Praharaj in publishing the great work of 9250 large pages and 1,85,000 entries of words and phrases has, in spite of the financial assistance from the Bihar and Orissa Government, the Government of Orissa, the University of Patna, and Maharajas, Rajas, Zamindars, Mahants and other patrons of Learning (including H. E. Lord Linlithgow and H. E. Sir John Hubback), cost him quite a large sum of money and has been a source of great financial loss to him involving the sale of his residential house in Cuttack.

The Conference, therefore, makes this representation to the Government of Orrisa and to the University of Utkala

that Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Praharaj's invaluable services through his lexicographical work are of great significance in the domain of Indian Philology, and have a special place in constructive nation-building through language and literature, and consequently these services of his being in the public interest should not make him suffer financially or in other ways.

After twenty years devoted exclusively to this work, Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Praharaj is now forced at the age of 70 to revert to his legal practice as a means of livelihood as well as the only way to clear his debts.

The Conference therefore urges upon both the Government of Orissa and the University of Utkala to look into the case of Rai Bahadur Gopal Chandra Praharaj in connection with the Oriya lexicon and to make provision (should the situation appear to demand it) for an adequate literary pension for Mr. Praharaj, as well as for the purchase of sets of the complete lexicon for distribution to educational institutions and learned bodies within and outside Orissa.

Copies of the above resolution be sent to the Ministers in charge of Education and of the Home Department, Government of Orissa and to the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Utkala".

Resolved that President and Secretary be authorised to take suitable action after making any further enquiries they may consider necessary and report to the Committee the action taken by them.

VIII. Read the following report of the Sub-Committee on Nepalese materials appointed by the Executive Committee in 1941 (Hyderabad)

I. "Under the auspices of the aforesaid sub-committee the following materials have been collected for the use of the members of the All-India Oriental Conference :

1. Iconography-Plates only, Materials not yet published and worked out.

2. Manuscripts-Tantra, Mahābhārata, Maithili and Bengali literatures.

3. Coins, (Nepalese, new discoveries)
4. Paintings, (suggesting the Eastern Indian influence on Nepalese paintings)
5. Ethnographical notes; folk-lores of Nepal.
6. Inscriptions in Kutila and Nevari scripts.

Scholars arė hereby informed to correspond with Dr, S. N. Sen with regard to any information relevant with the ideals of the All-India Oriental Conference.

2, A new member may be elected in place of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar (deceased) and Dr. S. K. Chatterjee's name (Calcutta University) is suggested.

3. Few pages of the Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference may be spared for printing of notices of the materials collected by the said sub-committee.

(Sd.) S. N. Sen.
(Convener)

Resolved that the report be recorded.

IX. Resolved that a new section on Dravidian languages and Culture be added to the existing sections of the Conference.

X. The sectional presidents of the present (twelfth) session and past sessions were invited to join, and then the following sectional presidents were elected for the next session :

1. Vedic—Prof. Velankar
2. Classical Sanskrit—Mr. K. A. Subrahmanya Aiyer. (Lucknow)
3. Iranian—Mr. M. B. Davar, M. A., Ph. D.
4. Islamic Culture-Prof. Barkat Ali Quaraishi (Lahore)
5. Arabic and Persian—Prof. Hadi Hassan (Aligarh)
6. Pali and Buddhism—Dr. P. C. Bagchi (Calcutta)
7. Prakrit and Jainism—Muni Jinavijayaji (Bombay)
8. History-Mr. V.R. Ramachandra Dikshitar (Madras)
9. Archaeology—Mr. M. B Garde (Gwalior)
10. Indian Linguistics—Mr. Sukumar Sen (Calcutta)
11. Dravidian Laguages and Culture-Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai (Madras)
12. Philosophy and Religion-Dr. T. R. Chintamani (Madras)
13. Technical Sciences—Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit.

APPENDIX 8

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CLOSING SESSION

The closing session of the Conference was held at 11 A.M. on Sunday the 2nd January 1944 in the hall of the Central Hindu College with Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the President of the Conference, in the Chair.

I. The Report and Proceedings of the Eleventh Session (Hyderabad) Part I was presented by Mr. G. Yazdani, the President of the Session and accepted with thanks by the Conference.

II. The General Secretary announced that the venue of the next session of the Conference will be decided by the Executive Committee during the next three months or so and that the decision will be announced in due course.

III. The names of the office-bearers, members of the Executive Committee, and Sectional Presidents for the next session were announced by the General Secretary as recorded in the minutes of the new Executive Committee, ante p. xlvii. He also conveyed the thanks of the Executive Committee to the retiring office-bearers for their work for the Conference during their tenure of office.

IV. The General Secretary also made a statement regarding the proposed registration of the Conference with the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, as its headquarters for the time being, the changes adopted by the Executive Committee and the Council in the aims and objects of the Conference, and the creation of the post of a third Secretary to provide for the representation of the Bhandarkar Institute on the Secretariate.

V. Professor R. C. Majumdar proposed and Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit seconded a vote of thanks to the Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University, His Highness Maharajah Sir Harisinghji Bahadur, G.C.I.E., G. C. S. I., K.C. V.O., LL. D. of Jammu and Kashmir, the Pro-Chancellor, the Hon'ble the Maharajadhiraja Sir Kamesvar Singh Bahadur, K. C. I. E., LL. D., D. Litt. of Darbhanga, the Rector of the University, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviyaji,

the Maharajkumar Sir Vijaya of Vijayanagaram, the Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D. Litt., LL.D., F. B. A., and the other officials of the Benares Hindu University. Dr. J. M. Unwala thanked in suitable terms the Reception Committee, the Local Secretary and office-bearers of the Local Working Committee; the donors, institutions sending delegates, the Nagari Pracharini Sabha and the public of Benares, as well as the scholars who sent in papers and took part in the discussions and symposia in the Conference. Dr. P. L. Vaidya thanked the band of volunteers and the institutions which took part in the variety entertainments held on the night of the 31st December. Lastly, Rao Bahadur C. R. Krishnamacharlu thanked the President, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar in a felicitous speech referring to his connection with and services to the Conference from its inception. Sir S. Radhakrishnan spoke in appreciation of the work of Dr. A. S. Altekar as Local Secretary and of that of the students of the University who served as volunteers.

VI The singing of Vande Mataram by a chorus of girls brought to a close the proceedings of one of the most fruitful sessions of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(Sd.) S. K. Belvalkar
President.

K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
General Secretary.

APPENDIX 9.

Proceedings of Sections.

Only the proceedings of five sections were received and they are given below.

Section II. Iranian Section.

1st December 1943.

The Iranian Section opened its meeting at 3. 30 p. m. on the 31st December with the Presidential address by Dr. J. M. Unvala on the "Wide scope of Iranian Studies," which has been published in part II.

At the end of the address, Dr. Shahiduddin of Dacca University pointed out that the date of Zarathushtra could not be placed earlier than the sixth century B. C. Dr. Unvala elaborately explained his grounds on which his conclusion was based, and stated that the clear mention of iron (Avesta *ayangh*, Vedic Sanskrit *ayas*) in the Gathas and the Vedas point to the iron age in which they were composed, and that recent excavations on different sites in Iran showed that iron had made its first appearance in about 1300 to 1100 B. C.

The session closed for the day.

1st January 1944.

The session opened its meeting at 9 a. m.

The President read the paper of Mr. B. T. Anklesaria who was absent. It was entitled "The names of the Achaemenian kings given in Albiruni's "Chronology of Ancient Nations". Mr. Anklesaria has shown therein that these names had not been forgotten in later times, but that they are to be found in the list of Babylonian governors given by Albiruni.

Prof. D. D. Kapadia read his paper on "Stehrpaesangha (Sudreh) or the Sacred Shirt of the Zoroastrians". He pointed out that the translation of this Avesta word as "star-decorated" suits only Yasna *57*. 21, whereas in Yasna *9*. 26, *10*. 90 and 143 the word is used for the Sudreh, as is evident from the Pahlavi *Vajar Kard e* Dīnīk. The President summing up the discussion said that the question wholly depended upon the authenticity of the above-mentioned Pahlavi treatise which has been doubted by many Pahlavists. However, he appreciated the suggestion made by Prof. Kapadia.

Dr. H. P. Mirza read his paper on the Pahlavi word *jatak*. He derived it from Av. *yamtaka*->*yataka*>Mid. Pers. of book *jatak*, Mid. Pers. Turfan *yada*, and explained it as "what one holds; part, share, portion, lot; dispensation, destiny; luck, fortune". The President declared the paper well documented and suggested the reading *yatak*, as Prof. Bartholomae has read the initial as in all Mid. Pers. Turfan words where we would expect an initial y as in Modern Persian. Dr. Mirza said that the Turfan texts showed an initial *sade*, i. e. a. j.

Mr. M. F. Kanga suggested in his paper that the Pahlavi expression zīrak-tarjumān ("of smart sense"), occurring in the text concerning the advent of Shah Behram Verjavand, should be read zīraktar-zamān, meaning the "wisest of the age". Of course, the suggested reading would entail a slight emendation in the text. The President observed that as in some later Pahlavi texts Arabic words are not seldom met with, and as no variants of the expression in question are found in existing manuscripts, the suggested emendation and reading were unnecessary.

Dr. Mirza read the paper of Mr. S. J. Bulsara in his absence. The author observed that the Ancient Persian cuneils for *th* and *d* had also the values *ths*, *ts*, and *dz*.He gave a number of examples, mostly Babylonian, Assyrian, Neo-Susian and Egyptian proper names, in support of his observation.

The session broke for lunch and met again at 2 p. m. on the same day.

Mr. J. M. Desai suggested in his paper, entitled "Who was Vafronavāza?" the solution of the myth concerning this personage from the Perso-Arabic legend of the Sīmurg-Oqāb, and said that, at any rate, the reason for the action of Thraetaona (Faredūn) was not justifiable, unless we attributed to Vafronavāza some unworthy deed. This was, Mr. Desai thought, his carnivorous habit of which he must have repented later. In the course of discussion, the President drew the attention of Mr. Desai to a variant Vifranavāza which Bartholomae has rendered by "skillful sailor" named Pāurva. This translation of the word in question is borne out, he said, by the Āfrīn *e Zartosht*, 3 4: "Mayst thou like Vifra-nāvaza reach the Ranghā"! At any rate, the myth may have some

bearing on a meteriological phenomenon, as Spiegel had thought.

Mr. J. C. Tarapore gave an account of the myths on the origin of fire according to the Indian and Greek sources. He pointed out to the absence of such a myth in the Avesta literature. There is however, an episode about the origin of fire in the Shāhnāme. Dr. Mirza remarked that there was in the Yasna, 19. 2, a mention of fire which was created by Ahura Mazda like other things of the world.

Mr. N. D. Minochehr-Homji tried to show in his paper on the Spiritual Mysticism of the Hom Yasht that Haoma as a plant was a mere symbol for the formless spirit beyond and our consciousness beyond, and that it was later on that it was deified as a plant. Summing up the discussion, the President said that Haoma, Vedic Soma, was originally nothing but a plant, which was considered sacred on account of its medicinal properties, as shown by its constant epithet dūraosha" Keeping death afar", and that the idea of a Yazata named Haoma presiding over and protecting the plant, and that of the warrior Hom who helped Kaikhusru in his fight against Afrāsyāb, the hereditary enemy of the Iranians, were normally developed from the attribute dūraosha. Thereupon, he observed that a specimen of the Haoma-plant culled in Iran, the same as that used nowadays in the Yazishna ceremony by the Zoroastrian priests, had been identified by Dr. Diele of the Botanical Institute of Berlin with Chenopodiacac Anabasis.

Just before the meeting ended, it was proposed by the delegates that the President of this XII session should be informed about the publication of an objectionable para in the Proceedings and Transactions of the XI All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in December 1941, page 82, § 3, which Dr. Yazdani had promised to delete from his presidential address.

The session ended for the day.

The delegates met again on the 2nd January in the morning at 9 a. m.

Prof. Kapadia read the paper of Mr. K. J. Dubash in his absence on Admonitions from the Pahlavi literature as compared with similar sayings from English authors like,

Shakespeare, Milton and others. In the opinion of Prof. Kapadia the author failed to quote the originals and has used certain works of Mr. Dhabhar without due acknowledgement. The President at the end remarked that the paper could have been shortened, if the author had discussed only a few admonitions and made it rich by quoting parallel passages from other literatures, e. g. English. He however, praised the attempt of the author.

Colonel M. S. Irani read his paper on Religious persecution in Iran by the Arab conquerors. He tried to show from the works of Arab historians that the Zoroastrians were not forcibly converted to Islam, but that they had the freedom of practising their religion and that even their fire-temples were protected in persuance of the policy followed by the first four Caliphs, and that if the Zoroastrians were at all persecuted, it was due to the religious zeal of the new converts to Islam in the post-Abbaside period.

There was no discussion on the paper of Col. Irani, as also on those of Mr. N. C. Mehta on Ancient Iranian Education. and of Mr. B. H. Dady-Suntook on the Prestine pure teaching of Zarathushtra, as the time was rather very short.

Mr. K. A. Fitter tried to show in his paper that the Parsis first landed at Sanjan in India in compact families and thus, there was no necessity for some unmarried Parsis to marry Indian women of aboriginal tribes, as it has been alleged by some persons of importance. He thus tried to refute at length the above charge.

Col. Irani remarked that the paper was based on the *Kisse Sanjan* the authenticity of whose statements is much debated. Various scholars have tried to prove different facts on its basis, but no one has arrived at any definite conclusion of scientific value. The matter of the first landing of the Parsis at Sanjan is such that one cannot arrive at any conclusive account. The subject has been dealt with by him elsewhere in fuller details. Col. Irani dwelt largely on the expression *compact families* used by Mr. Fitter and said that the meaning attached by the latter to the word *compact* could not be corroborated by English dictionaries.

Concluding the sectional meeting at 11 a. m. for the year, the President observed that controversial matters, which have been already discussed in learned societies and in the Parsi press, should not form the subject of papers for the Oriental Conference, unless new and conclusive materials were to be adduced for or against them, and that the papers

for the conference should be short and must contain some original research. The scholars should combine the scientific spirit with the love for their ancestors.

The President further wished that the Local Secretary be informed that Mr. J. C. Katrak submitted five papers on the Iranistic research, but labelled them as pertaining to other sections of the conference than the Iranian, and read them in those sections in order to avoid discussion and thus pass them on as real research work. Such practice should not be allowed. This matter was afterwards put as a resolution before the meeting, and being seconded by Mr. Fitter, was passed unanimously.

Prof. Kapadia brought yesterday's proposal before the delegates of the Iranian sections in the following words. "The delegates of the XII All-India Oriental Conference (Iranian Section) note with great regret that inspite of the assurance given by Dr. Yazdani, the President of the last session of the Conference, to the delegates of the Iranian section in an open meeting to delete an objectionable passage regarding the work produced by Parsi scholars in the field of Iranistics from his presidential address, the same passage has appeared with little alteration, which does not do sufficient justice, in the Proceedings and Transactions of the XI All-India Oriental Conference, Part I, p. 82, para 3. They, therefore, authorise the president of the Iranian Section to convey to the President of this session their emphatic protest for not deleting entirely the objectionable passage and demand an honourable redress of their legitimate grievance." The proposal was seconded by Mr. K. A. Fitter and passed unanimously.

The Iranian section was attended on all the days by its delegates and scholars from other sections. The discussions on the papers were quite interesting, as also the summing up of the President.

The President and the delegates of the Iranian section take this opportunity to thank the Local Secretary Dr. A. S. Altekar for selecting as Secretary of the section an intelligent and able scholar, Mr. Arvind U. Vasavada, who had taken down accurately the notes of our sectional meetings and written a preliminary report which forms the basis of the present report, though with a few additions and corrections. The president and the delegates of the Iranian section thank Mr. Vasavada sincerely for his valuable co-operation.

Sd. J. M. Unvala,
President of the Iranian Section.

Report on Section IV: Classical Sanskrit.

There were about thirty five papers. In some cases only the summaries had been sent to the Local Secretary, the papers being handed over to Mahamahopadhyaya Prof. Kane the president of the section, in a few cases they were brought in by the speakers at the time of reading the papers. About 15 papers were actually read; a few were not read, because contributors though in Benares could not attend owing to their other engagements. The number of persons present at the reading of the papers was small. In the case of only two or three papers there was some discussion. Owing to the large number of papers and the short time at disposal most papers had to be read within from 10 to 15 minutes.

There was a symposium on Bhasa. Dr. Pusalkar was to start the discussion in favour of the authenticity of the 13 Trivandrum plays, but owing to another engagement he sent a typed copy of the principal arguments in favour of Bhāsa's authorship of the Trivandrum Plays. Prof. Chattopadhyaya led the opposition. He emphasised the point that in several works on dramaturgy details about the contents of a Vāsavadattā play were set out, which did not agree with the Vāsavadattā among the Trivandrum Plays. Prof. C. Kunhan Raja followed him and said that the burden of proof that the 13 Trivandrum plays were of Bhāsa lay on those who held that they were Bhāsa's, that it was difficult to believe that all the 13 plays were by the same author and that the most that he would concede would be that the Trivandrum version of the Vāsavadattā play was in intimate relation to the original play called Svpna-Vāsavadattā which was beyond doubt composed by the eminent ancient poet Bhāsa.

Mahamahopadhaya Prof. Kane read out almost the whole of Mr.Pusalkar's typed copy of his argument. Then a speaker made a few remarks in-support of Bhāsa's authorship. Finally the president, Prof. Kane summed up the positions of the respective parties. He said that the burden of proof was hereby on the pro-Bhāsa school, since the plays or the colophans even do not attribute them to Bhāsa. The broad principal points taken against Bhāsa's authorship

are: (1) Absence of Bhāsa's name as the author in all the 13 plays without exception; (2) None of the works or prose passages now found except Svapna-Vāsavadattā is mentioned in any of the works on dramatargy from the times of Abhinavagupta up to the 12th or 13th century; (3) None of the verses or prose passages quoted as from the Svapna-Vāsavadattā by Abhinavagupta, the Nātyadarpana, the Bhavaprakāsana and Sagarnandin are found in the dramas now going under that name and that the plea that they were omitted by the scribes through inadvertence cannot be entertained as a valid argument; (4) That about 15 verses are quoted as from Bhāsa in the anthologies of which none is found in any one of the 13 plays, even though there is some discrepancy among the anthologies about the precise authorship of some of the stanzas; (5) The description of Bhāsa's plays in the Harsacarita is not applicable to the present 13 plays as they are not nātakas in the strict sense given by Bharata whose work was well known to Bāna, and that if the pro-Bhāsa school insists on the epithet Sūtradhāra, then the other school is entitled to insist that the work Nātaka must be also strictly interpreted and that the two other epithets must be applicable to each of the plays.

The points in favour of the pro-Bhāsa School are: (1) that there was an ancient poet Bhāsa who was prior to Kālidāsa and Bāna; (2) that he was the author of several Natakas as stated by Bāna; (3) that Bhāsa certainly wrote a drama called Svapnavāsavadattā as vouchsafed by Abhinavagupta and Rājasekhara; (4) that the Svapnavāsavadattā play from Trivandrum closely agrees with many of the details about the Svāpnavāsavadattā furnished by the works on dramatargy; (5) that there was a marked similarity among the 13 plays as regards to technique, ideas, situations xcenes, expressions and words, imagery, recurrence of stanzas and hemistiches; (6) so if Svapnavāsavadattā is Bhāsa's then the remaining plays also must be attributed to him.

Mr. Kane stated that as the time was short he could not go into the arguments of Dr. Pusalkar in detail. But he pointed out that many of the points urged for the antiquity of the plays savoured of arguing in a circle. He gave a few examples. Vāmana's quotation does not state from what work he quotes the verse 'Sarachandrānisu etc. So its occurrence in the Trivandrum play cannot be used as an argument against those who deny Bhasa's authorship of it and who say

that the extant work is an adaptation, The two verses quoted as incitement to soldiers to fight do not advance the cause of the pre-Bhāsa school. The first verse occurs in the Parāsara Smriti. No one would say that Kautilya borrows from Parāsara. Similarly the verse Navam śarāvam could not be supposed to have been taken from the extant Svapnavāsavadattā. but from some other source. Dr. Pusalkar's reference to rapidity of action (in Niskramya, Pravisya) proves nothing. Similar directions occur in other dramas, e. g. in Venisamhāra after V. 3. The idea that kings, though dead, live in their good works and sacrifices carries no weight, as similar ideas occur in 'Jayantī-te-sukr-tinah' and in Bhāmaha's 'Upeyusāmapi divam.' King consulting his queen as to the marriage of a grown-up daughter is not a singular phenomenon. In the *Harsacharita* also the king consults his queen on the same subject. Splitting up of verses occurs elsewhere also as in the *Uttararamacharita ;* mention of matronymics occurs in such late writers as Bhaavabhūti, (who was Jātukarṇīputrah). No higher encomium on musi cans be passed than is done by Yājñavalka in III. 113-115. Actual bringing of water on the stage occurs in the Venīsamhāra several times and also in the Mahāvīracharita. The underlying not of Svarājya is not at all a convincing argument as to antiquity as these sometimes occur in the Mudrārākshasa (Mlechhair udvijyamāno).

Mr. Kane then referred to the passage in Pratijnā about Nyāyasāstram. The mention of Hastisiksā does not show anything. Kālidāsa speaks of Sūtras on elephants (vinītanāgaḥ kil sutrakāraiḥ). Ultimately Mr. Kane gave it as his opinion that taking into consideration all that has been said, Bhāsa's authorship of the plays must be held *not proved.*

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION.

After the presidential address on the morning of the 1st Jan. 44, there were sectional meetings in the afternoon of the 1st Jan. and the morning of the 2nd. Papers received were read and discussed. After this was done, Rahula Sankrityayana gave information about Buddhist studies in Tibet. E. W. Adhikaran, Principal, Intermediate College, Kotte, Colombo, gave us some account of the revival of Pali studies among the laity of Ceylon. He told us that Pali

was being made compulsory in schools from the VIth standard onwards. Pali instruction in monasteries, however, was conducted on old lines under Government supervision. Mr. Sampson C. Shen spoke about Buddhist studies in China among the Buddhist monks as well as in the modern Universities. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee gave us a summary of his paper 'Buddhistic Survivals in Bengal' showing how several customs among the Bengalees reveal the Buddhist traces, either in names, outward behaviour or in the practices of the people.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION.

A symposium was organised on Śvetāmbara and Digambara sects of the Jains. The point for discussion was this: "Is there any real defference between the Svetāmbara and the Digambara?"

Prof. Hiralal, the President of the Section, initiated the discussion. He was of the opinion that according to the Karma philosophy of the Jains salvation to women cannot be denied. According the oldest texts of the Digambara sect, i. e. Shatkhaṇḍāgāma, it is not possible for us to believe that the Digāmbaras do not accept the salvation of women. He gave some references to show that the sacred texts themselves refer to to salvation of women.

The learned Professor further tried to show that according to Bhagavatī Arādhanā and other Digambara texts it was possible to establish that a Muni can use the clothes. Further, on the authority of Samantabhadra he tried to show that a Kevalin may take his food.

In this way he pointed out how there was no difference of opinion in the above mentioned points between the two sects of the Jains, as is believed at present.

Pandit Rajendra Kumar, Pt. Phulchand and Pt. Kailasachand one after another tried to show that only the texts are not to be relied upon; the commentaries also should be consulted. They were of opinion that according to the Digambara Shastras it was possible to arrive at a conclusion just opposite to that which was established by the president.

HINDI SECTION.

The presidential address and papers were finished in the first two days.

On the 3rd day in the morning a symposium was held on Hindi as *Lingua franca* for India. Dr. S. K. Chatterji, Dr. Baburam Saxena, Shri Rahula Sankrityayana, Dr. Sahidulla, Pt. K. P. Mishra, Mrs. Jamunadevi Pathak and Mr. Chandrabali Pande took part in it. The hall was packed with audience which took keen interest in the debate,

PROCEEDING OF THE PANDIT PARISHAD.

The following are the resolutions passed in the Session of the Pandit Parishad held at Benares Hindu University on the 31st Dec. 1943 and the 1st January 1944 along with the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference.

(I) This Pandit Parishad mourns the extremely sad and premature death of Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Balkrishnaji Misra, Principal, College of Oriental Learning, Benares Hindu University, which took place at 4 p. m. on the 31st. Dec: 1943, while this Pârishad was holding its session. Pt. Balkrishnaji was an unrivalled Naiyyāyika and a very learned Pandit of other Darshanas as well. The loss suffered by the Pandit world by his death is irreparable. This Parishad authorises the President to convey to the members of the bereaved family the heartfelt sympathies of its members.

Proposed from the Chair, this resolution was passed unanimously, all members standing.

(II) This Pandit Parishad expresses its deep appreciation of the action of Raja Dr. Baldeodas Birla of Benares in handsomely donating a sum of a lakh of rupees towards the construction of the building of the College of Oriental Learning of the Benares Hindu University. It bestows its sincere Asirvadas (blessings) on the Raja Saheb.

Proposed by M. M. Chinnaswami Shastri, B. H. U.
Seconded by Pandit Mahadev Shastri, B. H. U.

(III) The following question was raised before the Parishad :-

Question :- Are daughters entitled to succeed to the property of the father simultaneously with the male issue?

It was unanimously resolved by the Parishad to have a full discussion in the traditional style on this question.

It was unanimously resolved by the Parishad that the following rules of 'procedure be adopted for being followed by the members of the Parishad in holding the disquisition.

शास्त्रार्थविचारसभानियमाः

१ शास्त्रपरिनिष्ठिता त्रयः पञ्च सप्त वा मध्यस्था भविष्यन्ति ।

२ सुयोग्यः कश्चन नियामकोऽपि भविष्यति, यस्याज्ञया प्रश्नकरणे उत्तरकरणे वा निर्दिष्टानामेवाधिकारः ।

३ प्रश्नोत्तरयोरुभयोरपि लिखितबद्धयोः सङ्कलनं भविष्यति ।

४ निर्वाचितवादिप्रतिवादिव्यतिरेकेण कस्यापि भाषणे नाधिकारः ।

५ वादिप्रतिवादिनां मध्ये एकस्यैव यस्य कस्यापि भाषणेऽधिकारः, अनेन साकमस्यैवेति तु न व्यवस्था ।

६ वादिप्रतिवादिव्यतिरेकेण तत्तन्मतावलम्बिनां दर्शकरूपेणैव प्रतिनिधिनामपि सतां निर्दिष्टस्थान एवोपवेशः ।

७ वैषयिकदर्शिनां तु पृथक्स्थानप्रबन्धः ।

८ निबन्धपर्यन्तधर्मग्रन्थप्रामाण्योरीकारेण मीमांसादृतपद्धत्यैव विचारो भवितुमर्हति ।

९ प्रश्नोत्तरप्रणाल्येव विचारावसरेऽवलम्बनीया, न व्याख्यानप्रणाली ।

१० वादिप्रतिवादियुक्तीनां तारतम्यविवेचनेन निर्णयकरणं मध्यस्थानां कार्यम् ।

११ सयुक्तिसंग्रहं निर्णयोद्घोषणे सभापतिमहोदयानामेवाधिकारः ।

It was unanimously resolved by the Parishad that (1) M. M. Pandit Anant Krishna Shastri of Calcutta University (2) Panditraj Rajeshwar Shastri Dravid of Sangveda Vidyalaya, Benares and (3) Pandit Sabhapatiji Upadhyaya of the Birla Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Benares be appointed Madhyasthas (judges) of the disquisition.

After the disquisition was over the three Madhyasthas gave a unanimous decision, M. M. Anant Krishna Shastri writing a separate judgment, holding that "According to the

Shastric law daughters are not entitled to succeed to the property of the father simultaneously with the male issue."

The following resolution was then unanimously adopted by the Parishad :—

The Pandit Parishad, after listening to the disquisition and decision of the Madhyasthas, unanimously holds that daughters are not entitled to succeed to the property of the father simultaneously with the male issue.

Proposed by M. M. Chinnaswami Shastri, B. H. U.

Seconded by Pandit Devanayakacharya, Sanga Veda Vidyalaya, Benares.

(IV) This Pandit Parishad unanimously denounces the Hindu Marriage Bill proposed to be introduced in the Central Legislature by the Central Government, as it contains numerous mischievous clauses such as validation of Asavarna, Sagotra and Sapinda marriages on the doctrine of *factnm valet* notwithstanding the clear and definite Shastric injunctions and the usages to the contrary.

Proposed by Sabhapatiji Upadhyaya, Birla Sanskrit Vidyalaya, Benares.

Seconded by Pandit Venkateshwar Dikshitar, Bharati Vidyabhavan, Bombay.

(V) This Pandit Parishad recommends to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference that the Session of the Pandit Parishad be called on every occasion of the holding of the All-India Oriental Conference.

Moved by the Chair and carried unanimously.

(VI) This Pandit Parishad recommends to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference that the full report and the papers received by the Parishad be printed along with the report of and the papers received for the All-India Oriental Conference in the Volumes of the Report and the Proceedings of the same.

Moved by the Chair and carried unanimously.

(VII) This Pandit Parishad authorises the President M. M. Pt. Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi to appoint a committee of nine Pandits, representing as far as possible the different provinces, for fully examining and reporting on the question of the efficiency of the present system of instruction imparted in Sanskrit Pathashalas.

Proposed by Pandit Kaliprasad Misra, B. H. U.

Seconded by Pandit Purshottam Sharma Chaturvedi, Mayo College, Ajmer.

(VIII) This Pandit Parishad recommends to the Central as well as the Provincial Governments that a representative Committee of the Pandits to be appointed by the Dharmacharyas of India be consulted before embarking upon any legislation which would touch upon any question relating to Hindu social order.

Proposed by M, M. Pt. Anant Krishna Shastri, Calcutta.

Seconded by Pandit Purna Chandracharya, Benares.

APPENDIX 10.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE, 1944.

Abdul Muid Khan, Dr. M., Hyderabad Dn.
Abdur Rahman Khan, M., Begampet.
Ahmad, Khaja Mohamad, M. A., Hyderabad Dn.
Aiyangar, A. N. Krishna, Adyar.
Aiyangar, Rao Bahadur K. V. Rangaswami, Madras.
Aiyangar, D. B. S. Krishnaswami, Madras.
Krishnaswami, Bangalore.
Altekar, Dr. A S., Benares.
Apte, Dr. V. M., Deccan College, Poona.
Anklesaria, B. T., Bombay.
Aravamuthan, T. G., Madras.
Bapat, Dr. P. V. Poona 4
Bhattasali, N. K., Dacca.
Belwalkar, Rao Bahadur, Dr. S. K., Poona 4
Birdy, J. P., Bombay.
Bulsara S. J., Bombay.
Chaghtai, M. Abdullah., Poona.
Chattopadhyaya, K. Allahabad University.
Chaturvedi, S. P., Amaraoti.
Chettiar Dr. A. C., Annamalai University.
Chintamani, Dr. T. R., Madras University.
Dandekar, Dr. R. N., Poona 4
Daroowala; Dr. P. N. Bombay
De. Dr. S. K. Dacca University.
David, H. S. Jaffna. Ceylon,
Dikshit, Rao Bahadur K. N., Poona 4
Dikshitar, V. R. R., Madras University.
Divanji, P. C., Santa Cruz, Bombay.
Diwekar, H R., Gwalior.
Falk, Dr. Miss. M., Calcutta University.
Faruqui, L. A.
Fitter, K. A., Bombay.
Gadgil, V. A., Dadar, Bombay.
Ghoshal, Dr. U. N., Calcutta.
Godavarma, Dr. K., Trivandrum.
Gupta, Rai Bahadur, S. N., Lahore.
Gyani, R. G., Bombay.
Hamidullah, Dr. Hyderabad Dn.
Haq, Dr. A.

Heras, Rev. Father H., Bombay.
Husain, S. M. Dacca University.
Imam, B. Akhtr Biswas Road, Calcutt.
Iqbal Mohmud, Dr. Lahore.
Iyengar, H. Chennakesava.
Iyer, K.A. Subramania.
Kaikobad, Dastur Nosherwan Bombay.
Kane, P.V. M.M., Bombay 4
Kapadia, D. D., M. A. Poona 1.
Katabi, S. Gauhatti.
Katre, S.M. Dr. Poona 1.
Krishnmacharlu, Rao Bahadur C., Madras.
Lal, Dr. Brijmohan.
Majmudar, Dr. R. C. Calcutta.
Menon, Dr. C. A., Madras University.
Menon, N.M.. Madras.
Mirashi, Prof. V.V., Nagpur.
Nadvi, Sayyad Hussain, Osmania University.
Nainar, Dr. S.M.H. Madras University.
Nrayanaswami, Dr. V., Vepery, Madras.
Naizamuddin, Dr. M· Hydrabad Dn.
Pandey, Kulichandra., Dr., Lucknow University.
Paramasivan, S., Govt. Museum, Madras.
Petel, Dr. Manilal, Bombay.
Pillai, S V. Rao Saheb, Madras.
Pillai, Siwasundaram, B. A., B. L.
Potdar, D.V., Poona 2.
Pusalkar, Dr. A. D., Bombay.
Raghavan, M. D., Govt. Museum, Madras,
Raghavan, Dr. V., Madras University.
Raja, C. K.Dr. Madras University.
Raju, P.T. Dr., Waltair.
Ramkrishnaiya, K., Madras University.
Ramnayya, V.V. Dr. Madras.
Rao, R. Subba.
Rao, Rama M. M. A., Guntur.
Ray, Dr. H. C. Colombo.
Raychaudri, H.C., Dr., Calcutta.
Raychaudri, G. C ,Dr. Calcutta.
Reddy, Dr. C. R., Waltair.
Reu, B.N. M.M: Jodhpur.
Saksena, Dr. Babu Ram., Allahabad.
Sambamurthy, P.R., Madras University.
Sanaullah, Khan Bahadur M., Dehra Dun.
Sardesai, Dr. R. N., Poona 2

Sarup, Lakshman. Dr., Lahore.
Sastri, Hemchandra, Krishnanagar.
Sastri, Nilkantha., Madras University.
Sastri, P.P.S. Dr., Madras.
Sastri, V.A.R.
Seth, H.C. Dr., Amaroti.
Shah, H. A., Bombay.
Shahidullah, M. Dr., Dacca.
Shafi, Mohammad., Orental College, Lahore.
Sharma, Dr. A., Osmania University.
Sharma, S.D., Delhi.
Sharma, V.V.
Sherwani, H.K. Dr., Hyderabad.
Siddiqi, Dr. Abdus Sattar, Calcutta University.
Siddiqi, M.A.
Sircar, Dr. D.C., Calcutta.
Komayyaji, G.J., Vizoyapattam.
Srinivasachary, Rao Sahib C.S., Amrawatee.
Srinivasan, K.R.
Subramanian, A.R. Dr., Vizianagaram.
Sukthankar, Dr. V.S.
Tarapurwala, I.J.S. Dr.
Topa, Dr. I., Hyderabad Dn.
Upadhaya, A.N. Dr., Kolhapur.
Vaidya, Dr. P.L., Poona. 1
Valiuddin, Dr. M.
Varma, Sidheshwar. Dr., Allahabad.
Velankar, H.D., Bombay.
Venkataraman, K.R., Pudusottah.
Venkataraman, Y., Coconada.
Venkatesa Iyanagar, M., Banglore.
Yamunacharya, Mysore University.
Yazdany, G. Hydrabad.
Yousuf, S., Hyderabac Dn.
Zore, Dr. S.G.M., Osmanla University.

APPENDIX 11.

List of Members and Delegates.

The name of an Institute, if represented by a member, is given after his name.

1. Abhimanyu Munnalal, M. A., Benares.
2. Acharya, P., B.Sc, State Archæologist, Mayurbhanj State.
3. Acharya, Padmanarayana, M. A., Benares Hindu University.
4. Acharya Sri Jinvijayaji, Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay 7.
5. Adikarma, E. W, Principal, Anand Sastralaya, Kotte (Ceylon).
6. Advani Prahlad, Hyderabad (Sindh).
7. Agnihotri, V., M. A., Asst. Registrar, Govt. Sanskrit College, Benares.
8. Agrawala, V. S., Dr. Curator, Central Asian Antiquities Museum ; Delegate U. P. H. S., New Delhi.
9. Ahmad Zahiruddin, Dr., Osmania University, Hyderabad.
10. Aiyangar, Krishnaswami, 1226 Nagappai Extension, Srirampapuram, P. O. Maleswaram, Bengalore.
11. Aiyangar, K. V., Rangaswami M. A, Vasumati Villa, Rangachari Road, Mylapore, Madras.
12. Aiyar, F. G. Natesa, Rtd. D. T. S., S. I. Rly., Manohar Vila, Wontur, P. O. Trichinapoly.
13. Altekar, A. S., Dr., Benares Hindu University.
14. Aney, M. S., B. A., LL. B, Representative of the Govt. of India in Ceylon.
15. Anklesaria, B. T., M. A., 436 Apollo Street, Cama Institute, Bombay.
16. Anklesaria, Hosang T., Dhun Mansion, Frere Road, Bombay; Delegate, Cama Research Institute.
17. Anup Sanskrit Library, Librarian, Bikaner.
18. Apte, V. M., Dr., Prof. of Sanskrit; Delegate, Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona I.
19. Arvamuthan, T. G., B L., Advocate, 17 T. P. Coil Street, Triplicane, Madras.
20. Askari, Syed Hasan, M. A. B. L., History Dept, Patna College, Patna.
21. Athavale, V. B., Sriram Medical Store, Nasik.

22. Athavale Mrs., C/o Mr , V. B. Athvale.
23. Avinasmurti, S. N.
24. Azhar Ali S., Dr., Reader, Arabic & Urdu, Stephen's College; Delegate Delhi University.

25. Bagchi, P. C., Dr., China Bhavan, Shantiniketan.
26. Bahri, Hardev, Dr., Aitchison College, Lahore.
27. Balani, Chandra. Miss, Gidumal Sanskrit Pathshala, Hyderabad (Sindh).
28. Baloch, N. A., Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
29. Banerjee, S., M. A., Headmaster, Govt. High School, Mirzapore.
30. Bapat, P. V., Dr., Prof. Fergusson College, Poona 4, Delegate B. O. R. I.
31. Barua, B. Kumar, M. A. B. L., Prof., Cotton College, Gauhatti; Delegate, Assam Research Society.
32. Basu, Sudhir Kumar, Pleador, Chaukhambha, Benares.
33. Belvalkar, S. K., Dr., Bilva Kunj, Poona, 4; Delegate B. O. R. I., Poona.
34. Belvalkar, Mrs., C/o Dr. Belvalkar..
35. Bhandarkar, D. R., Dr., 2/1 Lovelock Street, Calcutta.
36. Bhatena, B. N., Govt. & Railway Contractors, 100 Nagdevi Street, Bombay 3.
37. Bhatt, Mariappa, Lecturer in Kanarese; Delegate, Madras University.
38. Bhatt, R. K., M. A., Prof. Baroda College; Delegate Baroda Govt.
39. Bhatt, R. K., M. A., Wilderness Road, Malabar Hill, Bombay.
40. Bhattacharya, B., Bhatpara, 24 Pargana.
41. Bhattacharya, Bijanbihari, Prof, Asutosh College, Calcutta.
42. Bhattacharya, H.D., M.A., Ph. D., Head of the Dept. of Philosophy, Delegate, Dacca University.
43. Bhattacharya, Janki Ballabh, Bhatpara.
44. Bhattacharya, S. P., Prof., 41 Russa Road, Tollyganj, Calcutta.
45. Bhattacharya, Sidheshwar, Pt., Fellow, Benares Hindu University.
46. Bhattacharya, Vidhushekhar, M. M. Shantiniketan, Bengal.
47. Bhatti, Mr., Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
48. Bhusari, R. M., Prof., Head of the Marathi Dept, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
49. Birdey Jal. P., Petit Orphanage, Parel, Bombay.

50. Bode, Dastur, Parsi High Priest, New Marine Lines, Bombay.
51. Bulsara, S. Jamsedjee, Near the College, Jogeshwar, Bombay.
52. Buddadath, A. P., Aggarama, P. O. Amalangoda, Ceylon.

53. Changhati, M. A., Deccan College, Poona I.
54. Channakesava, H., 1493, Katiral Raman Street, Mysore
55. Chatterjee, N. C., M. A., Mayurbhanj Fellow, Benares Hindu University.
56. Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar, Prof. 'Sadharma' 16, Hindustan Park, Rasbihari Avenue, Calcutta.
57. Chattopadhyaya, K., M. A., Lecturer, Sankrit Dept., Allahabad University.
58. Chaturvedi, S., M. A. B. T., Teachers' Training College, Benares.
59. Chaturvedi, S. P., Prof. K. E. College, Amaraoti.
60. Chaube, Ramkumar, M.A., Azmatgarh Palace, Benares
61. Chaudhari, Mr., Aligarh Muslim University, Aligarh.
62. Chaudhari Dr., J. B., 3 Federation Street, Calcutta.
63. Chaudhari, P. D., M. A., Curator, P. O. Gauhati; Delegate Asam Research Society.
64. Chaudhari, P. L., Jubbulpore.
65. Chettiar, Dr. A. Chidambar Nath, M. A.; Delegate Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
66. Chhabra, Dr. B. Ch., Office of the Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootacmund.
67. Chintamani, Dr. T. R., Reader in Sanskrit; Delegate, Madras University and Kamakotipith Jagadguru.
68. Chitrao, Sidheshva, Sastri, 58, Shanwar, Poona. 2.
69. Chou Tafu, Ph.D., C/o Cheena Bhavana, Shantiniketan.

70. Daftari, K. L., Dr., Mahal, Nagpur
71. Damle, D. C., M. A., 94, Sidhnivas, 3rd Lane, Hindu Colony, Bombay.
72. Dandekar, R. N. Dr.; Delegate, B. O. R. I., Poona 4.
73. Das, Ghanshyam, Rai Bahadur, Ghazipore.
74. Das, Sudhir Ranjan, M. A., 33, Tarachandra Dutt Street, Calcutta.
75. Daud, Mohammad C/o Dr. Iqbal Mohammad, Oriental College, Lahore.
76. Daulatram, Pandit, Gidumal Sanskrit Pathshala, Hyderabad, (Sindh).
77. Dayal, Rameshwar, Deputy Collector, Fyzabad.

78. De, S. K., Dr., Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit; Delegate, Dacca University, Dacca.
79. Deb, Harit Krishna, M. A., Calcutta.
80. Desai, J. M., Desai Street, Naosari; Delegate, Bazme Joshne Ruze Behram, Bombay.
81. Desai, M. M., M. A., Prof., Hindu University, Benares.
82. Deshpande, V. V., M. A., L. L. M., Prof., Benares Hindu University.
83. Deshpande, Y. K., B. A., L. L. B., Yeotmal.
84. Devasthali, G. V., M. A., Prof. H. P. T. College, Nasik.
85. Dikshit, K. N., M. A., Rao Bahadur, Director General of Archaeology in India, Simla; Delegtae, Government of India and Greater India Socity.
86. Dikshit, S. V., M. A., Shanti Building, First Floor, Kandewadi, Bombay.
87. Dikshitar, T. A., Venkatesa; Delegate Bhartiya, Vidya Bhavan, Bombay.
88. Dikshitar, T. R. V., Delegate, Sanskrit Academy and Madras University.
89. Director, Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.
90. Diskalkar, D. B., M. A., Curator, Museum, Indore.
91. Divanji, P. C., Rao Bahadur, Prerana, Ghodbundar Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay; Delegate, B. O. R. I.
92. Divekar, Prof. H. R., M. A., Ujjain
93. Dravid, P. Venkatesh, B. A., A. T. C., Meston High School, Ramnagar; Delegate, Benares State.
94. Dubash, K. Jamsedji, The Iran League, Bombay.
95. Dubash, K. K., Mrs., C/o Mr. Dubash K. Jamsedji.
96. Dutt, Kali Kinkar, M. A., Ph. D., Patna College, Patna.
97. Dvivedi, Hazari Prasad, Santiniketan, Bengal.

98. Fitter, Mr. K. A., Secretary, Iran League, Bombay.
99. Fitter, Mrs., C/o Mr. Fitter.
100. Falk, M. Dr. Miss, Lecturer in Slavonik Languages, Calcutta University; Delegate, Polish Government.

101. Gadgil, V. A., M. A., 79 Arundh Nivas, Hindu Colony, Dadar, Bomba;y Delegate, B. B. R. A. S.
102. Gajendragadkar, S. N., M. A., Mangesh Bulding, New Bhatwadi, Bombay.
103. Ganguli, D. C., Dr., 4 Hemendra Das Road; Delegate Dacca University.
104. Ganguli, K., 12th Gopal Chandra Bose Lane, Calcutta.

105. Ganguli, O. C., Bageshwari Prof. of Indian Fine Arts, Calcutta University; Delegate, Greater India Society.
106. Garde, M. P., Director of Archaeology and Delegate Gwalior State, Gwalior.
107. Ghanekar, B. G., Dr., M. B. & B. S., Benares Hindu University.
108. Gharpure, J. R., Principal Law College, Poona 4.
109. Gharpure, V. G., Mr., Bombay.
110. Ghatge, A. M., Dr., Sykes Extension, Kolhapur.
111. Ghosh, A., M. A., Asst. Suptd. of Publications, Archaeological Survey of India, New Delhi.
112. Glasque Clarence, Srinagar, Kashmir.
113. Godavari Rukti T. Mrs., Gidumal Sanskrit Pathshala, Hydarabad (Sindh.)
114. Gode, P. K., M. A., Curator Bhandarkar Institute, Poona 4.
115. Gore, N. A., M. A., Prof., S. P. College, Poona.
116. Gore, Vimala, Mrs. C/o Prof. Gore, Poona.
117. Guha, B. A , Dr., Zoological Survey of India, Kaiser Castle, Benares Cantt ; Delegate Govt. of India.
118. Gujrat Vernacular Society, Secretary, Ahmedabad.
119. Gupta, Chandrabhan, M.A., Research Student, Benares Hindu University.
120. Gupta, Om Prakash, Research Scholar, Hindi . Dept, Allahabad University.
121. Gupta, P. C,, Dr., 125 Rashbihari Avenue, Calcutta.
122. Gupta, Ram Kishore, Dr., Gorakhpur, U. P.
123. Gurubaxani Lakshmi, Miss, Gidumal Sanskrit Pathshala, Hydrabad, Sindh.
124. Gurunath, M. M., Brahman Colony, 52, Tuticorin.
125 Gyani, R. G., M. A., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1.; Delegate, B. B. R. A. S. and Prince of Wales Museum.

126. Hamdani, V. A., Dr., Junagadh, Kathiawar.
127. Harshe, R.G., Dr.; Delegate Deccan College Post-Graduate Research Institute, Poona I.
128. Harshe, Mrs., M. A., C/o Dr. Harshe.

129. Head Master, Gidumal Sanskrit Pathasala, Hydrabad Sindh.
130. Heras, H., Prof., Xavier College, Bombay.
131. Hirlekar, Miss., M. A., Lecturer, Delegate Allahabad University.

132. Homji, N. D., 137 Russi Villa, 803 Vincent Road,

133. Iqbal Husain Dr., Lalbagh, P. O. Mahendru, Patna ; Delegate, Patna University.
134. Iqbal Mohammad. Dr; Delegate, Punjab University.
135. Irani M.A., Lt, Col (Rtd), 21 Sasso'n Road, Poona I.
136. Ishwar Dutt, Dr.; Delegate, Patna University.
137. Iyer, K. A. Subramaniam, Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit & Hindi; Delegate, University of Lucknow.

138. Jagannath, M.A., Lecturer, 10 Bhagwant Street, Lodge Road, Lahore.
139. Jain, H. L., M. A. Prof. Morris College, Nagpur ; Delegate, Nagpur University.
140. Jain, Rajendra Kumar, Chaurasi, Muttra.
141. Jain, Sunder Lal, Proprietor, Motilal Benarasi Das Oriental Booksellers, Said Mitha Bazar, Lahore.
142. Jaini, R. S., Prof. of Sanskrit Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.
143. Jalan, Radhakrisha, D. B., Quilla House, Patna City.
144. Javeri, K. M., Diwan Bahadur, Pitale House, Kandewadi Bombay 4, Delegate Women's University Poona and Cama Reasearch Inst, Bombay.
145. Jha, Ram Nath M. A., B. L., Kavyatirtha, Librarian P. O. Darbhauga.
146. Jha, Sri Nath, Queen's College, Benares.
147. Jharkhiande, S. N., M. A., Librarian, Queen's College, Benares.
148. Jinvijayaji, Acharya, C/o Gujrat Vernacular Society, Ahmadabad.
149. Jigyasu Brahma Datt.
150. Jivalium Gopi, Miss., Gidumal Sanskrit Pathshala, Hydrabad, Sindh.
151. Joardar, N. G. D. Residency Hill, Lucknow.
152. Joshi, C. V., M. A., Prof. of Pali, Baroda College, Baroda.
153. Joshi, D. P., M. A., Professor, Rajkot.
154. Joshi, M. V., Nichibag, Benares.
155. Joshi, S.J., Sanskrit Dept. Benares Hindu University.
156. Joshi, Mrs. S., B.A., C/o Principal S.S. Joshi, Benares Hindu University.

157. Kadir, Student, Aligarh M. University.
158. Kalamkar, Mrs. Lecturer, Women's College, B.H. U.

159. Kane, P.V., M. M., M. A.,LL.M., Angrewadi, Bombay 4; Delegate P. E. N. Association, Bombay, Bombay University., B. B. R. A. S. and B. O. R. I.
160. Kanga, E. M. F., D/10 Cusra Baug, Colaba Causeway, Fort, Bombay; Delegate B.O.R.I., and B.B.R. A.S.
161. Kanga, J.D. Khan Bahadur, Homeland, P. O., Naosari via Bombay, Delegate, B. O. R. I.
162. Kapadiya, D. D., M. A., Professor, 6 Staunton Road, Poona I ; Delegate B. O. R. I.
163. Karandikar, J. S., Editor Kesari, Poona. 2.
164. Karmarkar, A. P., M. A., LL. B., Ph. D., B. O. R. I., Poona 4.
165. Karunakarkar, Prof. Ravenshaw College, P. O. Chaubaganj, Cuttack.
166. Katgara, J. P.. The Iran League, Bombay.
Catgara Shirin J., Mrs. C/o Mr. Katgara.
167. Karnik, H. R., Dr. C/o Prof. H. D. Velankar, 10/2 Sastri Hall, Bombay 7.
168. Kashikar, C. G., Tilak Memorial, Poona, 2.
169. Kashyap, Bhikshu Jagdish, Benares Hindu University.
170. Katrak, J. C. B. A., Fairy Manor, 4th Floor, Fort, Bombay.
171. Katre,´S.L., Asst. Curator, Oriental Institute, Ujjain.
172. Katre, S. M. Dr., Director, Deccan College Poona.
173. Kaviraj Gopinath, M.M , M.A., Sigra, Benares.
174. Khalida, A. Nasir Mohammad, History Dept. Osmania University, Hyderabad.
175. Khalique, M. A., Anglo Arabic College. Delhi.
176. Khan Ayaz Ali, Maulvi, Superintendant, Archæology, Rewa.
177. Khwaja, Mohammad Ahmad, Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad, Deccan.
178. Kibe, M. V. Sardar, Saraswati Niketan, Indore.
179. Krishna, M. H. Dr., Director of Archaeology, Mysore.
180. Krishna, Mrs. C/o Dr. Krishna, Mysore.
181. Krishna, Das, Rai, Ramghat, Benares.
182. Krishnanad, Principal, D. A. V. College, Benares.
183. Krishnamacharlu, C. R., Rao Bahadur, Tyagaraynagar, Madras.
184. Krishnamacharlu, Mrs., C/o Mr. Krishnamacharlu.
185. Kundanagar, K. S., Prof. Rajaram College, Kolhapur.
186. Kunhan Raja, C. Dr., Madras University ; Delegate, Sanskrit Academy.
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192. Laxmi Narsimhaya, M., Asst. Prof. of Sanskrit, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
193. Librarian, The Imperial Library, Calcutta.
194. Li Fang-kuei Ph. D., Academia Sinica, Nanking, China ; Delegate, Chinese Government.

195. Majumdar, M.R., Dr., Prof. of Gujrati, Baroda College, Pratapganj, Baroda.
196. Majumdar, R. C., Dr., 4 Bipin Pal Road, Kalighat, Calcutta; Delegate R. A. S. B.
197. Mama Nanabhoy F., C/o Mr. Bode, New Marine Lines Bombay.
198. Mehta, Nawroz C., The Iran League, Bombay.
199. Mehta, S. N. Mrs. C/o Mr. Mehta.
200. Mendis, G. C. Prof., Delegate University of Ceylon, Colombo.
201. Menon, Abdul Aziz, Delegate, Muslim University, Aligarh.
202. Menon, C. Achyuta, Head of the Malayalam Dept. ; Delegate, University of Madras.
203. Menon, C. N. Dr , Benraes Hindu University.
204. Mehta, Mani H., Bombay.
205. Mirashi, V. V., Principal, Morris College, Nagpur.
206. Mirza, H. P., Dr,, The Iran League, Bombay.
207. Mishra, B. R., Dr., Benares Hindu University.
208. Mishra, Hari Ram, Reserach Scholar, Benares Hindu University.
209. Misra, Keshava Prasad, M. A., Head of the Dept. of Hindi, Benares Hindu University.
210. Mitra, K. P., Prof., The Diamond Jubilee College, Monghyr.
211. Mishra, Umesh, Dr., Delegate, University of Allahabad.
212. Modi, P. M., Dr., Prof. of Sanskrit, Panwal Waghadi Road, Bhavanagar.
213. Mookerji, R. K., Dr, Lucknow University, Lucknow; Delegate, U. P. H. S.

214. Moti Chandra, Dr., Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.
215. Mubark Khan, Mr.
216. Mubaraquddin, A., M. A., Research Scholar, Osmania University, Hyderabad.
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218. Mughni, Abdul Mohamad, Prof. of Persian; Delegate Maharaja's College Jodhpur.
219. Murti, T. R. V., M. A., Philosophy Dept., Benares Hindu University.

220. Nag, Mrs. C/o Prin. U. C. Nag, Benares Hindu University.
221. Nagar, M. M., M. A., Curator, Curzon Museum of Archaeology, Mathura ; Delegate U. P. H. S.
222. Nagar, H. L., Rly. Clearing Account Office, S.T. N.W. Section, Delhi.
223. Nainar, Prof. Dr., Delegate Madras University.
224. Nandimath, Dr., Principal, Lingraj College, Belgaum.
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236. Pande, K. C., Dr., Delegate, Lucknow University, Lucknow.
237. Pande, L. P., Delegate, Mahakoshal Research Society Balapur, C. P
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239. Pant, Trilochan, M. A., Benares Hindu University.
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243. Parihar, Mulraj, Mr., Allahabad.
244. Parmanand, Principal, M. A., Queen's College, Benares.
245. Pathak, B.A., Principal, M.B. & B.S., Aurvedic College, Benares Hindu University.
246. Pawar, A. G., M.A., Ph. D., Prof. of History & Economics, Rajaram College., Kolhapur.
247. Pillai, R.F. Sethu, Senior Lecturer in Tamil; Delegate University of Madras.
248. Pillai, Vaiyapuri S., D. A., Rao Saheb, Reader in Tamil, Delegate, University of Madras, Madras.
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252. Prasad, Ajit, Pandit., Ex-Judge, High Court, Bikaner, Ajiteshwar, Lucknow.
253. Prasad, Maulavi Mahesh, Benares Hindu University.
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255. Qureishi, Dr.. Punjab University, Lahore.

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259. Rajkumar, Sahityacharya, Pt. Tikamgarh.
260. Rajnath, Dr., Benares Hindu University.
261. Rajpipala, State Archæologist.
262. Raju, P.T., Prof. Andhra Univeresity, Guntur, 2nd Line Brodigpet, Guntur.
263. Ramkrishnayya, K., Delegate, Madras University.
264. Ramakantachary, G., Baptla, Guntur.
265. Ramanathan, G. S., B. A., Head Clerk, Govt. Epigraphist for India, Ootucmund.

266. Ram Rao M. ,Dr., Editor, The Jornal of Andhra History & Culture, Gutur, Madras. Pres.
267. Ranganna, S. V., Prof. of English, Central College Banglore.
268. Rao, H. Gunde, Vachaspati, Gadwal State, Hyderabad, Deccan.
269. Rao, Kshama, Mrs. 37 New Marine Lines, Bombay.
270. Rao, Prannesh Singh.
271. Rashid, Shaikh Abdur, M. A., Aligarh Muslim University.
272. Rath, P. G., B. A., Suptd. of Archaeology, Patna State, P. O..Balangir, (Orissa)
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274. Ray, Sarat Kumar, Prof., M. A., Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi.
275. Reddi, M. A., LL. B., Delegate, Andhra Historical Society, Rajamundry.
276. Reu, Bisheshwarnath, M. M., Archœological Dept., Delegate, Jodhpur State.
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279. Somi, Abdul Modi, Mysore.
280. Sandesara, Bhogilal, M. A., Professor, Delegate Gujrat Vernacular Society, Ahmedabad.
281. Sankrityayan, Rahul, Moscow.
282. Sarvari, Abdul Kadir, Maharaja's College, Mysore.
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284. Sastri, Mahadeva, Research, Scholar.
285. Sastri, Subhadra Jha., Mithila College, Darbhanga.
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289. Sen, Kshitimohan, Santiniketan, Bengal.
290. Sen, Priya Ranjan, Calcutta.
291. Sen, Shri Narayan, Dr. Keeper, Nepal Museum, Kathmandu.
292. Sen, S. N. Dr., Keeper of Imperial Archives, New Dehli.
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300. Shah M. H., Mrs. C/o Mr. Shah.
301. Shah, A. H. C/o Mr. Shah.
302. Shah, T. L. C/o Shashikant & Co. Oriental publishers Baroada.
303. Shahidullah Mohammad, Dr., Delegate, Dacca University, Dacca.
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308. Sharma, K. Venkateshwara, M. A., B. Sc, Supervisor, University Mss. Librasy, Trivendrum.
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310. Sharma, Ramchandra.
311. Sharma, Ramdhan, Prof., Dehli.
312. Sharma, Ram narayan, Pt., Bihar Sanskrit Association, Patna.
313. Sharma, Ram Swarup, 52 G. Model Town, Lahore.
314. Sharma, R. Ranjan, Univesity of Dacca.
315. Sharma, Shiva Datt, Delhi.
316. Sharma, Shiva Nath, Account Clerk, Head Office, Railway Clearing Office, Delhi.
317. Sharma, Sriram, M. A., Principal, D. A. V. College Srinaagar.
318. Sharma, Sushila. Miss., Allhabad, University Student.
319. Sharma, Upendra, Prof., Guntur, Madras.
320. Shastri, C. P., Principal. Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya, Indore.
321. Shastri, Harishankar Omkar, Lakhtur State.
322. Shastri, Hemchandara Prof., Krishna Nagar College, Krishnanagar.
323. Shastri Mangal Deva. Dr., Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares.

324. Shastri R.M., M.A., Vidyabhushan, Lecturer in Sanskrit. University of Allahabad, Allahabad.
325. Shastri Tribuvan Das, L.M.S., C/o. Sushikant & Co. Oriental Publishers Baroda.
326. Shastri Venkatesh, Teacher, Meston High School, Ramnagar-Benares.
327. Shen Sampson, International Dept., Ministry of Information, Nanking China.
328. Shendè N.J., Prof. N., Wadia College, Poona I.
329. Shende S.R., Brihanmaharashtriya Karyalaya, Sangli.
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331. Singh Fateh, D. Litt. Kotah.
332. Singh Kshem Dhari, Balia.
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336. Sitaramji K., Hyderabad.
337. Somasundaram J. N., B. A. B. L., C/o Dandapani Devasthana; Palni, Madras Presidency.
338. Somasundaram, Mrs. c/o Mr. Somasundaram.
339. Sri. Vallabhacharya, Swami Narayan Temple, Junagadh State, (Kathiawar)
340. Srinivasachari P., Dr., Professor, S.R.R. College, Bezvada.
341. Srinivasachariar, C.S., M.A., Prof, Delegate, Annamalai University, Annamalainagar.
342. Srinivasacharya, Pulligami Mahavidyalaya, Gadval State via Raichur.
343. Srinivasan K.R., M.A., Curator. State Museum, Puddukkottai.
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358. Tomar, Ramsingh, Research Scholar, Allahabad University, Allahabad,
359. Treasurer, Municipal Board, Allahabad.
360. Tripathi Karunapati, M.A., Pandit, Skt. Dept., Benares Hindu University.
361. Trivedi H.V., 100 Rambagh, Indore.

362. Unwala J.M., Dr., Mariampura, Naosari, via Bombay.
363. Upadhye A.N., Dr., Prof. Rajaram College, Kolhapur Delegate, Karnatak History Research Society, and B.O.R.I.
364. Upadhyaya B.S., C/o Mr. A.U. Vasvada, Benares Hindu University.
365. Upadhyaya, Veermani, M. A., Sanskrit Dept., Hindu University.
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367. Usmani Zafa Ahmad Maulana, Lecturer in Arabic., Delegate, Dacca University, Dacca.

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372. Vatsa M. S., MA., Archaeological Superintendent, Agra.
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376. Venkatraman Y., Secretary, Telgu Academy, Coconada.
377. Viraghavacharya E. V., Professor, Pitapur Raja's College, Coconada, Delegate, Telugu Academy.

378. Waidya P.L., Dr., Professor, Wadia College, Poona 1. Delegate, B.B.R.A.S.
379. Wali M. P., M. A., Chief Executive Officer, District Board, Belgaum.
380. Wijesekera, N. D., B. A., (Hons), M. A. (Cantab), Penukurn No. 5 Cotta Terrace, Borella, Ceylon.

381. Yajnik R.K., Principal, Dharmendra Singhji's College Rajkote, Kathiawar.
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383. Yennemadi Mrs. M. A., Ruiya College, Matunga, Bombay.
384. Yusuf S. M., Dr., Arbic Department, Aligarh Muslim University.

385. Zadan Kamala Miss., Student, Allahabad University.

APPENDIX 12.

Statements of Accounts.

Final Statement of Accounts by the Local Secretary of the Tenth Session, Tirupati.

SUMMARY OF ACCOUNTS AS ON THE 5TH DECEMBER, 1943.

Income.

		Rs.	as.	p.
1.	Reception Committee Membership Fees	744	12	0
2.	Subscriptions (Membership and Delegation fees)	2,827	10	6
3.	Donations	6,113	13	11
4.	Miscellaneous Receipts	281	12	6
5.	Andhra Parishad	259	15	0
	Total	10,232	15	11

Expenditure.

		Rs.	as.	p.
1.	Stationary and printing	3,002	14	0
2.	Boarding and Catering	2,055	11	1
3.	Conveyances and Travelling Expenses	1,822	2	6
4.	Postage and Telegrams	536	13	10
5.	Entertainments	101	4	0
6.	Pandals, Decorations and Lighting	370	4	2
7.	Sanitation and Cleaning	160	15	3
8.	Establishment	476	9	5
9.	Miscellaneous	796	7	2
	Total	9,323	1	5
	Balance ...	909	14	6
	Amount transferred by cheque to Prof. K.A. Nilkanta Sastri, General Secretary, at his request with the approval of the President.	900	0	0
	Balance at the P.M.C. Bank Ltd., Madras.	9	14	6

Vasumati Vilas,
Rangachari Road,
Mylapore, Madras.

K.V. Rangaswami Aiyangar,
Local Secretary.

ACCOUNTS OF THE CENTRAL OFFICE.

Report on the Financial Position Submitted by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar (President)

The late Honorary Treasurer of the Conference, Dr. V.S. Sukthankar, took charge of his office in February 1942 from his predecessor in office, Raobahadur K. V. Rangaswami. Dr. Sukthankar died suddenly on the 21st. of January, 1943. The amount that he held as Hon. Treasurer was in all Rs. 9150-15-6, from out of which Rs. 5640 were invested in purchasing postal cash certificates of the face value of Rs. 6400; the balance, less annas 15 and pies six only withdrawn for petty expenecs, is just Rs. 3510. After I took over the papers, files and Savings Bank Account Book of the Imperial Bank of India, I wrote to the Agent, Imperial Bank of India, Poona Branch, on the 4th October to which I received the Bank's reply No. 7612, the dated 6th October, 1943. Both these are submitted herewith, along with the accounts book for instructions of the Executure Committee. (Letters and account books are not included in the Proceedings.)

(2) The Local Secretary of the Trivendrum conference has submitted a final statement of accounts of the Session showing a balance of Rs. 909-14-6. All liabilities are cleared up and this sum is now available for amalgamation with the general funds of the conference. The details of the amount are as follows :—

Rs. 100/- To the General Secretary, Madras;
Rs. 800/- With the President;
Rs. 9-14-6 with the Local Secretary, Tirupati.
Rs. 909-14-6.

(3) The account statement of the Sale proceeds of the Conference Reports is submitted herewith, showing Rs. 925-11-6 with Savings Bank, Rs. 5-7-3 as cach on hand and Rs. 40-12-0 for bills to be paid, thus showing a net credit of Rs. 890-6-9. Thus on the date of submitting this statement the conference has to its credit :—

1. Rs. 809-14 6
2. Rs. 890--6--9
3. Rs. 3510-0-0

Rs. 5210-5-3/- plus Cash Certificates of the face value of Rs. 6400/-

(4) Regarding the amount standing in the personal name of Dr. Sukthankar, it is expected that there would be no difficulty in recovering the amount, once the probate is granted.

Dated 30th December, 1943.

Statement of Accounts of the All-India Oriental Conference Volumes in stock at the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute upto December, 1943.

Receipts	Expenditure
1. Balance in Savings Bank on 2-4-1941 .... Rs. 878-6-10	1. Remuneration to clerk, in part....Rs. 205-0-0
	2. Postage, stationery etc. ...,, 79-3-9
2. Interest upto 30-6-1943 .... ,, 27-10-0	3. Miscellaneous ....,, 10-5-0
	294-8-9
3. 2/3rd sale proceeds added for the year ending 31-3-1942 .... ,, 177-5-4	Bills to pay
	1. Balance of remuneration to clerk....Rs. 25-0-0
2/3rd sale proceeds added for the year ending 31-3-43 .... ,, 142-5-4	2. A.B. Press Bill. No. 847 ... ... ,, 1-4-0
	3. Stationery ... ,, 9-8-0
	4. Miscellaneous. ,, 5-0-0
	Rs. 40-12-0
Total. Rs. 1225-11-6	Actual expenditure .... Rs. 294-8-9
	Balance with the Bank Rs. 925-11-6
	Balance with the President Rs. 5-7-3
	Total Rs. 1225-11-6

S. K. Belvalkar

27-12-43

Copy of Statement of Accounts of the All-India Oriental Conference at Poona up to 20th August 1944.

S. No.	Items.	Rs.	a.	p.	Total. Rs.	a.	p.
I.	*Receipts.*						
	Opening balance:–						
	(a) Postal Cash Certificates (See debit side No. 1 & 2)	5670	0	0	5670	0	0
	(b) Cash balance:–						
	1. With Imperial Bank, Madras.	11706	8	2			
	2. With Mylapore Urban Bank	*8	6	6			
	3. Balance of Tirupati Session	*900	0	0	12614	14	8
II.	*Donations* from						
	1. U. P. Govt.	1000	0	0			
	2. Jammu & Kashmir Govt. (See debit side item Nos. 5 & 6)	2500	0	0	3500	0	0
	3. Proceedings of the Cash Certificates of face value of Rs. 5670 (See debit side item No. 1)	5655	4	0			
	4. Money received from Hydrabad out of donations (See debit side item No. 5.)	3495	11	6			
	5. Money received from Treasurer, Tirupati (see debit side item No. 3)	800	0	0			

*As per letters from Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Ayyangar, dated 14-2-44 and 1-3-1944. Since transfarred to Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, Madras.

		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
	6. Interest on S.B. A/c with Poona Imperial Bank up to 31-12-1943	57	0	0	10007	15	6
III.	*Current*						
	1. Balance with Poona Central Cooperative Bank on 2-4-1941.	878	6	10			
	2. 2/3 of Sale Proceeds of Conference Beports from B.O.R. Institute up to 31.3.1943	319	10	8			
	3. Interest on S.B. A/c up to 30.6.44	37	1	0	1235	2	6
	Total receipts				33028	0	8

(Sd.) S.K. Belvalkar,
President, Benares
Session.

A Statement of Accounts of the All-India Oriental Conference at Poona up to 20th August 1944.

S. No.	Items.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
	Expenditure.						
1.	Proceedings of Cash Certificates of face value of Rs. 5670 to Poona (Dr. V. S. Sukthankar) See Receipt item No. II-3	5655	4	0			
2.	Bank Commission for collection	14	12	0	5670	0	0
3.	Amount transferred to Poona (see credit side item No. II-5,	800	0	0			
4.	Advance to Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri.	100	0	0	900	0	0
5.	Bank draft from Hyderabad out of Rs. 3500 (see credit side No. II-1 & 2 in late Dr. Sukthankar's name)	3495	11	6			
6.	Bank Commission for collection	4	4	6	3500	0	0
7.	Purchase of Cash Certificates of face value of Rs. 6400/-	5640	0	0			
8.	Bank Commission	0	15	6	5640	15	6
9.	Advance to Prof. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri.	400	0	0			
10.	Advance to Prof. P. V. Kane	75	0	0			
11.	Advance to Dr. R.N. Dandekar	325	0	0	800	0	0

Current.

	Rs. a. p.	Rs. a. p.
1. Ramuneration to a Clerk at Poona for 11 months, ending 31-12-1942	110 0 0	
2. Do. for one year ending 31st December 1943	120 0 0	
3. Postage, Stationery at Poona up to 31-12-1943	89 15 9	
4. Miscellaneous up to 31-12-43	25 5 3	
5. Balance at Poona Central Cooperative Bank on 18.8.1944	889 13 6	1235 2 6
Total Expenditure		17746 2 6
Balance on 20.8.1944		15281 14 8
		30028 0 8

(Sd.) S. K. Belvalkar,
President, Benares
Session.

Details of Balance :

I. Postal cash certificates Rs. 6400

II. Cash Balance Rs. a. p.

(a) With Imperial Bank, Madras 11706-8-2
(b) With. Mylapore Urban Bank *8-6-6
(c) With Imperial Bank, Poona City Branch (S. B. Account in late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's name) 3567-0-0
(d) With Poona Central Co-operative Bank (S. B. account) see item No. 5 (Current debit side) @ 889-13-6

* Since transferred to prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri
@ Since transferrad to Dr. R. N. Dandekar, General Secretay, All-India Oriental Conference, Poona.

Poona 4.
12-9-1944.

(Sd.) S. K. Belvalkar,
President,
Benares Session.

T R U E C O P Y

K. A. N. Shstri,
General Secretary.

Interim Statement of Accounts.

The 12th All-India Oriental Conference, Benares Hindu University.

(Up to 23 - 9 - 1946)

INCOME.

		Rs. as. p.
1.	Membership fee.	3883 -0-0
2.	Reception Committee.	5401 -0-0
3.	Donations	7622-12-0
		16906-12-0

EXPENSES.

		Rs. as. p.
1.	Stationery and printing.*	3083 -0 -9
2.	Postage. *	325 - 6-2
3.	Establishment. *	335 - 3-0
4.	Accommodation.	900 - 9-6
5.	Boarding.	2913- 4-0
6.	At-Homes and Parties.	2199- 0-0
7.	Entertainment.	180- 0-0
8.	Pandit Parishad.	2832-8-0
9.	Opening function.	66-2-0
10.	Volunteers.	55-0-0
11.	Convyances. *	222-3-9
12.	T.A. to President	246-0-0
13.	Contingencies. *	281-2-0
14.	Returned to the Hony. Treasurer, Oriental Conference, (Life Membership fee).	90-0-0
		13699-7-9
	Balance.	3207-4-3
		16906-12-0

(* Till December 1945)

A.S. Altekar — Local Hony. Secretary.

S. C. Dasgupta — Loacal Hony. Treasurer.



PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

TWELFTH SESSION

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY

1943-44

VOLUME II

Edited and published for the Conference

by

Dr. A. S. ALTEKAR M.A. LL.B., D Litt.
THE LOCAL SECRETARY.

BENARES HINDU UNIVERSITY.
1946

[Price Rs. 10/-

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Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,
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PREFACE TO VOLUME II.

I very much regret that owing to abnormal circumstances created by the last World War and its aftermath, it has not yet been possible to publish the entire volume of the Proceedings of the 12th Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It took nearly nine months to procure the necessary paper from the Supply Authorities. The work of printing could proceed only slowly. Proofs were being sent in the beginning to the various authors scattered all over India, and it often took long time to receive them back. Some scholars were so busy that they could not find time to return the proofs for weeks. From p. 360 onwards it was therefore decided with reluctance not to send any proofs to their authors with a view to expedite the printing. This hope however could not materialise owing to labour troubles that started soon after the end of the World War. Efforts to expedite printing by dividing the work among several presses proved unsuccessful. Papers of the Iranian Section were sent to a well known press in Bombay, which had the necessary Pahalvi types. This press along with the papers was however burnt down by accident and the papers had to be written afresh. Papers in Urdu script were sent to Lahore in the hope that they would be speedily printed there. This hope also did not materialise. Formal part of the Proceedings was entrusted to a fourth press, which promised to finish the work in three months. This undertaking also could not be translated into action.

I have therefore decided to issue this Interim Volume before the Nagpur Session of the Conference. It consists of the Welcome Address, the Inaugural Address, the Address of the General President, all the Addresses of the Sectional Presidents, and all the papers in the Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Religion and Philosophy, Pali and Buddhism, Prakrit and Jainism, and History, Geography, Ethnology and Folk-Lore Sections. The Volume covers 586 pages and I trust that the members of the Conference will take it as an earnest of what we intend to do in the near future.

Half of the formal part of the Proceedings have been printed and the remaining half will be soon in type. Papers in Urdu script in the Islamic Culture and Arabic and Persian Sections are only awaiting the print order. All other papers have been composed on the mono machine and remain to be cast in type. It is hoped that the remaining part of the Proceedings, which will cover about 400 pages, will be out before April 1947.

Benares Hindu University. A. S. ALTEKAR

1-10-1946 *Local Secretary*

CONTENTS OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

PART II : PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

PAGE

WELCOME ADDRESS: By Sir S. Radhakrishnan, D. Litt., LL. D., F. B. A., Chairman of the Reception Committee. ... 1

INAUGURAL SPEECH : By the Hon'ble Mahārājādhirāja Sir Kameshwar Singh of Darbhanga. 6

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT : By Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph. D., Poona. 9

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, VEDIC SECTION : By Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras. 23

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, IRANIAN SECTION : By Dr. J. M. Unvala, Ph. D., (Heidelberg, Germany), Naosari. 36

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, ISLAMIC SECTION : By Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, M.A., LL.B. (Aligarh), Ph.D. (London), University of Madras. 58

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION : By Prof. Mohmad Iqbal, Oriental College, Lahore. 68

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, SANSKRIT SECTION : By Mahamahopadhyaya P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M., Bombay. ... 76

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY SECTION : By Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra, M.A., D.Litt., Allahabad University. 79

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION : By Dr. P.V. Bapat, Prof. of Pali, Fergusson College, Poona. ... 99

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, PRAKRITS AND JAINISM : By Dr. H. L. Jain, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt., Prof. of Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagpur. 131

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, INDIAN HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLK-LORE : By Dr. H. C. Ray, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (London.), D.Litt. (Lond.), Prof. and Head of the Department of History, University of Ceylon. 147

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHAEOLOGY : By Rao Bahadur C.R. Krishnamacharlu, B.A., Tyagarayanagar, Madras. 159

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, LINGUISTIC SECTION : By Dr. S. K. De, Prof. of Sanskrit, Dacca University. 169

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, TECHNICAL SCIENCES : By Prabodh Chandra Sengupta, M.A., formerly Prof. of Mathematics, Bethume College, Calcutta, sometime Lecturer in Indian Astronomy and Mathematics, Calcutta University. 180

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, HINDI SECTION : By the late Rai Bahadur Dr. Syamsundar Das, Benares. 193

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS, PANDIT PARISHAD : By Mahamahopadhyaya Giridhar Sharma Chaturvedi, Jaipur. 197

PART III : PAPERS
VEDIC SECTION.

DYĀVĀPṚTHIVĪ : By the late Dr. Shama Sastry, Mysore. 206

PAGE

ĀPRĪ HYMNS IN THE ṚGVEDA: By PROF. K. R. Potdar, M.A., Elphinstone College, Bombay. 211

A FAMILY HYMN OF THE AGASTYAS : By H. D. Velankar, Wilson College, Bombay. 223

THE ṚGVEDIC THEORY OF POETRY : By P. S. Sastri, M.A., Raipur. 232

THE LEGEND OF PRAJĀPATI'S ILLICIT PASSION FOR HIS DAUGHTER—THE SKY OR THE DAWN : By Prof. H.R. Karnik, M.A., Ph.D., Khalsa College, Matunga (Bombay). 240

THE PROBLEM OF MĀDHAVA IN THE ṚGVEDIC COMMENTARIES : By S. J. Joshi, M.A., Sanskrit Department, Benares Hindu University. 249

UNTRACED QUOTATIONS IN SĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ṚGVEDA : By C. G. Kashikar, Poona. ... 261

SANSKRIT SECTION

THE PĀRIJĀTA AND THE MADANA-PĀRIJĀTA : By MM. P.V. Kane, Bombay. 267

THE BHĀGAVṚTTI AND ITS AUTHOR : By Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya, Presidency College, Calcutta. 273

VIDYĀPATI, A MAITHILI WRITER ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA : By B. Bhattacharya, M.A., B.L., Kāvyatīrtha. 288

REVIEW OF VĀṄMAYA VIVEKA OF CINTĀMAṆI MIŚRA : By Prof. K.Kar, Ravenshaw College, Cuttack. ... 298

AN UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY ON THE DVĀDAŚAMAÑJARIKĀ STOTRA OF ŚAṄKARA : By A. S. Natarajan Ayyar, B.A., M.L., Chidambaram. 305

THE DECLARATION OF A ŚARAYANTRĪ : By Pandit Ramanatha Jha, M.A., B.L., Kāvyatīrtha, Librarian, Raj Darbhanga. ... 309

DHANAÑJAYA AND ABHINAVAGUPTA ON ŚĀNTA RASA : By Dr. K. C. Pandey, Lucknow University. ... 326

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PORTION FROM THE PARIKARA ALAÑKĀRA UP TO THE END OF KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA : By Prof. R. J. Jain, Bhavanagar. 331

THE TRADITIONAL BASIS OF THE UDĀHARAṆAS IN THE KĀŚIKĀ AND THE MAHĀBHAṢYA AND THE MUTUAL RELATION OF THE TWO WORKS REGARDING THE SAME : By Dr. Mangal Deva Shastri, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxon), Principal, Government Sanskrit College, Benares. ... 333

JUDICIAL ASPECTS OF THE GĀNDHARVA FORM OF MARRIAGE : By Dr. Ludwik Sternbach, University of Lwow, Karkow, Poland. 340

WERE WOMEN ENTITLED TO PERFORM ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES ? By Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Calcutta. 345

A CARMELITE ORIENTALIST IN TRAVANCORE : By R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A., Travancore. 349

PAGE

BHĀRUCI, A NEW COMMENTATOR ON MANUSMṚTI : By Dr. T. R. Chintamani, Madras University, Madras. ... 352

RELIGION AND PHILOSPHY SECTION

DEFECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL METHOD OF IMTERPRETING THE BRAHMA SŪTRAS : By Prof. P. M. Modi, Ph.D. (Kiel), Prof. of Sanskrit, Samaldas College, Bhavanag. ... 361

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AS A TREATISE ON ADHYĀTMA, KARMA, YOGA AND DVANDVA : By Prof. V. B. Athavale, Nasik. 370

PURUṢĀRTHA, DAIVA AND NIYATI (SUMMARY) : By Rao Bahadur P. C. Divanji, M.A., LL.M. 375

A STUDY IN SPIRITUAL "LEFTISM", an aspect of 'Vāma-Mārga' of the 'Sahaja' Cult : By the late Prof. N. N. Sengupta, Prof. Lucknow University. 377

SAHAJA SAMĀDHI AND KHASAM BHĀVA IN MEDIEVAL INDIA: By Hazariprasad Dwivedi, Adhyapaka, Viśva-Bhārati. 387

RADHAKRISHNAN, THE GREAT RECONCILER : By Dr. Arwind U. Vasavada, Herbert College, Kotah. 392

ARTHĀPATTI : ITS LOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE : By Dr. P. T. Raju, Ph.D., Andhra University. 398

IS NOT-BEING DEDUCED FROM BEING ? By Janki Vallabha Bhattacharya, Batpura. 415

THE DOCTRINE OF ĪŚVARA IN EARLY NYĀYAVAIŚEṢIKA WORKS : By Prof. A. S. V. Pant, M.A., Birla Collage, Pilani. 422

न्यायशास्त्रे सामान्यपदार्थस्य नित्यत्वपरीक्षा : By G. Harkare, Gadwal. ... 428

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

THE FIVE JINAS AND THE FIVE COLOURS OF CONSCIOUSNESS : By Dr. Maryla Falk, D.Litt, Calcutta. ... 430

PRAKRITS AND JAINISM SECTION

AN UNASSIMILATED GROUP IN APABHRAṀŚA : By Dr. A. M. Ghatage, M.A., Ph.D., Kolhapur. 444

THE PRĀKṚTA DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA: A UNIQUE INDIAN SATIRE : By Prof. Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur. 464

A NOTE ON THE KUTRIKĀPAṆA: By Prof. Bhogilal J. Sandesara, M.A., Ahmadabad. 468

A NOTE ON THE VARṆAKAS OR TYPICAL DESCRIPTIONS : By Prof. N. V. Vaidya, Fergusson College, Poona. ... 472

HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE SECTION

THE MONTH AND THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR : By J. S. Karandikar, B.A., LL.B., Editor, 'Kesari', Poona. 474

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR : By Dr. K. L. Daftari, Nagpur. 481

PAGE

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR: Mr. Karandikar's Reply to Dr. Daftari. 490

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR: By Prof. P. C. SEN GUPTA, Calcutta. 493

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR: Dr. Daftari's reply to Prof. Sen Gupta. 496

WHO FOUNDED THE VIKRAMA ERA ? By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares. 501

HISTORICITY OF VIKRAMĀDITYA: By Dr. R. B. Pandey, Benares. 503

VIKRAMA SAṀVAT: By Dr. D. C. Sircar, Calcutta University. 510

WHO WERE THE BHĀRAŚIVAS ? By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares. 512

WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE ? THE BHĀRAŚIVAVAS, THE VĀKĀṬAKAS OR THE YAUDHEYAS ? By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares. 513

WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE ? By Dr. D. C. Sircar. 516

KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY: By the late Rao Bahadur K.N. Dikshit M. A. 518

KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY: By Dr. S. C. Sircar. ... 519

VIKRAMA AND KĀLIDASA, THEIR IDENTIFICATION: By S. N. Jharkhandi. M.A., M.Sc, Benares. 520

HARṢA AND DHRUVABHAṬA: By Dr. D. C. Sircar, M.A., Ph. D., Calcutta University 524

THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE ANDHRADEŚA: By Dr. M. Rama Rao, M.A., Ph.D., Guntur. 528

INTERREGNUM IN THE HISTORY OF CALUKYAS OF BADĀMĪ: By Dr. Venkatramanya, Madras University. ... 534

THE RELATIONS BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHĪNA: By Dr. D. C. Ganguli, Dacca University. 542

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF GUJRAT: By D. B. K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL.B., Bombay. 548

EMPEROR HUMAYUN AND RAO MALDEO: By MM. Pt. B.N. Reu, Jodhpur. 549

EARLY ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA: By M. A. Khaliq, M.A., Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi. 551

PIRACY, PRIVATEERING AND REPRISAL IN INDIAN WATERS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY: By Prof. J.C. De, M.A., B.L., M.A. (London), Benares Hindu University. 554

SHAH ALAM II AND THE DUTCH: By K. K. Datta, M. A., Ph.D., P.R.S., Patna College, Patna. 562

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF CHAUTHAI: By Dr. A. G. Pawar, Kolhapur. 565

THE FOLK SONGS OF THE SIMHALESE: By N. D. Wijesekera, B.A. (Hons.) (Lond), M.A. (Cantab), F.R.A.I., F.I.A.I. ... 568

KUMĀRI-VRATA-CHAḌAS OF BENGAL: By S. R. Das, M. A., Calcutta. 575

12 TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE
1943-44



GROUP PHOTOGRAPH.

TWELFTH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

PART II : PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESSES

WELCOME ADDRESS

By

SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN, D. LITT., LL. D., F.B.A.,

Chairman of the Reception Committee

MAY I, on behalf of the Reception Committee of the Twelfth Oriental Conference, and the Benares Hindu University, extend to you all a most cordial welcome. When, last June, Professor Altekar sounded me about inviting the Conference to Benares, I did not encourage the idea as we were not then quite certain about our own affairs. When, in the Puja vacation, Professors Rangaswami Iyengar and Nilkantha Sastri explained to me the position, I felt inclined to invite the Conference though I was not unaware of the difficulties ahead of us mainly due to short notice. I was able to invite the Conference to Benares as I could count on the goodwill and co-operation not only of the members of the University but also of such tried friends as His Highness the Chancellor and the Pro. Chancellor, Mahārājādhirāja of Darbhanga who is here with us today to open the Conference, the Mahārājkumāra of Vizianagram, whose palace is converted, on such occasions as this, into the unofficial guest-house of the University, whose skill, influence and possessions are at our service, Raja Baldeo Das Birla and his sons, who know not only how to earn but what is more important, how to spend.

These are war times and we are not wealthy and so the Conference will be what it should be. It will take its business more seriously and its luxuries less expensively. At any rate, a Conference meeting in this sacred city will, I hope, feel inclined to be a little austere in its outlook and behaviour.

While I extend a cordial welcome to every one of the delegates for the Conference, I should like to make special mention of the representative of the Chinese Government. We send, through him, our fraternal greetings to the Chinese Government. We have watched with affectionate interest and admiration the courageous efforts made by the Chinese

Government to maintain education and culture in the midst of a long and calamitous war in which many Universities and centres of learning have been destroyed or damaged. If the world is to be established once more in the ways of peace, it can only be by the maintenance of high spiritual standards. In this task, China and India have been close and friendly partners for centuries. China received the religion of the Buddha from India. Even in other disciplines like science and philosophy, music and literature, art and architecture, the influence of Indian culture is manifest. Indian scholars went to China, spread the Ārya Dharma and translated Buddhist scriptures from Sanskrit into Chinese. Many classical works of India are to be found in Chinese translations. Chinese monks and scholars came to India in successive waves in different periods for learning the Dharma. Recently, the Chinese, who have never been too proud to learn from any country, have been going to Europe and America, and contacts between China and India have been somewhat dimmed. But the exchanges of students and scholars, inaugurated this year, may prepare for a closer understanding between these two great countries and bring about a spiritual awakening in the whole East. In the post-war years India will again attract pilgrims and scholars from the whole East and what place is there in India more sacred than Kāśī.

To a Conference which includes so many historians, I need not talk at length on the antiquity and glory of Benares. Kāśī is among the well known cities which help us to attain spiritual freedom.[1] It is said that when Brahmā weighed the sky with its gods and Kāśī with its saints, Kāśī being the heavier sank down to earth, by the force of gravity while the sky being the lighter soared upward.[2] Benares has been the focus of an unbroken and impressive spiritual tradition which is universal and individual, embracing in thought the whole universe but worshipping the Eternal whose throne is the inmost shrine of the human soul. In these days of darkness and travail of spirit, I need not say how very vital it is for us to remember the values for which this city has stood. Perfection is the goal and the way to it is through self-conquest, through courage and austerity, through unity and brotherhood in life.

---

[1] अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी काञ्ची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारावती चैव सप्तैता मोक्षदायिका: ॥

[2] स्वर्लोकस्तुलितः सहैव विबुधैः काश्या समं ब्रह्मणा ।
काशी क्षोणितले स्थिता गुरुतरा स्वर्गो लघुत्वे स्थित: ॥ *Maṇikarṇikā-stotra.*

Perfection, *mokṣa* is won through *jñāna* or wisdom, *bodhi* or enlightenment. Jesus says "Ye shall know the truth and the truth will make you free." *Jñāna* of the Hindus, *bodhi* of the Buddhists, and truth of the Christians do not mean dialectical fireworks, logical ingenuity. It is not playing "intellectual ping pong", but it is growth in insight, increase of awaremess, extension of consciousness, evolution of soul. It is attained, not by sharpening our wits but by steadying our mind. The function of true philosophy is to see the truth and we cannot see unless it be by unfettered contemplation, where eager wishes and yearning anxieties are stilled, where the mind becomes a transparent medium which mirrors the object without distorting it. We then become what we behold. India has always emphasised the need for spiritual illumination. Unless we are illumined from the heights above, earth born intellect cannot take us far.

In the West on the other hand, there has been a steady insistence on the power of the human intellect to discover the truth of things. When Socrates urged the need for concepts and definitions, when Plato argued that nobody need enter the Academy who had not studied geometry, when Aristotle defined man, not as a spiritual but as a rational animal, when the whole of Christian scholasticism was one continuous deductive development of dogma, when Descartes, the father of modern European philosophy, laid down as a maxim that no idea is true which is not clear and distinct, when Spinoza set forth his Ethics in the geometrical pattern, with postulates, axioms and corollaries, when Leibniz outlined a plan which later became the foundation of symbolic logic, when Kant effected a revolution by making metaphysics take the safe road of science, when Hegel said that the real was the rational and when his successors phenomenalised the self and the world, we find in this whole development from Socrates to Bertrand Russell impressive variations on the one common theme of the primacy of the logical.

Not that in India we neglected the logical. We also insist on the intellectual approach to the central problems of life. *Athāto Brahmajijñasā; athāto Dharmajijñāsā.* The Upaniṣads speak of *manana*, the *Gītā* of *paripraśna*. The *Gītā* says "Of those who debate, I am the dialectic", *vādaḥ pravadatām aham.* At a time like this, when teachers are setting themselves up in all parts of the country and requiring of their disciples complete surrender of the intellect, it is well to be reminded of the Indian tradition that intellect is to be satisfied and not surrendered. Freedom

and not slavery of the mind is the prerequisite of spiritual life. But intellectual fruition is in intuition, *vidyā* ends in *anubhava*.

In the West, there have been mystics and seers, the Orphics and Eleusinian, Plato and Plotinus, St. John and St. Paul, the mediaeval mystics of Christendom and Islam. But this permeation of the western rationalism by mystic tendencies has been, to no small extent, due to the influence of India, the ideas of the Upaniṣads, the missions of Aśoka and their followers of later times.

Today again, the world is in the grip of dry intellect. It is very conscious of its good sense, of the inestimable blessings which science has conferred on humanity. It is proud that we have left behind the stupidities of the dark ages, that it has escaped from the misery and the degradation in which we were steeped for centuries. Scientific intellect expected, not only to unravel all secrets but even to transform human society. We admit that the triumphs of reason are great, but its failures are no less great. Something has escaped the meshes of intellect, the magic of far horizons, the secret of spirit, the pulse in the history of man, the beat in the heart of the world. The fanatical personalities who rule the world today, the rationalist prophets, the intellectual celibates who are the victims of the fictional abstractions of race and class, tribe and nation, with their unbridled and endless covetousness have built a world which is bereft of pity and loveliness and is strident and murderous. The world is on the rack and is bleeding to death. This feverish age where life is lived at the highest pressure teaches us, that while it is necessary to perfect the intellect, it is even more necessary to refine the spirit. If the present world-convulsion is to emerge in a new and better world order, we must acquire a living faith in love and wisdom. Here again the Oriental with its distinctive message of wisdom in education, of the need for quiet, the quiet not of inaction but of harmony of faith in the ultimates which shine through the vast uncertainties hanging over the march of life can offer a corrective to the miscarriage of the world. The world is one family and its brotherhood of the future should be based on heart and mind, and not chains and fear.

In our country today, the Oriental Conference can be of immense value. By a scholarly appreciation of India's historical culture, by a proper estimate of the interaction of the different races and religions, we can bring about a Renaissance based on the integrity of Indian culture.

It is a pleasure to know that we have the Paṇḍita Pariṣad. These representatives of India's classical learning should be brought into close contact with those who have received the shock and stimulus of western knowledge and criticism. They should be reminded that the great Paṇḍits and Achāryas of old were the ambassadors of India's culture in distant lands. The Brahmanical and the Buddhist monuments in Java, Bali, the temple of Angkor, that symphony in stone, which is perhaps the largest of its kind in the world, owe their inspiration to Indian culture. Those great ancestors of our Paṇḍits, Vaśistha and Viśvamitra, Kāśyapa and Kumārajīva, Nāgārjuna and Samkara and countless others worked not for political power or economic possessions but for the spread of the spiritual message of India, *Kṛṇvantu viśvam āryam*. The evils from which we suffer today are, to no small extent, due to our intellectual inertia, moral cowardice and spiritual lassitude. Nature is no friend of stagnation. For all our entreaties, the world will not cease to revolve. Today we have to reckon with the stresses, conflicts and confusions and build fresh schemes with originality and freedom, and in the strength of the legacy of ancient wisdom. In this world of *saṁsāra*, there is nothing permanent but change. Life is not life unless it is thrusting continually into new forms. In the spirit of our tradition, which is one of comprehension and not withdrawal, let us move forward into the broader realm of responsibility for the whole human community.

We have today with us a worthy Maithili Brahmin, a direct descendant of the great Mahāmahopādhyāya who founded the Darbhanga Raj, a great lover of Indian culture and a generous patron of this University. It is our good fortune that such a friend of the studies, which the Oriental Conference represents, is here to inaugurate the Twelfth Oriental Conference. I now request him to open the Conference.

INAUGURAL SPEECH

By

The Hon'ble Mahārājādhirāja SIR KAMESHWAR SINGH
of Darbhanga

IN THE absence of His Highness the Chancellor, who to his great regret could not be present here today it is my proud privilege to welcome this gathering of distinguished orientalists to this ancient seat of learning, culture and religion. I need not say that he is deeply interested in the success of this Conference and we all have his good wishes.

We may recount very many such gatherings held here in the past at different ages and under different conditions. We may feast our vision with the panorama of thousands of years during which sages, saints, philosophers, poets, preachers and patriots have come here on pilgrimage and surcharged the atmosphere of this holy place with thought-currents that stirred and elevated the soul of mankind throughout the length and breadth of Aryāvarta. But they do not to any degree detract the importance and appropriateness of this Conference.

We are passing through a time when materialism has run riot. Civilisation based on it is letting loose the spirit of barbarism. Devastation and ruin have shaken the present-day world to its very foundation. It is tottering. It is bound to crumble to dust. Cry has been raised for the reconstruction of the world—for the new world-order. We too have heard the cry. Should we then sit still for we have been in political bondage for such a long time, or should we come forward and lend our hand in shaping its destiny by transmitting to it the message left to us by our forefathers which is good for all times and every country and under every condition—the message which is based on spiritualistic ideals and is the outcome of ripe and varied experience—the message which still lies hidden in our daily life and contact? If we adopt the first alternative we will be embarking on a dangerous voyage in which there will be immense possibility of shipwreck. Such a course of action will be unworthy of our heritage and tradition and indicate that we have lost faith in them. It is only by adopting the second alternative that we can discharge our duties and obligation to the human race. I firmly believe that Hinduism—I use this word in a wide sense—has still enough vitality to reassert itself. But how can we discover the message except by

such methods as scholars assembled here have employed, *viz.*, by finding and joining together the missing links between the past and the present. It is by the fruits of your labours that we will know our strength and weakness, the causes and periods of our glory and downfall, and the results of experiments carried during so many thousand of years. I earnestly hope that nothing will deter you from this noble work and succeeding generation of scholars will continue the search after truth with zeal and sincerity.

I feel that we still have a distinctive place in the world, not by reason of material possessions but by reason of retaining our cultural heritage and philosophy of life. It is true that the impact of the West has hideously distorted the superstructure of our life to a great extent and it has been exposed to a good deal of ridicule. But till now the foundation on which it was built remains undisturbed. That place of distinction can be ours only if we realise that many things today have lost their original meaning for us and we have been enslaved by forms and slogans. We have to build afresh on the old foundation which stood the test of time, *viz.*, the domination of spirit over matter, subordination of earthly possessions to the desire for immortality. I should not, however, be understood to mean that there is no place for earthly things in our scheme of life. As a firm believer in 'Varnāśrama Dharma' I do not minimise the importance of 'Kāma' (desire) or 'Artha' (wealth). In fact, as Sir Radhakrishnan has put it, man is a bundle of desires and the economic need of the community should be satisfied if creative impulses of men are to be liberated for higher cultural life. But 'Dharma' (duty) should always control 'Kāma' (desire) and the ultimate object, *viz.*,' Mokṣa' (liberation), which constitutes immortality, should never be lost sight of. Human nature varies and our forefathers taking that into account, have laid down how each man can attain full self-expression. We have indeed been taught to co-operate with the forces of nature and not flout them.

Your studies and researches are bringing to light not only the accounts of events but also the developments of the cardinal principles governing our life and philosophy and all of us profit by them. But there seems to be some misconception with regard to the ability of scholars trained to carry on their researches according to the traditional method prevalent in this country in the minds of scholars following Western methods and *vice versa*. This question has been authoritatively dealt with in the address of the late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha who presided over the

Third session of this Conference held in Madras. I trust I shall not be accused of partiality to one who was a member of my family when I also express my opinion that it is wrong to suppose that Pandits or Maulvis trained in traditional methods are wanting in what has been called 'critical faculty'. I do not, however, deny that researches according to the Western methods have a value. But the gap between these two sections has to be filled up and misconceptions have to be removed. In my opinion the labours of both of these types of scholars should supplement and complement each other and the one should take advantage of the other without prejudice of any kind. After all, you are seekers of truth. You cannot with impunity either prejudice or misjudge things ; for then, you will vitiate the very purpose of your labours.

Rich and varied are the fields you have to traverse. The progress of your activities must continue because there is still much to be done. I have already told you what I consider to be the peculiar significance of your labours. It now remains for us to invoke the blessings of Sri Viśwanātha and pray that like the stream of Holy Gangā that flows below, the flow of the stream of our thoughts may not lose its continuity and by fertilising this country it may mingle itself in the vast ocean of the thoughts of humanity.

ADDRESS OF THE GENERAL PRESIDENT.

By

Rao Bahadur Dr. S. K. BELVALKAR, M.A., Ph.D.

मूकं करोति वाचालं पङ्गुं लङ्घयते गिरिम् ।
यत्कृपा तमहं वन्दे परमानन्दमीश्वरम् ॥

The Hon'ble Mahārājādhirāja Sir Kameshwara Singh, the Pro-Chancellor of the Benares Hindu University; Pāndit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the Soul and Presiding Deity of this august Seat of Learning; Mahārājakumāra Sir Vijayaji; Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the Chairman of the Reception Committee; Brother Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen! —I am fully aware that the honour you have done me in electing me the General President of the All-India Oriental Conference for this its Twelfth Session, which formally begins to-day in this sacred City of Shree Viśvanātha, is one of the highest that the fraternity of scholars can confer upon a brother worker in the field; and yet, just for that very reason, knowing my own limitations, I had expressed my reluctance to accept this honour as emphatically and unmistakably as it was possible for me to do. But having lost the opportunity of showing the "first mark of wisdom" (*prathamam buddhilakṣaṇam*) by firmly refusing to be overpersuaded by the importunities of a friend and a colleague, I had at least to show the "second mark of wisdom" by seeing to the end, as best as I could, what had fallen to my lot, as doing otherwise would have been showing scant courtesy to the memory of the person who had proposed my name and, overruling all my objections, had practically compelled me to accept this office: I mean, the late Dr. V. S. Sukthankar.

2. "The late Dr. Sukthankar!"—The words sound so strange and almost unbelievable. Dr. Sukthankar was several years my junior, and it was a legitimate expectation that he would be blessed with life long enough to complete the critica edition of the Mahābhārata. But our fond hopes in this matter have been ruthlessly dashed to pieces, and it has now fallen to the lot of his surviving colleagues to gather together into their hands the scattered and tangled threads of the work where it has been left, and advance further along the path laid out by him, as long as light and energy would be vouchsafed to them. Dr. Sukthankar's soul—I somehow seem to feel its

presence here about us—would be pleased by nothing better than the completion of the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata to which he dedicated every single moment of the last 17 years of his life. It is a great national undertaking of Indian scholarship which has received unanimous and unstinted approbation from scholars in and outside India. The honour and prestige of Indian scholarship, as well as of the munificent Patrons of Learning of which this land of Bhāratavarṣa has always had a notable supply, is involved in seeing this great undertaking completed according to the original plan.

3. But it is not Dr. Sukthankar alone whom we have to mourn. Since we met last at Hyderabad two years ago, the hand of Death has been particularly heavy in summoning from amongst us an unusually large number of eminent Orientalists, in India and abroad. In due course there will be passed resolutions of condolence: there is a record number of over twenty of them; and yet they may not represent the totality of our loss, as we have no adequate information about the Orientalists in the belligerent countries of Europe. With your leave, I shall refer to some of these losses, not only because they are irreparably great, but because the lives that have been snatched away from us during these two years have a great and heartening lesson for us to teach.

4. And first let me refer to Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, who, after the death of her husband, the Founder of the "Pali Text Society", in a spirit of almost religious devotion, dedicated all her energy to the completing of the task left incomplete by her husband: and she nearly did so, with just six or eight volumes with which to complete the first editions of the entire Pali Canon. But the War has brought on a great disaster. Just four months before her death she wrote:

> "A misaimed bomb burnt out all our stocks, and the Pali Text Society is now left more or less ruined, insolvent." "It is not likely", she continues, "I shall be here to write *Finis* to our work. Will India help and make the safe and fit issue of at least some of these remaining six volumes its primary care? Will it send us, wounded and strangled, a message of help?"

I wish we could send to those into whose hands the affairs of the Society have now passed such a message of appreciation, of sympathy, and of assurance.

5. While the Rhys Davids, husband and wife, specialised in Pali or Hīnayāna Buddhism, the Russian scholar Th.

Stcherbatsky specialised in Sanskrit or Mahāyāna Buddhism, editing and translating several original Buddhist texts from the Tibetan and the Chinese. In his work entitled "The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa" to which he has appended an English translation of the principal parts of those works of Nāgārjuna and Candrakīrti, which are the foundation stone of Mahāyāna, we read as under:

> "In the reading of proof I have been assisted by my aged mother, and we both are alone responsible for all the imperfections of English style that may be found in this book."

This was written in 1927 by an author whose mother must have then been about 50 or 60. What an amiable picture of devoted labour in a common cause by the mother and the son does it summon up before us! It may not be given to all of us to complete our undertakings; for, has not the Poet said ?—

न हि प्रतीक्षते मृत्युः कृतमस्य न वा कृतम् ।

> [Death tarries not to find out whether the man's work is completed, or remains still incomplete.]

But the earnestness of the endeavour it is that should count.

6. I had not the privilege of knowing Mrs. Rhys Davids or Dr. Stcherbatsky except through correspondence and books; but I came into much personal contact with Dr. Lüders, who, with Frau Lüders, came to Poona in December 1927, and whom I had the honour to take to the Buddhist caves at Karla and Bhājā. Dr. Lüders, as some of you might know, could see only with one eye, and we know the familiar gibe between the one-eyed and the two-eyed:

> "With your one eye you can see only half as much as myself.".
>
> "No, surely. With my one eye I am able to see two eyes in your forehead; while with your two eyes you can see only one in mine. So your eye sees only a fourth as much as mine!"

Lüders' epigraphic work has certainly justified the one-eyed man! The wonderful way in which, with the help of the few broken fragments discovered in the Turfan expedition, Lüders was able to recover parts of a Buddhistic Play and some fragments of the Buddhist Canon in Sanskrit, will remain for ages as a monument of patience and of imaginative insight. Though Lüders' main work was in the domain of Archaeology he has also opened out new vistas by his searching studies on the Epic

and the Purāṇas,[1] and he was one of the Board of Referees for our Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata.

7. After Lüders I ought to mention the name of Sir Aurel Stein who, in patiently following up the caravan routes through the deserts of central Asia right up to the great Wall of China, exhibited a love and zeal for the search of Truth no less sincere and painstaking than that of the great Buddhist Pilgrims, whom he also resembles in having left behind—in the shape of those more than a dozen fat tomes—Records of Travel and Discovery for generations of students to study and ponder over.—And just as the Address was ready comes the sad news that the great Italian savant, Professor Formichi and the great Dutch savant, Dr. Vogel, have passed away!

8. I turn now to mention an Indian scholar whose name few beyond his own City and Province probably know, but who was an embodiment of the best qualities of the old-world Pandit that it was my good fortune to come across: I mean Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit Vasudeva Shastri Abhyankar of Poona. Ever since the age of 8 or 10 when he joined a Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, he started doing just the one thing that he kept on doing all his life: perfecting his knowledge of Sanskrit Grammar. This he did by training pupils and writing books: particularly lucid commentaries on difficult and technical works without that display of learning, which is almost the besetting sin of modern works in that line. The Shastri's published works cover 5,500 pages in Sanskrit and 2,500 pages in Marathi. His one great ambition in life was to bring out an annotated translation (in Marathi) of the Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣya; and, fortunately, at the ripe age of 80, he was able to hand over a complete press-copy of it, which is now in course of publication.

9. This makes me speak of another great Mahāmahopādhyāya from Madras, whom we lost only three or four months ago: I mean Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Shastri. I met him first in 1919, in Poona, on the occasion of the first Oriental Conference, and I remember still a conversation that we—Ganganath Jha, Kuppuswami Shastri and myself—then had as to the means and methods for the advance of Oriental research in India.—We passed a resolution of condolence for Ganganath Jha in our last session at Hyderabad, and we will be passing one for Kuppuswami here at Benares. But the work of both these eminent savants deserves to be carried on and perpetuated. I was accordingly particularly gratified to know that at Allahabad

[1] Compare his two papers on *Die Saga von Ṛṣyaśṛṅga*, his *Grantharecension des Mahābhārata* and *Das Würfelspiel*.

a Research Institute bearing the name of Sir Ganganath Jha has been just ushered into existence, to which the splendid private library of Sir Dr. Ganganath has been bequeathed, and which has already started with a research journal of its own. In his younger days, when collaborating with Dr. Thibaut in bringing out "The Indian Thought", Dr. Jha had made the pious resolution to translate into English all the leading works of the six Darśanas : and he has more than fulfilled that pledge. Professor Kuppuswami Shastri had latterly taken up the work of revising the Catalogus Catalogorum, which is a great undertaking that is yet to be accomplished. I am sure that South India will not lag behind the North, but will, in due course, devise ways and means for continuing and perpetuating the work of Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Shastri, by establishing another Research Institute before very long.

10. In throwing out this suggestion I do not by any manner of means wish to imply that we have not already got a sufficient number of research organs and research organisations throughout India. The last twentyfive years have witnessed a splendid awakening in that respect. In proof I may be allowed to mention that about a year ago the B. O. R. Institute brought out a bibliographical compilation to record the progress of Indic Studies during the last quarter of a century ; and there, in practically all the branches of studies, the work done by Indian authors is seen to figure at least just as prominently as the work of non-Indians. When 25 years ago a Commemorative Volume was presented to Sir R. G. Bhandarkar on his completing the 80th year, there were hardly three or four Volumes of that kind meant to honour Indian scholars of eminence. Now, these Volumes are so many in number that no library is likely to own them all. Similarly, when the first session of the Oriental Conference met at Poona in 1919, the only bodies of an All-India status that were then in existence, so far as I know, were, The Indian Mathematics Conference founded in 1907, The Numismatic Society of India, founded in 1910, The Indian Science Congress Association founded in 1913, The Indian Economic Association and Conference founded in 1916,—not to mention The Indian Historical Records Commission, which was a purely Government organisation working since 1899 and reorganised in 1919 so as to secure more non-official cooperation. Now we have quite a large number of such associations : The Indian Philosophical Congress (1924), The Linguistic Society of India (1928), The Indian History Congress (1935), The Indian Political Conference (1938), Bhāratīya Itihāsa Pariṣad (1939), and, may be, one or two others that I have

failed to notice, besides the Sāhitya Pariṣads of the Modern Indian Languages like Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi, etc. which, although functioning much earlier and doing very valuable work in their own way, we may here pass over as being rather of a Provincial nature. Most of these Societies meet annually or biennially, and publish reports embodying considerable valuable material for research. Except perhaps the Science Congress, none of the Bodies mentioned above has a wider topical range than the All-India Oriental Conference. Suggestions have often been made that the Oriental Conference should prune off some of its "Sections", which are already being looked after by special organisations. I do not believe that we would be well-advised in doing so. We do want a Body that would view the entire field of Orientalia as a unity, and devise ways and means for an all-round progress. Hence, from the very first, we have given to the Iranian and Semitic Languages and Culture a status equal to that of the Sanskritic Languages and Culture, and I would myself be prepared to go further and start a new Section of Dravidian Languages and Culture as a permanent feature of the Oriental Conference, provided a number of enthusiasts in that subject undertake to see that the Section will not die of inanition. We seem to have such enthusiasts for the Iranian Section, which, whatever the venu of the Conference, is always well represented in papers and members.

11. Research material of the most valuable kind lies scattered in all these Journals, Annals and Quarterlies; Conference and Congress Reports; Commemoration and other Special Volumes; University Publications and Memoirs; and special Series organised by Societies and Institutions. There is thus no dearth of research workers; and almost all the Universities of India are, in their higher courses, fostering research by granting research degrees. To confess the truth, there is quite a plethora of men and material; so that latterly it has become very difficult to keep pace with them all; and schemes for collating and consolidating their results, have been occupying our thoughts all along. In fact, the General President of the Hyderabad Session of our Conference, as you might remember, gave a definite lead in the matter and inaugurated a scheme, which is expected to produce results in the fulness of time.

12. My complaint, however, still is that what has been achieved so far, and is likely to be achieved at the present rate of progress and the present methods of work is small as compared with what we have still to accomplish in almost every branch of study. Thus, to take Sanskrit Language and Litera-

ture, the three-quarters-of-a-century old Petersburg Lexicon of Böhtlingk-Roth is still our only unfailing guide in tracing up the historical use of any word in Literature, Vedic and Post-Vedic. The best drama of our own "Shakespeare"—the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa—despite the labours of Pischel, Foulkes, Patankar and Cappeller—still remains to be "critically" edited. The Upaniṣads, the lavish praise of which by Schopenhauer we are so fond of repeating, we are still content to read and study in editions which are full of misprints and mistakes. The Bhagavad-gītā, which the Hindus like to call their "Bible", still lacks a really scientific Word-Index, despite the two or three inadequte works that claim to be so; and while the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata—the two national Epics of India—are on the way of being properly and critically edited, what shall we say about our Purāṇas? Then for our Histories of Sanskrit Literature we have still to look up to our Webers and Max Müllers, our Macdonells and Keiths, and the translations and adaptations of these, with the German treatise of Winternitz for our *ultima ratio*—our supreme court of appeal: surely, not a very satisfactory state of things. Lastly, as to the Ṛgveda—the source and fountainhead of Sanskrit scholarship—our Professors are still complacently engaged in the task of dishing out to their pupils half-digested crumbs from some German workshop, and are eagerly looking forward to the day when Geldner's German Translation for the Harvard Oriental Series, which is lying completely printed in a press at Göttingen, will be made available after the present War.

13. Things are not much different if we turn to the sacred and secular literatures of Buddhism and Jainism. The Pāli Text Society and the Bibliotheca Buddhica have no doubt done pioneering work for Buddhism; but they were only first editions, now no longer available. For the needs of Indian scholarship there has to be a complete edition of the Canon in Devanāgarī characters, including a comprehensive dictionary. For the Jain Canon the case is still more unsatisfactory.

14. In the Department of History, it is no doubt a sign of the times that Indian scholars are now waking up to their responsibility. Two or three comprehensive schemes for the exhaustive treatment of the material in several volumes are afoot, including the latest from Aligarh, although I myself do not yet see the need of having several schemes simultaneously set afoot. A proper understanding of the past currents in History must always serve as the basis for the task of shaping and moulding the thoughts and movements that are to constitute the History of to-day and to-morrow. But the word of

caution has to be uttered that we must always try to understand and interpret men and events of the earlier age in the light of their own environment and outlook, and not attempt a réchauffé in the light of the ideas and ideals of to-day. The danger of such a thing happening is, let me add, not quite imaginary.

15. In the Department of Philosophy, while, thanks to the life-long labours of Sir Ganganath Jha, the more important of our authorities on the different Systems of Philosophy are available in translations, they have not yet been fully digested and assimilated in the historical presentations of thought-movements in India. We have, of course, a brilliant survey of the whole field from the facile and effective pen of Professor Radhakrishnan ; but the outlines have to be filled in and supplemented in the light of latest discovery and research. The other day, speaking in Karnatak, Sir R. P. Paranjpye put up a powerful plea for the cultivation of a historical outlook in the study of Science. If we want a historical outlook in Science, how much more urgent must be the need for it in the study of History proper and of Philosophy ? In the present state of studies our historian of philosophy has to combine the functions of both the philologue and the philosopher in one, as Zeller did in his History of the Greek Philosophy ; and this is not easy. But only so can we avoid some of the avoidable defects. For instance, in accepting Deussen's ready-made classification of the Upaniṣads into Early Prose, Early Metrical, etc., as though they were chronological, I have had an occasion ere this to point out that we are likely to be in danger of failing to grasp the real course of thought-movement in the so-called Upaniṣadic period, which actually covers several centuries of intellectual activity. And there is no chance of our presentation of the Bhagavadgītā being accurate and reliable if we fail to understand what the Bhagavadgītā precisely means when it is alluding to certain "Sāṃkhya" doctrines, or if we were to hold two different views about the chronological placing of the Bhagavadgītā in the different parts of one and the same treatise. It is thus noticeable that even in some of the latest and most informed presentations of the Bhagavadgītā teaching there are indirect accusations of doctrinal inconsistency, when the heart of the trouble very often lies in the writers importing their own pre-conceived notions of "Sāṃkhya" and "Yoga" and the other technical terms in their interpretation of specific passages in the Poem. So too, the divergent chronological placings of the Poem, even after the arguments upon which they were grounded are admitted to be untenable, somehow seem to continue to haunt the writers, if one were to judge them by

their anxiety to placate the critics who wanted to place the Bhagavadgītā nearer the beginning of the Christian era, as well as those that are arguing for a Pre-Buddhistic placing of it.

16. It is unnecessary for me to refer to the other Departments of Indology and other branches of Orientalia, where my knowledge can only be secondhand; but the same tale of quantities of work lying undone, or ill done, along with, not any lack of men, but lack of properly trained and qualified workers to do it, stares us in the face everywhere. In this connection I do not of course wish to ignore the very valuable work that is being done by the Viśveśvarānanda Research Institute at Lahore in Lexicography, by the Svādhyāyamaṇḍala at Aundh (Satara District) in publishing works helpful for the critical study of the Vedas, or by the Vaidic Saṁśodhanamaṇḍala in Poona, whose edition of the Ṛgveda with the Bhāṣya of Sāyana bids very fair to supplant Max Müller's *Editio Princeps*. The work of the Greater India Society is most distinctive in its own way. I have already referred to the Critical Edition of the Mahābhārata undertaken by the B. O. R. Institute. Amongst the other publications of the B. O. R. Institute I must not fail to mention such monuments of painstaking scholarship as Mahāmahopādhyāya Professor P. V. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, which has already covered some 2,200 pages, and is expected to run into about 1,500 pages more.

17. There are also other well-known Series of Publications such as the Ānandāśrama Series of Poona, the Gaekwad's Series of Baroda, the Mysore Government's Oriental Series, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, which already have more than a hundred volumes each to their credit. Then there are the important series of publications of the premiére University of India—the University of Calcutta—whose Post-Graduate Department, organised by that far-seeing statesman and educationist, Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, is still the model which the other older Universities of India like those of Madras, Allahabad and the Punjab, as well as the younger ones like those of Annamalai and Trivandrum, are trying to imitate and emulate. There are also other scattered publications—State-aided (like those of Kashmir and Hyderabad) and privately endowed,—which I shall not try to name as I do not claim to possess exhaustive information, and would like to avoid the faults of both omission and commission. This magnificent and many-sided activity is evidence positive that there has come an awakening over us in every nerve and corner; but it is just at such a juncture that one has to guard against the growth of contusive and contumacious tumours which are the conse-

quences of mal-nutrition. The Bhagavadgītā (xviii. 20) tells us that the aim of true knowledge ought to be the ability to discern the Unity in the midst of Plurality; and the mark of such knowledge, we read, is humility rather than arrogance, candour in lieu of hypocrisy, peace and purity instead of restlessness and passion, and earnest self-control taking the place of egotistic attachment to things of the moment. Are we sure that the spirit of research with which our students, and the educational institutions which cater for them, are inspired, will pass the above test?

18. The fact is, that not having a sufficiently broad foundation upon which to erect their superstructure of "research", our students have no proper perspective in their subject. There are of course "problems" scattered all along the line in every subject. Just to choose one of them and to spin it out with the all too familiar paraphernalia of argument and methodology is not likely to give the student any insight into the subject as a whole. My College teacher in History, Professor F. W. Bain, used to tell us the story of an Englishman going to inspect the Ford Factory upon the express invitation of a distant American relation of his, who was an employee in the Factory.

> "That's where we take our tiffin; that's where we play at Baseball; these are the shops where we buy our provisions; these the schools for our kids; and that the Church where we go on Sundays."
>
> "Indeed! That's splendid! — But I should like to see where you produce your world-famous car. For example, where is your own workshop and what kind of work do you do there?"
>
> "Why, I showed you the desk at which I work."
>
> "Oh! That? But I did not see any tools there?"
>
> "Ah! That's the beauty of it. I don't need no tools except one, which I carries in my pocket. The fact is, from this left window comes in on automatic rollers a part to which I fit in screw No. 137. And that done, it disappears through the window on the right. That's all I have to do, and I make 25 dollars per week by it. Not bad, eh?"
>
> "And that's all you will be doing for the manufacture of your blessed car all your days?"
>
> "No, indeed! I began with screw No. 733, which earned me just 10 dollars. I expect before long to be put on to screw No. 73, which will mean for me 30 dollars the week."

That is our research for you in a nutshell, which has earned Doctorates by the dozen. It cannot be too strongly emphasised that specialisation must come on the top of wider foundation, and not as a substitute for it. The "particular" has a value only in so far as it can be subsumed under some "universal": *avibhaktam vibhakteṣu*, as the Gītā words it.

19. In the University where I took my Doctorate they have what is called a Pre-Seminar Course without successfully going through which nobody was permitted to go in for research. They drilled us in the outlines of Classical Scholarship; made us draw up Bibliographies; prepare Indexes; discuss constituted texts on the basis of Mss. collations: familiarised us, in short, with the tools of our profession. Here in India, so far as I have seen things, or was able to judge from the Doctorate Theses from the several Universities which came up to me for being examined, students are permitted to take a theme for research much too early and at the dictation of the Professor in charge; whereas the theme of research ought to come to the student as a suggestion arising naturally from the subject or subjects in which he might be engaged for the time being. The students—and may-be some of their teachers—have some queer notions about "research". They are often misled into thinking that research is the aim of all knowledge, is a kind of a higher knowledge, so to say; whereas the facts are just the other way round. The remedy indicated for this unsatisfactory state of things is, the dissemination of correct knowledge about research and research methods by the establishment of special preparatory courses, which ought to be made compulsory on all students intending to go in for research either for its own sake, or for any University degree. And while I am on the subject let me also say that research is not to be judged by the number and the intensity of the shocks that the conclusions thereby arrived are likely to administer to the established or orthodox opinion on the given subject. That kind of "originality" does not bespeak a healthy mind. Research is a constructive force, which admits destruction only in so far as it helps re-construction. And as I said, fortunately, in almost every field of study, there is such a virgin and unexplored or only partially explored soil awaiting the patient plough of the tillers and toilers, that there is no possibility of our students wanting "problems."

It was my intention originally to take up a few such "problems", and show how important constructive work is waiting there for the earnest student who would apply his mind to it, by first taking stock of the work that others have already

done on the subject, and, after a critical examination of the same, making his own contribution to it. But as the present session at Benares was fixed up rather late, there was not sufficient time left for introducing all those things in the Address, which had to be printed in great hurry. I must however make room for just one such problem.

It is well-known that some Western scholars have tried to prove that the present form of our Mahābhārata is later than the Purāṇas, which they classify into an earlier group, including the Matsya and the Vāyu, and a later group. This is done on the basis of a comparative study of topics common to the Mahābhārata on one side, and the earlier and the later groups of the Purāṇas on the other. Taking for instance the geographical and the cosmographical chapters from the Epic and the Purāṇas, Hopkins and Kirfel have endeavoured to prove that the Mahābhārata is borrowing not only from the earlier group of Purāṇas, but also from the later group including the Liṅga and the Garuḍa Purāṇas; while a pupil of Kirfel—Dr. L. Hilgenberg—essayed to demonstrate that in the Cosmographical chapters of the Bhīṣmaparvan, the Mahābhārata was a careless imitation of the Padmapurāṇa. The untenability of the latter claim I have demonstrated in a paper already published elsewhere;[1] and I have subsequently gathered enough evidence—which owing to its technical and textual character is unsuitable for presentation in an address of this type—which will go to prove that, even the earlier Purāṇas betray an unmistakable acquaintance with the treatment of the topic in the Great Epic. Such a comparative study of topics common to the Epics and the Purāṇas constitutes a very fruitful field, which may profitably engage the attention of our research workers.

20. But, should we keep on talking of learning and research with aeroplanes flying in the skies overhead, with submarines plying their nefarious trade under waters, and with the tanks rattling all around us on the earth, endangering civil life and civil occupations? If the reports are correct, in some of the belligerent countries Science has prostituted itself and contracted an unholy alliance with the forces of destruction. But this cannot go on for ever. Sanity will return, and mankind will have to sit down and seriously tackle the problem of post-war reconstruction. Homer's Epos, we are told, does not conclude: it merely ceases. So it may be with the present

[1] See "Cosmographical Episode from the Mahābhārata and the Padmapurāṇa", F. W. Thomas Commemoration Volume, 1939.

War. But whether the period following the end of the War is to be of shorter or longer duration, it will be a period of peace, when the war-fever will have cooled down, so that the war-time psychology which is now dominating us in all directions will have to be clean forgotten. There is a sense of war-weariness slowly creeping upon us all, however reluctant we might be to confess it; and that, after the Armistice, ought to teach our statesmen wisdom and moderation. If the peace talks are going to be merely a matter of restitutions and indemnities, a matter of political and economic adjustments, there is not much chance of such a peace bringing enduring solace to our exacerbated hearts or joy to our devastated hearths.

21. I began my Address by mentioning the names of some of the great scholars whose loss from amongst us it has fallen to our lot to chronicle. They were, some of them, names of persons hailing from countries whom the War has taught us to regard as the enemy countries. But they were all allies banded together in the cause of Truth: that Truth which, someone has caustically said, is the first casuality of the War. It may not be easy; but we will have to live down the rancour created by the War, and think of our sworn enemies as our born allies. War is never known to have made permanent conquests or built enduring empires. The conquests of Alexander, Cæsar, Napoleon or Taimur hardly lasted a generation. Those of Christ or Aśoka have endured through centuries.

The East is East: the West, West;
And never the twain shall meet:

someone has said, forgetting all the while the fact that the East and the West coalesce at each Meridian, should we but have the proper view-point. Cultural contacts dissolve enmities and racial jealousies; for, have not the Phœnicians, the Portuguese, and even the Arabs in a way helped the spread of Eastern or Indian culture in Europe and led to the canonisation of our own Buddha as a Christian saint? There is sufficient *Lebensraum* in the world for all of us should we but agree to live together as one fraternity. But on any other relationship no corner and no castle would be safe for any length of time either for the master or for the ministrant.

22. In the domain of Oriental Scholarship, which of course and not politics has been all along the theme of my address, there is one thing in particular that still needs to be stressed. There was a time when, on any point at issue, to cite some German authority in support was regarded as the winning stroke. We do not seem to have quite got over that—shall I

call it ?—inferiority-complex. I know a case where one of our Professors prepared an original paper on one of our Vedānta teachers and arranged for the publication of it over the signature of a German scholar. In another case, another Professor, wishing to prove that he was capable of original research, if at all he cared for it, took it into his head to re-suscitate an exploded view of a well-known German scholar about the date of a poet, and sought to support it by a rather commonplace array of arguments newly compiled by him for the purpose. In scholarship, as in everything else, nobody is likely to concede to you an equality of status by merely asking for it by such methods as these. Trust in your own power. Do what you think as the best, and give no thought to the consequences. That is what the Bhagavadgītā has been dinning into our ears all these days. And if to-day, which is the last day of the dying year, we decide to live down the older mentality and resolve to stand together, brothers in the common pursuit of Truth, and devise courageously our own methods and establish our own traditions of research, we will assuredly come by our own before the New Year, which we will be ringing in in a few hours, becomes ripe for ringing in its successor.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : VEDIC SECTION

By

DR. C. KUNHAN RAJA, MADRAS.

THE FUTURE OF VEDIC RESEARCHES

My first duty is to express my very sincere feelings of gratitude to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the great honour done to me by selecting me to preside over the Vedic Section of this session of the Conference. I had a similar honour only four years ago when I was selected to preside over the Classical Sanskrit Section of the session of the Conference held at Tirupati in March 1940. I know that my claims for such continued honour are weak. I have been regularly attending the sessions of the Conference from its fifth session held at Lahore in 1928; and from that time onwards, I have been continuously a member of the Conference and have been contributing some papers at the various sessions. I have also tried to edit some Vedic texts and I have done some work in the field of Classical Sanskrit. Grammar and Indian philosophy are subjects which I have not failed to touch. This honour I consider as a recognition of the sincerety with which I have attempted to be of some service in the field of Sanskrit literature, and also as an encouragement for my future work. All that I can assure you in response to this honour is that if I have not done anything very appreciable and if I am not able to contribute much in future, it will not be due to any want of sincerety on my part. It must be the consequence of some inherent weakness and short-comings in me, for which there is no remedy.

2. It is the usual practice in the presidential addresses in Conferences to make a survey of the progress of the particular subject during the term preceding the session and following the previous session, and it will be only appropriate to keep on to such a practice. In the address of the General President there will be such a survey of the entire field of Orientalogy and it is neither appropriate nor fruitful for any one of lesser capacities, to attempt to make a further survey of any particular portion of that wide field. This is one of the reasons for my slightly deviating from the usual practice on this occasion. There is another factor which persuades me not to attempt such a survey. In the Special Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, published less than a year ago, there is a masterly survey of the progress of Vedic research

along with a survey of similar work in the other fields connected with Indological studies. There is practically nothing that I can add to this survey, if I started a fresh investigation in the field.

3. My attempt is more to consider what lies ahead of us, and if I take any retrospective view, it is only to get the right direction and bearing in my looking ahead. Although it is not the Vedic literature among Sanskrit works, that first reached the notice of European scholars, and although Vedic studies started among the European scholars only long time after they had investigated other types of literature, still when the Vedic literature was brought to their notice, the enthusiasm created by this new wealth of the Indo-Germanic family far exceeded the enthusiasm created by the appearance of Sanskrit. Epics and dramas, law books and mythological works were the first specimens of Sanskrit literature that reached the notice of the Europeans. It was really Burnouf who started the study of the Vedas in Europe, and he started the comparative study of the Vedas with the Avesta. His disciples distinguished themselves in the field of Vedic research. Vedic texts were published. Philological and historical investigation of the Vedic literature made great headway.

4. In the European Universities, the study of the Vedic literature and of Comparative Philology went side by side, and the other strata of Sanskrit literature occupied only a subordinate position in the Sanskritic field in the European Universities. It is true that many of the texts of the Sanskrit literature in the field of drama and epics were printed in Europe. The grammar of Pāṇini too had attracted the attention of the European scholars. In the systems of Philosophy, it was the Advaita that attracted the attention of scholars and Sāṅkhya and Yoga stood behind. Nyāya and Mīmāṃsā found little enthusiastic reception in European Universities. The Purāṇas and the historical and ethical poems also commanded some attention. But if we look back on the contribution of Europe to Sanskritic studies during the nineteenth century, it would be found that it was in the Vedic literature that they made the greatest progress. I have no intention of evaluating the contribution of the European scholars in the field of Vedic research at present. But I had to refer to this point only to show how India stood in relation to European scholars in Vedic studies.

5. It cannot be said that in the modern methods of Vedic studies India had made much of a contribution in the nineteenth century. It is true that many of the Vedic texts had been printed in the series of the Royal Asiatic Society of

Bengal, known as the Bibliotheca Indica Series. The Ānandāśrama and the Mysore Series also have published many original works in the Vedic field, not known before. But studies like chronology, mythology, grammar and rituals had not received the same attention in India as they had in the European centres during the last century.

6. But during the recent years, there has been a great enterprise shown by Indian scholars in Indian Universities in making scientific researches in the Vedic field. Many works not known to the European scholars in the last century came to light and were published from the different centres of research in India. The commentaries of Bhaṭṭabhāskara on the Yajur-Veda were published from Mysore. The commentary on the Nirukta by Maheśvara has been published by Dr. Lakshman Sarup from Lahore, and this publication must be regarded as a real land-mark in our progress along the path of Vedic research. Many commentaries on the Vedas, whose real nature was not known to the Vedic scholars of the last century, like the commentaries by Skandasvāmin and Mādhava, were discovered, though only in fragments, and the available portions have been published.

The Trivandrum Sanskrit Series has published the commentaries on the Ṛg-veda by Skandasvāmin and Mādhava for the first three Adhyāyas of the first Aṣṭaka, and the Madras University has published the entire first Aṣṭaka of Skandasvāmin's Ṛgveda Commentary, with a really variant version for the first two Adhyāyas, differing considerably from the recension published from Trivandrum. Some Kārikās on Ṛg-veda interpretation collected from the Ṛgveda Commentary of Mādhava, were also published by the Madras University. To this latter publication was added as an appendix two Anukramaṇīs written on the Ṛgveda by another Mādhava. The commentary on the Ṛgveda by this second Mādhava has been discovered in the Adyar Library for the first Aṣṭaka, and the portion for the first four Adhyāyas of this Aṣṭaka has already been published by the Adyar Library and the remaining portion is now being issued. Still another Mādhava has commented on the Sāmaveda, and this commentary along with the commentary by Bharatasvāmin has been published by the Adyar Library. Another work of importance on the Vedas is a book called Vārarucaniruktasamuccaya, also discovered in the Adyar Library, and published from the Madras University. Besides these, the Adyar Library has one more commentary on the Ṛgveda in a very fragmentary form, and there is also a fragment of a commentary on the Sāmaveda.

7. Three commentaries on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa have been found out, by Ṣaḍguruśiṣya, by Govindasvāmin and by Bhaṭṭabhāskara. I had surmised in a paper that I contributed to the fifth session of this Conference held at Lahore that Bhaṭṭabhāskara must have written commentaries for all the four Vedas, and the existence of a commentary by him for the Ṛgveda Brāhmaṇa lends support to this surmise. The commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa by Ṣaḍguru has been published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series for the first fourteen Adhyāyas, and the remaining part will soon appear. The other two commentaries remain yet in manuscript form. There is a commentary for the Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa by one Udaya and this too is a very lucid and scholarly exposition of the text.

8. There are commentaries available for stray Mantras, like the commentary by Haradatta on the Mantras of the Aśvalāyana Gṛhya Sūtras. This has been published from Trivandrum. The earlier part of this publication is by one Cakrapāṇi, not noticed in that publication. The entire commentary of Haradatta is available in manuscript form at Mysore, though there are breaks here and there.

9. I wanted only to indicate what progress has been made in India during recent times in the matter of text publications in the Vedic field. There are still many texts awaiting the enterprise of publishers and also of research workers.

10. In the field of Kalpa Sūtras there are various commentaries now available in manuscript form, and they are all very important in understanding the text of the Vedas. In the field of the Kalpa Sūtras, names like Bhavadāsa, Bhavatrāta and Devatrāta are not very familiar to the ordinary Sanskritist, since their works have not yet been published, and since, consequently, their names are known only to a few specialists in the Vedic Literature and to those who deal with bibliography.

11. The literature in Vedāṅga is also equally rich. I have already mentioned the commentary on the Nirukta by Maheśvara, published from Lahore. Many commentaries on the Sarvānukramaṇī are known and their manuscripts are available. Recently a metrical exposition of the Sarvānukramaṇī has come to light, and a full description will be found in the issue of the Bulletin of the Adyar Library for December 1943. Another very important work in the field of Vedāṅga for which searches were being made, is the Niruktavārtika. References to this relatively ancient work are seen in very early books, and it has been shown in the Annals of Oriental

Research of the Madras University, Vol. II, Part 2, that Durga in his commentary on the Nirukta might have been referring to this work when he quoted from a Vārtika. The work has been discovered, though I have not yet seen the work. I am hoping to receive it soon and then a full description of it will appear in a suitable Oriental Journal at an early date.

12. It is not my intention here to make a survey of the Vedic literature or the work already done in the field. My real object is to indicate what amount of work yet remains to be done. Even the publication of the available manuscript material will engage scholars for many years. Then there are many works which are known only in fragments. To this category must be assigned the commentaries on the Ṛgveda by Skandasvāmin, of which only the portion relating to the first Aṣṭaka and a small part of the fifth Aṣṭaka have come to light. The commentary of Mādhava, of which the first four Adhyāyas of the first Aṣṭaka have been issued from the Adyar Library, is available only for the first Aṣṭaka and the rest has yet to be located. Here I may definitely say that this commentary is quite different from the commentary of Mādhava so beautifully brought out from Lahore under the able editorship of Dr. Sarup. His Anukramaṇīs are known only from references in his work, except for the two Anukramaṇīs published as an Appendix to the Madras University Sanskrit Series No. 2. The whole of the metrical commentary on the Ṛgveda of which only a very stray fragment has been discovered in the Adyar Library must be searched for. Bhaṭṭabhāskara's commentary on the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa is available only for early portion, and a complete copy still remains undiscovered.

13. Apart from the discovery and publication of rare works in the field of Vedic literature, there is the question of settling the authorship and dates of many of these works. The relation of Skandasvāmin to the Nirukta commentary published from Lahore requires closer investigation. The possibility of a commentary on the Nirukta by Skandasvāmin and another commentary on this original commentary by Maheśvara having become mixed up into a single commentary, is something that has to be examined. The problem has been discussed before; yet it remains a problem, though each party may consider his position as beyond a shadow of doubt. Regarding the date of Skandasvāmin, there is a difference of opinion, the difference being by a century, and this difference is due to a difference in interpreting a verse where the date is given. Whether we have to take a text as it is or whether we

have to alter a text to make it conform to certain hypothesis, is also a question that needs careful consideration. Then there is the question of more than one Mādhava who has commented on the Ṛgveda, besides the Mādhava who has commented on the Sāmaveda. There is the Sāyaṇa Mādhava and also two other Mādhavas whose commentaries on the Ṛgveda are available. One has been taken up for publication from the Adyar Library and has appeared in print for the first half of the first Aṣṭaka. The other is being published from Lahore. Sāyaṇa quotes from a Mādhava as a previous commentator. The question regarding the Mādhava whom Sāyaṇa quotes, has yet to be decided. It is assumed that it is the Mādhava whose commentary is being published from Lahore. I have reasons to conclude that Sāyaṇa quotes from the Mādhava whose commentary has partly appeared from the Adyar Library. It is this Mādhava who is quoted from by all later commentators in the Vedic Literature. Even the quotations found in Devarāja's commentary on the Nighaṇṭu are from this Mādhava and not from Mādhava son of Veṅkaṭārya whose commentary it is that is now appearing from Lahore, though Devarāja mentions only this latter Mādhava by name. Devarāja has confused between many Mādhavas.

14. I can multiply cases where there is enough scope for many years' labour for students of Vedic literature even on this one problem of the authors of the Vedic commentaries and their dates and inter-relations. Many of these problems have to wait till more texts are published. I have no hesitation in saying that the publication of works available only in manuscripts at present is one of the most important pieces of works that stands in need of our immediate attention. I have already mentioned the work done in this field by certain institutions. If I have not mentioned all, it is not due to any desire on my part to ignore any institution or to bring certain other institutions into greater prominence. I was only making a casual survey of the publications of Vedic literature and not cataloguing the institutions that are engaged in this enterprise.

15. No one who knows anything of Vedic literature can ignore the wonderful work done by the International Academy of Indian Culture at Lahore. Many rare Vedic works have been published by this Academy under the distinguished leadership of Dr. Raghu Vir. The paper used, the printing and get up and every detail of publication is an object of envy and must be a source of pride to Indians, and are worthy of the valuable literature that is being ushered into the world through these publications and also of the scholarship revealed in these

publications. The Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, is taking up a stupendous work in bringing out the index of the Vedic Literature and some parts are already out. In Poona, there is the Tilak Vaidic Samshodhan Mandal, which is bringing out a very scholarly edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇa; they have promised various indices as a final volume.

16. Recently I had occasion to see the Vedic publications of another institution in the Bombay Presidency, of which I must make a special mention in this address. The Svadhyaya Mandal of Aundh in the Satara District of Bombay Presidency has already issued the Saṁhitās of the Ṛgveda, of the Śukla-yajurveda both in the Mādhyandina and Kāṇva Śākhās, of the Maitrayaṇī and Kāṭhaka Saṁhitas and of the Sāma and the Atharvavedas. There is also another volume being the first Part of what is termed the Daivata Saṁhitā, in which are brought together all the mantras pertaining to a particular Deity. The first Part contains the collection in respect of Agni, Indra, Soma and Maruts. Other parts of this work and the publication of other Vedic works are undertaken by this institution. I may say without any hesitation or without any exaggeration that I have not seen another set of publications where the purchaser can get so much of valuable material for such a small price. Apart from the accuracy of the texts presented and the neatness of the printing and get up, the indices and other supplementary material contained in these publications should give credit to any research scholar. I may cite one instance. In the Daivata Saṁhitā, there are certain valuable indices. There is at the end of a section dealing with a Deity, a collection of the similes found in the Vedas about that Deity and also all the epithets that are used in describing that Deity. The patient labour that has been devoted for such a stupendous collection of material is something that should rouse any one's admiration. And all this work is being done in the most modest way; there is no advertisement and publicity attached to this venture. The great work is being done in a silent corner of the world. Not material reward, not personal honour and fame, is the inspiring factor that urges such a great work; it is nothing but selfless devotion to a great undertaking, gratitude to the past and consideration for the future generations, that have given the founder of this institution the courage and power of endurance needed in carry ing out such a stupendous undertaking. While the undertakings of other institutions are being made known in the world through various channels, I find that this great institution

does not receive the same publicity which it deserves and I make a special appeal to those who are interested in Vedic researches to recognise the great service that this institution is doing to the world.

17. Ever since I started on the road of Vedic research, I had to face one question from many people who are prominent in the public eye and I cannot avoid a temptation to refer to this question. I had to tell various persons that I am interested especially in discovering manuscripts relating to Vedic literature and the uniform question that was put to me was, "Do these new commentaries on the Vedic literature throw any new light on the meaning of the Vedas?" Certainly it was the commentary of Sāyaṇa that I read for the first time in my attempt to understand the text of the Vedas. Then I studied the various annotation of modern scholars. During the last many years I had been discovering manuscripts of commentaries of the Veda older than Sāyaṇa, and I have done some work by way of publishing some of them. But the new commentaries do not give any really new interpretation of the Vedas.

18. The fact is that the Vedas can mean only one thing on the main, and that one meaning alone can be given by any interpreter. In details there are various new facts that are contained in the newly discovered earlier commentaries. But such details are of interest only to the specialist. The fact is the same in the case of other works also. Raghuvaṁśa has many commentaries. But is there much of a difference in the matter of the interpretations? Certainly not. There are various editions of Shakespeare with different annotations. But the main thing is the same in all such annotations. The great interest in the discovery of the earlier commentaries lies in the fact that from this, we are able to conclude that there was a continuous tradition of Vedic studies in India. Just as the number of editions and annotations and studies in respect of a work show the relative importance that was attached to that work, similarly the number of commentaries on the Vedas shows that in ancient India, the study of the Vedas was considered a very important factor in the intellectual activities of the nation.

19. In the Śāstraic literature, different commentaries present different and independent interpretations. This is the case with the interpretations of the Upanishads, the Brahmasūtras, the Gītā, the Mīmāmsā Bhāṣya and other Śāstraic works. In these cases, the basic text is only an occasion for the exposi-

tion of new doctrines, and are not themselves interpreted. The case is different for the ordinary literature, where the text is interpreted, without the interpreter attempting expositions of new doctrines.

20. If this is so and if the new commentaries do not throw any really new light on the text of the Vedas, why should one trouble oneself so much about the newly discovered commentaries ? I had no difficulty in meeting this serious question. The value of a man is that he is alive and cannot be dispensed with. In a State no one makes an investigation about the actual utility of every individual and decide to ignore or dispense with the unwanted element in the society. The State, on the contrary, lays down the axiom that in a State every individual has a right to live and also a duty to live. In a civilised country, no individual has a right to extinguish himself. He must live, whether he wills or not, whether he can or not, whether others want him or not.

21. Further we have various factories for the production of the same material. There are different agencies for the transaction of the same sort of business in a corporate society. Why should there be so many Banks, so many Insurance Firms, so many export and import agencies and so many duplications and multiplications of so many things in this world ? Why can we not be satisfied with a single institution for every single factor under State monopoly ? Just as this variety and multiplicity is a factor in our day to day life, similarly this variety and multiplicity in the literary world is also a fact that we must recognise. It is a sign of progress and prosperity.

22. The immense activity in the realm of Vedic interpretation in ancient India shows that Vedic literature was a living force in the life of the Indian community through those many centuries. It is a sad state of affairs that at present the efforts in the field of the Vedic literature is the hobby of a few, and the Vedic literature, along with the other strata of Sanskrit literature, has ceased to be a moving force in our national life. In every field of research there are two phases. It is so in science, it is so in literature. There is an abstract side ; there is also a practical side. There is the pure abstract science, where the attempt of the research worker is to find out certain truths in this Universe. Then the discoveries resulting from such investigations are made to serve the day to day needs of man.

23. Corresponding to the pure side and the applied side of the sciences, we do not now have an applied side to literary

studies in respect of our ancient Indian civilization. What our ancients thought and said, what they did, how they lived, what problems they had and how they found out solutions for such problems, what their hopes and aspirations were, these are matters a knowledge of which can and must be of some help for us in guiding ourselves in our journey along the path of modern life. But literary studies in India have been keeping themselves absolutely on the abstract side for many decades. Grammar, text emendations, constructing of these texts, determining authors and dates and such like matters have completely taken up the whole field.

24. But we must not ignore the fact that when these literary specimens were actually produced, they were not meant as prospective literary curiosities for a future generation of research workers. And if now we are looking on this rich literary region with merely the curiosity of a research worker, we are not looking at them from the correct position and we get a picture of the literature quite different from what it really is. I am not sure if even in very ancient times, the Vedic literature had not begun to be looked upon as something which it really was not in its original nature. The Vedas must originally have been pure literature of a high order. The inspiration of the poets began to be interpreted as the doctrine of the non-human origin of the Vedas, its *apauruṣeyatva*. It became an adjunct to ritualism and began to be interpreted as a ritualistic text. Now it has become a mere antiquarian curiosity. One of the many directions which future research work can take its course is to examine the Vedas as good literature and to attempt to evaluate its artistic side. This is a method of approach which has not been attempted, either in ancient times or in modern times.

25. In modern times, the philological method of interpreting the Vedas has assumed a great prominence. No one belittles the service which philology can render and has rendered in interpreting an ancient text. Our ancients were not blind to the efficacy of philology, in its aspects of historical grammar, in determining the meanings of words. Yāska says that in the majority of cases, there is a possibility of analysing words into their parts and of settling their derivations, correctly explaining the accent, and that in those cases, the interpretation should follow this straight path. But there are cases, where interpretation is not so easy on account of the changes that language has undergone and in these cases, special methods have to be employed. The standpoint is the same in modern times also.

26. The progress made in modern times in the matter of analysing the verbal content of the Vedas is something stupendous. But there is a very important question that has to be answered at some stage or other. If we are able to analyse all the words, determine the root from which the word has been formed, and fix the method of the formation of the word, and if in this way we are able to decide the original meaning or what we are constrained to accept as the original meaning of the word, have we been able to reach the end of our journey? Do the original meanings of the words show us the real meaning of the Vedic passages where those words occur?

27. By analysing the Vedic vocabulary and by determining the origin and formation of the words, we have only fixed the origin and formation of the words; that is all. From this, to say that we have also arrived at the real meaning of the Vedic texts, is not quite correct. Such a statement presumes so many unproved and so many disproved hypotheses. The identity of the original meaning of a word and the meaning of the word as it is found in the Vedas presumes that the Vedas represent the original strata in the development of the language. That again has as its basis the further assumption that the Vedas represent a very early stage in the civilization of the Indians, and that, that stage is not much beyond the starting point in the advancement of that civilization. Certainly we cannot understand Kālidāsa's poetry by a scheme of etymologies. Why should it be different in the case of the Vedas? The original point at which the development of language started is not any nearer to the Vedic poets relatively to the poets of a later age, than a man on the top of the mountain is nearer to the sun in relation to another man on the plains. Technically there is a difference in the distance between the man on the top of the mountain and the sun on one side and the man on the plain and the sun on the other side. But in actual affairs there is no perceptible difference. Similarly, though technically the Vedic poets lived at a time nearer to the time when Sanskrit language started its development, in relation to the poets of a later age, say the age of Kālidāsa, yet in actual facts of experiences, there is no noticable difference. Neither in the Vedas nor in Kālidāsa do we see the words used in their absolutely original sense.

28. When we take up philology and etymologies as aids to Vedic interpretations, we must realise that Vedic interpretation is an interpretation of thoughts and not a system of etymologies. There are shortcomings even in philology.

29. There is also no guarantee that the Vedic literature represents the language of any particular strata in the development of the language. Perhaps there is a longer interval between the earliest date of the Vedic poems and the latest dates than there is between such latest times and the date of Kālidāsa. What is called the Vedic age is a long period of many centuries and perhaps even of milleniums. As in the so-called biological evolution, the evolution of language is not continuous, uniform and proceeding at a regular pace. Facts continue unchanged for a long time, and then we find a sudden change. This is true also of language. Thus the difference in linguistic strata is not any sure criterion for determining dates. When there is no certainty that there was no change in the language of the Vedas in its different stages, how can a system of uniform etymologies be a help in determining the meanings of Vedic passages? The etymologies are more likely to misguide the investigator than to lead him to accurate conclusions. I am not belittling the value of philology. I am only giving a caution. Philology too has its shortcomings and weaknesses. Much work has been done in attempting to arrive at the original meanings of Vedic words. More work remains to be done in our attempts at arriving at the original thoughts preserved in the Vedic passages.

30. When we interpret the Vedas, we are not merely interpreting texts having no sort of connection with man's thoughts and man's life. So we must always keep in mind the fact that in trying to understand the Vedas, our attempt is really to understand a system of life, a civilization. Unless the future investigator keeps these two facts in mind, his investigation is not likely to take him much farther than where we are at present. The two fundamental facts are that Vedas are poetry of a very high order and that the original meaning of the words is not identical with the thoughts of the poets. In this address it is not my intention to prepare a programme for the future research work in the Vedic literature. My idea is a more modest one, and that is to make a representation that there is a possibility of a new method of approach. At a time when India was threatened with the danger of complete extinction, so far as her civilised life was concerned, it was the Vedic civilization and its record in the Vedic literature that gave it the source for the right inspiration in an attempt to restore their ancient civilization to its proper place and in giving it a relatively strong measure of continuity and permanence. What gave inspiration and strength to our ancients need not be a mere object of intellectual curiosity to us. My

object in entering on this topic is to make an appeal to students to see that our studies may have a more expanded scope than to investigate mere antiquarian problems and may comprehend certain fundamental questions of importance in our actual life. For this the preliminary step is to regard our past records as records of a civilization and not merely as relics of the starting point in man's civilization, or of the antecedent stages in the history of man's civilization. The Ṛṣis of old played a prominent part in shaping and controlling man's civilized life in India, and I see no reason why we, their descendants, however humble in our relative position, should allow ourselves to be kept behind in the rear rank in man's march through the modern ages. Let us start on a new direction in our future research in Vedic literature.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : IRANIAN SECTION

By

Dr. J. M. Unvala, Ph.D. (Heidelberg, Germany)

Wide Scope of Iranian Studies

Delegates, Members and Colleagues,

It is a great honour that has devolved on me to address you as President of the Iranian Section of the XII Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. I am sure that an indefatigable student of the Iranian languages, particularly of the Zoroastrian sacred literature, like Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara, Dr. Maneckji Davar or Mr. Bomanji Dhabhar, would have done greater honour to this post than I myself, who am sporadically in contact with our sacred literature since 1927, when I had taken up archaeology and numismatics, as my favourite subjects. Still, as unforeseen circumstances have now forced me to take up again the contact with that literature, and as the work on an Iranian bibliography, which I have compiled for the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat Funds and Properties, has revealed to me a bigger vista of the rich field of Iranistics than has been generally envisaged, I have chosen as the subject of my address Wide scope of Iranian Studies. We Parsis are greatly indebted to the organisers of the First Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Poona in 1919, to include in its different sections the Iranian one in accordance with the wishes of the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, who represented along with other Parsi scholars the small community of the Parsis, although the Conference might have, by the very attributive *All-India,* dealt exclusively with sections of Indian languages and literatures, philology, history, archaeology, numismatics and religion.

Now, as the problems concerning all these different branches of the purely Indian civilisation and culture are discussed in separate sections of the All-India Oriental Conference, its Iranian section has *par force* to discuss similar problems of the Iranian, particularly Zoroastrian civilisation and culture, and, therefore, I shall speak about these problems and about the efforts made by the western, *i.e.* European and American, and Indian, particularly Parsi savants. We are prone to overestimate the work done by western savants and belittle that done by their Indian colleagues, as the latter lack that

advertisement and backing which usually helps their western confrères. If I were to speak of the Parsi savants, some of whom I have just mentioned, they are so unassuming and their work in the vast field of Iranistics, especially in the field of Avesta, Pahlavi and allied literatures, is so sound as to be justly appreciated by their western confrères, but which often remains unknown to their Indian colleagues, that a serious *malentendu* took place on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the XI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in December 1941, which was expressed in plain terms in the Presidential Address of Mr. Yazdani and which was painful to listen for the delegates and members of the Iranian Section. The *malentendu* was worded as follows: "As regards the study of Iranian subjects it may be pointed out for the information of the institutions concerned that according to competent authorities the works published in recent years betray a narrowness of vision and lack of scientific methods, particularly on philological grounds. It should however be observed that the work done by Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala shows sound methods of research, and his guidance and advice should be taken advantage of by institutions publishing works on this important branch of Oriental studies." In the true spirit of justice towards his Parsi colleagues, Mr. Yazdani expressed his sincerest regrets for this *malentendu* the very same evening before a meeting of the members of the Iranian Section, which were accepted in the same spirit by Sardar Dastur Noshirwan Kaikobad, president of the section on behalf of himself and his colleagues. But as that *malentendu* has been already printed in the Presidential Address of Mr. Yazdani and circulated among the delegates and members of the XI Session of the All-India Oriental Conference without its correction[1], I feel it my humble duty to clear it once and for all.

Several Dasturs or high priests and priests of the Parsi community have kept up the torch of religious learning ever burning since the ancestors of the Parsis landed at Sanjan in the latter half of the eighth century of the Christian era. This can be amply proved from the rich collection of manuscripts pertaining to the Zoroastrian religion preserved in the big libraries of Berlin, Copenhagen, Florence, London, Munich,

[1] On this point being referred to Mr. Yazdani, he wrote to say, 'I never promised to delete the remarks which I made in this connection at the 11th session of the A.I.O.C. What I of course said to them was, "I shall make the necessary alterations" and that I have done.' A. S. Altekar, Local Secretary.

Oxford and Paris, in the Mulla Firoz and the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute Libraries of Bombay, in the Meherji Rana Library of Navsari, and many other private libraries belonging to several Parsi families residing in Gujarat. Some authors and copyists of these manuscripts were well conversant with the Avesta, Pahlavi, Sanskrit and Modern Persian languages, besides being authorities on matters of the Zoroastrian liturgy and ritual. They had opened schools in which these subjects were taught to priestly novitiates, sometimes even to laymen. The well-known scholars like Dastur Kumana Daddaru, Dastur Edaldaru Sanjana, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Peshotan Sanjana, Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Hoshangji Jamasp-Asana, Ervad Aspandiarji Faramji Rabadi, Dastur Mulla Firuz, and Dastur Erachji Meherji-Rana, to name only a few, have distinguished themselves especially in the Pahlavi literature. They have not only brought fame and lustre to these priestly schools, but they were the pioneers of the Pahlavi studies. European savants like Anquetil Duperron, Spiegel, Haug, West and Darmesteter have greatly profited themselves by their works. It must be emphasized that without their preparatory work, done according to the sound traditional method and with the deepest understanding of the religious spirit underlying the Pahlavi literature, the critical and philological interpretations of the Avesta and Pahlavi texts by these European savants would have been absolutely impossible.

To the ill-advised and ignorant attacks on the religious scriptures of the Parsis and on their religion by that Christian missionary Dr. John Wilson in 1840, we owe a new orientation in the study of these scriptures, and especially in the study of the Avesta and Pahlavi languages. It may be briefly mentioned that a well-studied rejoinder, based on quotations from the Zoroastrian sacred scriptures, given to Dr. Wilson by Mr. Dosabhai Munshi in 1843 silenced for ever Dr. Wilson and proselytizing missionaries of his type. Two decades later, the late Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama studied French, German, Avesta, and Pahlavi languages and allied literatures in Germany and France under renowned orientalists, like Mohl, Oppert and Spiegel. On his return to Bombay, he inaugurated in 1861 the study of these languages on the system of comparative philology among a small group of ardent students of the priestly class. Ervad Kavasji Edulji Kanga, the translator of the whole of the Avesta literature and the author of an *Avesta-Gujarati-English Dictionary*, Ervad Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, the editor of the *Collected Sanskrit Writtings of the Parsis* and the translator of a few Pahlavi treatises, and Ervad Tahmuras

Dinshah Anklesaria, an eminent Pahlavist, were among others his first disciples. Thanks to the efforts of Mr. Cama, Avesta, Ancient Persian and Pahlavi languages and literatures were introduced into the entire curriculum of the Bombay University in 1894. They were taught and are being taught even at present in the Sir Jamshedji Jeejeebhoy and Mulla Firoz Madressas, as the colleges of Bombay have no chair for these studies. The late Shams-ul-Ulama Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi, the late Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Darab Sanjana, M. A., Mr. Behramgore Anklesaria, M.A., Mr. B. N. Dhabhar, M.A., Mr. S. J. Bulsara, M.A., and other ex-students of these Madressas have already earned for themselves a name in the galaxy of brilliant Avesta and Pahlavi scholars. Dr. M. B. Davar, one of the above batch of scholars, Dr. Irach J. S. Taraporevala, Dr. J. M. Unvala, Dr. J. C. Tavadia, and Dr. Hormazdiar Mirza have studied under well known German and French orientalists, like Pischel, Geldner, Geiger, Kuhn, Bartholomae, Meillet, Junker, Hertel, and Henning; Shams-ul-Ulama Dastur Dr. Maneckji Dhalla and Dr. Jal Pavry are pupils of Jackson of the Columbia University of New York. They have already produced sound works on philological bases in the field of Iranian, especially Avesta and Pahlavi languages and literatures, which have acquired recognition of western savants.

It seems that the western savants have worked and are working in the field of Iranistics under the influence of two different currents, one may be styled synthetical, the other analytical. Under the influence of the former, monumental works, like the *Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie*, I and II, edited by W. Geiger and E. Kuhn with the collaboration of Bartholomae, Geldner, Geiger, Nöldeke, West, Horn, and others, and the complete translation of the Avesta scriptures in German with an elaborate commentary and a masterly introduction by Friedrich Spiegel, the same in French by James Darmesteter, the translation of the Pahlavi texts by E. W. West, W. Haug and Hoshangji have been produced. These works are pioneer efforts of German and French savants, in which they are greatly helped by the earlier works on the same subjects by Parsi Dasturs of the traditional school. Christian Bartholomae's *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, Strassburg 1904, is the result of the analysis of each and every Avesta and Ancient Persian word with its reference to the context, based on strictly philological lines. Therein he differs from Darmesteter who relies mainly on traditional interpretations of the Dasturs,

particularly in case of obscure Avesta words. Fritz Wolff has compiled a German translation of the later Avesta on the authority of *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. Bartholomae has utilised in *Zum Altiranischen Wörterbuch, Nacharbeiten und Vorarbeiten*, Strassburg 1906, among other sources, the new comparative materials offered by the Pahlavi dialect of the Turfan documents.

As regards the problems which still await solutions on the part of the Iranists, we may mention among others those concerning (1) the Indo-Iranian migration, (2) the date of Zarathushtra, (3) the Avesta alphabet, (4) the interpretation of the Avesta, (5) the difference between the Pahlavi and Parsik languages, (6) the transcription of the Pahlavi texts, and (7) consanguinous marriages among the ancient Iranians.

(1) It has been argued on the authority of the Boghaz-Keüi cuneiform tablets, written in the Akkadian language, which mention among others a treaty of peace between Shubbi-luliumma, king of the Hittites and Mattiwaza, king of the Mitannis, signed in about the first quarter of the XIVth century B.C., and in which the contracting parties take as witnesses several national deities, among whom Mitrasil, Arunasil, Indar and Nasattyanna are mentioned, that the Aryans, *i.e.* the forefathers of the Indians and Iranians, had not yet migrated to India and Iran, but were living together as an ethnic group in Asia Minor. These four deities are undoubtedly Aryan, as they are frequently invoked in the Vedas and mentioned in the later Avesta, where only Mithra (Mitra) is invoked as a Yazata, whereas the last two are considered as *daevas* or evil beings after the religious schism between the Indians and Iranians had taken place. Again, the names of some princes of the Mitannis like Mattiwaza, Tushratta, etc. (Ind. *Mati-vaja* "victorious by thought, by prayers"; *Dus-raddha* "difficult to overcome"; cf. B. Hrozny, *Archiv Orientalni*, III, 1931, p. 289) suggest that at least the ruling aristocracy was rather of Aryan origin. These considerations have led Hertel and some other savants to place the composition of the Vedas and of the Gathas of Zarathushtra much later than the second half of the XIVth century B.C. This can be considered as an *argumentum ex silentio*, as it might be presumed that we have in the Boghaz-Keüi tablets the last historical mention of an Aryan tribe domiciled in Asia Minor. At any rate, much useful information on this point can be obtained from a careful study of the astronomical data which might be gathered from the Ṛg-Veda and the Avesta. It is certain that the Kossaeans

or the Kassites who are supposed to be autochthon Iranians, residing in the region of the Zagros Mountains, invaded and overwhelmed the first Babylonian empire of Hammurabi and founded the Kassite dynasty which ruled in Babylon from the XVIIIth to the XIIth century B.C. Their language contains traces of the Indo-Germanic (Aryan?) language. (Cf. G. Contenau, *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, tome I, Paris 1927, pp. 166-167).

(2) As to the date of Zarathushtra, Chr. Bartholomae in *Zarathushtras Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg 1919, p. 10, would not admit a date later than 900 B.C., whereas A. V. W. Jackson in *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*, New York 1899, pronounces the traditional date, 600 B.C., to be the correct one. A. Meillet in *Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de l'Avesta*, *Annales du Musée Guimet, Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation*, 44, Paris 1925, pp. 22 and 32, considers the traditional date probable, if we take into consideration linguistic, economic and political data. E. Herzfeld and Lehmann-Haupt are also in favour of the traditional date, but they give it as 570 and 550 B.C. respectively, see *Pavry Oriental Studies*, London 1933, pp. 137 and 255. Dastur Dr. Dhalla pronounces on the date of Zarathushtra in *Zoroastrian Theology*, New York 1914, p. 11, as follows: "Zarathushtra planted his new faith in Iran at a date approximating 1000 B.C., though some learned scholars, basing their arguments on traditional sources, are inclined to assign a date as late as the seventh century B.C., or, to be more exact, 600-583 B.C." Dr. J. J. Modi has supported the traditional date given by the authors of the Pahlavi treatises *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak*, *Mēnūk i Xrat*, *Dātistān i Dēnīk* and *Dēnkart* in a lecture delivered in Bombay on the 5th of August 1932. Prof. A. Berriedale Keith seems also to support the traditional date in an article, entitled "The Achaemenids and Zoroaster," published in *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, pp. 20-26. But, it is certain that the author of the Pahlavi *Xvatāi Nāmak* which was composed in the Sassanian epoch and Firdusi who draws the materials for his *Shāh Nāma* from this long lost Pahlavi work through the intermediary of the *Bāstān Nāma* of Daqiqi, as well as the chronicler of the *Bundahishn* have very little or nearly nothing to relate about the Achaemenian and Parthian dynasties who ruled in Iran from 578 to 323 B.C. and from 246 B.C. to 226 A.D.,[1] as they considered these dynasties not staunch Zoroastrian from their intransigent attitude towards other religions, the attitude which was quite in conformity with that

[1]During the interval between 323 B.C. and 246 B.C. the Seleucids ruled over Iran.

followed by the Sassanian sovereigns. The argument advanced by certain savants, like Dr. Modi (cf. his above mentioned lecture) that Zarathushtra was not mentioned in the Achaemenian inscriptions, because his religion which was preached in eastern Iran had not penetrated to the west, cannot be maintained as even such staunch Zoroastrians as were the Sassanian sovereigns have not mentioned even once the name of the prophet Zarathushtra in their rock-inscriptions. This name does not occur even once on Sassanian seals. It is highly probable that the Sassanians held this name in such high respect that they did not like to use it unnecessarily and thereby defile it. Similar is also the opinion of Dastur Kaikhusru Kutar who says: "Can it be that the honoured name of the Prophet of Ancient Iran was considered too sacred to be commented on by Pahlavi writers in a bizarre and haphazard way, as we find various scholars to have done?" (cf. *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, p. 177). Similar seems also to be the attitude of staunch Moslems to the use of the name of the Prophet Muhammad.

If we consider this question of the date of Zarathushtra from the standpoint of archaeology, we should place it in the iron age, as clear references to bronze or copper are not found in the Avesta literature, although *bərəjya* in *parō-bərəjya-* (*Vidēvdāt*, 8, 96) is explained by Modern Persian *berenj* "copper; bronze." We have on the contrary many references to iron in the later Avesta, and one even in the Gathas, *Yasn*, 51. 9, where the universal judgment at the final dispensation by molten iron (*ayaṅhā xshustā-*), metal *par excellence* is mentioned. The later Avesta, especially the Yasht literature (*Yashts*, 10, 13, 14, 17), describes offensive and defensive weapons and armour of the Yazat Mithra and of the Fravashis, which are made of iron. (Avesta *ayaṅh-* is Vedic *ayas-*; the latter means "metal; iron"; cf. Hermann Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda*, Leipzig 1873, p. 98). Now, we know from the excavations at Kashan, at Nehavend, and in Luristan that iron weapons, like poniards, lance-heads and arrow-heads, were found in graves which could be dated as early as the XIVth-XIIIth century B.C., whereas at Susa in Elam iron made its appearance still later in about the beginning of the first millennium B.C. Thus we can place the Gathas of Zarathushtra tentatively as early as the XIVth century B.C. and the later Avesta perhaps not later than the beginning of the first millennium B.C.

(3) Mr. Sohrab J. Bulsara has tried to prove the high antiquity of the Avesta alphabet in a paper entitled "The Origin of the Alphabet", published in *Dr. Modi Memorial*

Volume, Bombay 1930, pp. 378-404. He has appended to it three plates, showing the developments of the letters of all known ancient alphabets from the letters of the Avesta alphabet in their primitive forms, as derived from their supposed original pictographs. According to him, even the Egyptian hieratic, both predynastic and postdynastic, and demotic scripts had been derived from this original Avesta script. The same theme had formed the subject of his paper read before the XI All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in December 1941. He traces the origin of the Persian (rather Arabic) alphabet also to the Avestan alphabet through the intermediary of the Hira script in another article, published in *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, pp. 42-56, and plates I-III. This bold thesis contradicts the theory of Friedrich Carl Andreas who maintained that the Avesta scriptures were written in Aramaic characters when they were compiled by the Dasturs in the time of Valkash the Ashkanian, Vologeses I of the Parthian dynasty who ruled over Iran from 51 to 77/78 A.D. (cf. *Dēnkart*, Sanjana's edition, Vol. IX, p. 456, § 16), that the existing Avesta characters have been later on developed from the Aramaic ones, and that they had a different phonetic value from that attributed to them traditionally (cf. "Der Ursprung des Awestaalphabets und sein ursprünglicher Lautwert" in *Proceedings of the XIII International Congress of Orientalists* held in 1902 in Hamburg, Leiden 1904; and F. C. Andreas and J. Wackernagel, *Die erste, zweite, vierte, und fuenfte Gatha des Zarathushtro (Jasno, 28, 29, 31 und 32). Versuch einer Herstellung der älteren Textformen nebst Uebersetzung*, 1911 und 1913; cf. also Hch. F. J. Jünker, "The Origin of the Avestan Alphabet," *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, pp. 766-774). In fact, the national Iranian renaissance is due to this Parthian king, who was the first to introduce Pahlavi legends in Aramaic script on his coins, side by side with the usual Greek legends which in course of time had become so corrupt as to be illegible. Again, the first Pahlavi document known up to date is a parchment, discovered at Avroman in Iranian Kurdistan in 1915, on which a contract of the sale of a vineyard is written in Aramaic script. It is dated month Harvatat of the year 300 of the Arsacid era, which began on the 10th of October, 246 B.C., and hence the parchment must have been written in 54 A.D. However tempting the comparative columns of the different scripts given by Mr. Bulsara in plates I-III might be, his bold thesis requires at any rate more convincing proofs, especially of *historical* nature. In this connection I should like to draw his attention to an inscription written in ink on a calcarous boulder, discovered at

Susa in 1933, in an as yet unidentified cursive script, which resembles in parts Demotic, Aramaic and even Pahlavi scripts. There are in this inscription *svastikas*, *ankhs* and some Proto-Elamite signs. At any rate, it can be looked upon as Proto-Susian and dated 3500 B.C. The script runs from right to left, some lines even from left to right. I hope, he will be able to unravel with his usual acumen the mystery attached to this script.

(4) As regards the interpretation of the Avesta texts, we have to observe that they are sensibly different from one another according as they are given by the traditional, philological, or mystical school. The traditional school has, of course, the support of the Pahlavi translations and commentaries of the Sassanian Dasturs, and to a certain extent also of the Sanskrit and Modern Persian versions of the Dasturs of India. Wherever the interpretation of the traditional school is not satisfactory, philology is of great help ; the reverse is also the case, as in the explanation of obscure words, e.g. in *Vīdēvdāt*, *8*. 96. The Pahlavi commentaries, particularly on the Vandidad, give us a good idea of the views held by Sassanian Dasturs on matters pertaining to social and religious customs. Of late, the mystical school of the Ilme-Khshnumists, founded by the late Mr. Behramshah N. Shroff in the first decade of this century, one of whose modern exponents is Dr. Faramroz Chinivala, has published translations in Gujarati with elaborate commentaries of some Avesta texts. This school is spreading its teaching in well-organized classes and public lectures. The efforts of the school at interpretation of the Avesta scriptures are no doubt commendable, but I wonder whether scholars will agree in regarding them as sufficiently scientific and critical in character. I must say that the Ilme-Khshnumists, and the Parsi theosophists as well, cater for the growing spiritual hunger of those Parsis who are not quite conversant with the real spirit of Zoroastrianism.

(5) One of the epoch-making discoveries of the beginning of this century was that of the manuscripts and fragments of manuscripts made in Chinese Turkistan, which are written in Middle Persian, Tokharian, Ueigur, Chinese, Saka, Khotanic, Sanskrit and Pali languages, and in different scripts. They appertain to Manichaeism, Buddhism and Christianity, the three great religions which were spread peacefully in that region in the early centuries of the Christian era. These manuscripts are preserved in the University Library of Berlin, in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris, in the British Museum of London, and in the Library of the University of Leningrad.

The Middle Persian fragments have been published by eminent scholars, like F. C. Andreas, A. von Le Coq, A. Cowley, F. W. K. Müller, Paul Pelliot, Hans Reichelt, and Carl Salemann. Turfan fragments appertaining to Manichaeism and published by F. W. K. Müller are written in two important dialects, in the Arsacid or north-western dialect and in the south-western dialect spoken in Persis, which became the official language of the Sassanian empire. The importance of the Turfan texts lies in the fact that the ideograms employed in the Pahlavi inscriptions and in books pertaining to Zoroastrianism are wholly eliminated from it, and that they preserve, therefore, faithfully the pronunciations of Pahlavi of the third century A.D. Bartholomae has called the Pahlavi of these texts Turfan Pahlavi. Again, among the fragments published by Müller, there are some written in Sogdian, a north-eastern dialect of Pahlavi which flourished approximately from the first century of the Christian era upto the invasion of the Mongols, perhaps still later, in the regions of Samarqand and Farghana, with Samarqand as its centre. The characters employed for the Turfan documents are Estrangelo-Syriac with certain modifications, whereas the Sogdian ones were written in Estrangelo-Syriac and in Sogdian characters, which were of Aramaic origin. In the latter the long Buddhist texts discovered in the grotto of Touen-Houang by A. Stein and Paul Pelliot are written. Robert Gauthiot who had deciphered the Sogdian fragments brought to Paris by Pelliot's mission as early as in 1911 and 1912 wrote his *Essai de Grammaire Sogdienne, I, Phontéique,* Paris 1914. It has been published as a posthumous work by A. Meillet in 1923. Its *II. Partie, Morphologie, Syntaxe et Glossaire,* Paris 1929, is the work of E. Benveniste.

The early Sassanian inscriptions of Hajiabad, Naqshe-Rustam, Shahpur and Paikuli are engraved in two different scripts, Arsacid and Sassanian. The Arsacid lapidary script is the same as that employed in the so-called Chaldeo-Pahlavi version of the Hajiabad inscription. It differs from the script found on coins of the later Parthian kings, dating from 51 A.D. to 226 A.D. Both are of Aramaic origin, but the characters of the latter assume rather square shapes in imitation of the Greek legends on these coins. The legends on coins of the early Sassanian sovereigns are in the same script as used on Sassanian lapidary inscriptions, and although it affects on coins of later kings the cursive forms of Book-Pahlavi, the archaic forms are co-existent. It has been suggested from a certain quarter to call this script and the language of the legends as well *Pārsīk* (for the script cf. Hch. F. J. Jünker, "The Origin

of the Avestan Alphabet," *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1930, p. 768). This suggestion is acceptable as regards the language only, if we consider Pārsīk as the language of Pars or Persis. But the term Pahlavi is generally employed by Iranists for Middle Persian or the language which shows that phase in the development of Iranian which is intermediate between Ancient Persian of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achaemenids and Modern Persian. They call the Arsacid or Parthian language Pahlavi of the north, the Sassanian language Pahlavi of the south, and the newly discovered Sogdian language the north-eastern dialect of Pahlavi. At any rate, to use the word *Pārsīk* for Pahlavi seems to me rather pedantic.

(6) It must be said as regards the transcription of the Pahlavi texts and coin-legends that the Turfan texts have proved without a shade of doubt by wholly eliminating the ideograms employed in the Pahlavi of inscriptions and books pertaining to Zoroastrianism that these ideograms, which are evidently loan-words from an Aramaic dialect, were never pronounced as such. In this respect they are comparable to Sumerian words used as ideograms in Babylonian and Assyrian languages, or to Chinese words similarly used in Japanese. H. S. Nyberg has explained in *Le Monde Oriental*, tome XVII, 1923, the Semitic forms of verbs used as ideograms in Pahlavi.

As said above, the Turfan texts which are written with the utmost care in Estrangelo-Syriac characters, devoid of polyphony, have preserved faithfully the pronunciations of Pahlavi of the third century A.D. This fact has been fully utilized by Bartholomae who has evolved a reliable system of transcription of the Pahlavi texts, as can be seen from his numerous publications. This system has been followed by me in my *Neryosangh's Sanskrit Version of the Hōm Yasht*, Vienna 1924, and other publications. Benveniste, Nyberg and Pagliaro have tried to find forms of the Parthian or northern dialect in some Pahlavi texts, e.g. in *Draxt i Asūrīk*. The transcription of Pahlavi as given by western scholars remains to a certain extent unsettled since 1924 owing to the steady progress in the decipherment of the Turfan Pahlavi and Sogdian texts. At any rate, the practice of transcribing the ideograms as Iranian words should be unanimously followed by Parsi scholars.

(7) The highly controversial question of the alleged practice of consanguinous marriages (*xvētūk-das*) among the ancient Iranians, the question which formed the subject of a paper read by Mr. H. P. Mehta in the Iranian Section of the XI All-India Oriental Conference, held at Hyderabad in 1941, has been exhaustively treated by West, Sanjana, Casartelli

and Dhabhar. The latter says in the introduction to *The Pahlavi Rivāyat, accompanying the Dādistān-i Dīnīk*, Bombay 1913, p. 4, as follows : "Taking into consideration the extracts on *Khvētūk-das* from our Pahlavi Rivāyat only, we notice that the writer, perhaps a priest, attempts under cover of anonymity to foist the practice of *Khvētūk-das* on an unwilling people. That the custom was in every way repugnant to the people and that the generality of the people must have lent it no countenance is at once gathered from the fact of its being fulsomely extolled by the writer in the different extracts bearing on the subject. In palming it off on the people in the name of religion, the unknown writer is compelled to confess his failure," and on p. 5 "In fact, not a single extract on *Khvētūk-das* introduced in the manner described above can be identified with the Avesta. Whatever might be the cause of advocating this pernicious custom unauthorised by religion, one thing was uppermost in the mind of the writer, viz., as admitted by him in one of the extracts, there was the fear of perversion to another faith of members of the community which was fast dwindling down in his time. On the contrary, in pre-Islamic times, when there was no fear of the community being perverted to a foreign faith, there existed laws and regulations for privileged wives who were even foreigners. Hence it is reasonable to infer that the extreme kind of *Kvētūk-das* (next-of-kin marriage) must have been vehemently advocated by the author in order that the community might not turn away from the practice of the normal *Khvētuk-das* (viz., marriage among first cousins)." I have also treated this subject in *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay 1925, pp. 32-33, and said on p. 33 that "In the cases cited by Bartholomae from the *Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān* (cf. *Die Frau im Sassanidischen Recht*, Heidelberg 1924, p. 16) the question is not of incestuous and consanguinous marriages in the proper sense of these words, when we take into consideration the consequences of the practice of polygamy, which was once very prevalent in the East."

Several documents of capital importance for the Iranian history and culture have been discovered in Iran and Egypt during the early decades of this century and in recent years. In 1936, while excavating at Persepolis for the American mission, Prof. Herzfeld came to a sealed door behind which, *like so much waste paper*, were stored those 29000 tablets of the Persepolis archives. They have been taken to America for the purpose of firing in an electric kiln before their study. Besides certain

suggestions made by Herzfeld as to the religious character of the contents of some of them, and as to their composition in Ancient Persian cuneiform script, some five hundred even in Aramaic, the administrative language of the Achaemenian empire, and in Aramaic script, as far as I know, nothing definite has transpired up to date about these tablets. Further, an Ancient Persian inscription written in Aramaic characters has been found by Herzfeld on the tomb of Darius in the same year.

Aramaic was widely spread in Western Asia during the Achaemenian epoch. If it was not the language of the chancellory of the Great Kings, as it is contested by some savants, it is certain that it was widely employed in commerce. Thus the Aramaic papyri, discovered in the excavations of the German mission in the island of Elephantine and at Assouan in Egypt, and the ostraca with Aramaic inscriptions found there by Clermont-Ganneau, both pertaining to a Jewish colony of the Achaemenian period, deserve our attention. They are published by Ed. Sachau in Leipzig in 1911 and by A. Cowley in Oxford in 1923. In *L'Aramaico antico*, Roma 1934, J. Messina criticises the theory of Schraeder that Darius had introduced Aramaic as the only language of the chancellory of the whole of the Persian empire (see above) ; *Iranische Beiträge, I, Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaften.* 6. Jahrg., 5. Heft 1930.

Mention must be made of the discovery of the inscription of Darius the Great at Susa by R. de Mecquenem, concerning the construction of his palace in this city and the men and materials employed therein. It was found in three versions, Ancient Persian, Babylonian and Susian, inscribed on clay tablets and stone-slabs. This inscription is very interesting for two historical facts, (1) that when Darius became king, both his father Hystaspes, who was governor of Parthia (*Bahistān*, § 35), and his grandfather Arsames were living ; (2) that the palace was completed during the life-time of Hystaspes, for whom he invoked the protection of Ahura-Mazdā. This inscription has been published by Père Scheil in *Mémoires de la Mission Archéologique de Perse*, tome XXI, Paris 1929. I have given an excerpt of this volume in the *Ancient Persian Inscriptions of the Achaemenids found at Susa, with a glossary*, Paris 1929. The trilingual inscription giving the extreme limits of the empire of Darius the Great, engraved on gold and silver plates (13×18 cm.) discovered at Hamadan, was communicated by me to Herzfeld in May 1926 in Teheran and to the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute of Bombay in September of

the same year. It has been published by Herzfeld in *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 34, Calcutta 1928. In a foot-note to p. 1, Sir John Marshall, the editor of the *Memoirs*, has acknowledged the priority of my communication. Two pairs of gold and silver plates (24×30 cm.) bearing the same trilingual inscription were discovered on the north side of the palace of Darius I at Persepolis by the German architect Dr. Kraefter in about 1932. A new inscription of Xerxes was discovered at Persepolis by Dr. Erich Schmidt in 1931 and translated by Herzfeld. It enumerates the satrapies held on the accession of Xerxes in 485 B.C., mentions a new war against the Daeva-worshippers, speaks of Xerxes as an enthusiastic worshipper of Auramazdā and Arta, a passage of extraordinary significance for the Achaemenian religion. (cf. *Bulletin of the American Institute for Persian Art and Archaeology*, Vol. IV, No. 3, 1936, p. 119).

Several Greek inscriptions of the Parthian period have been found in recent years at Susa, among which two are worth noting. One is a letter of Artabanus III (10/11-40 A.D.) addressed to the magistrates and to the municipality of the city of Susa in 21/22 A.D., the other mentions the dedication of boys and girls as servants in the temple of Artemis for a period of thirty years. We learn further from these Greek inscriptions that Susa was a completely Hellenised city. This Hellenistic influence remained active even during the Sassanian period, as can be judged from samples of the works of art found in the ruins of Susa.

Since the publication of E. Herzfeld, *Paikuli. Monuments and Inscriptions of the Early History of the Sassanian Empire.* 2 Vols., Berlin 1924, many new Sassanian inscriptions in Pahlavi have been discovered in recent years. A big inscription was found at Naqshe-Rustam on the east side of the monument called *Kaabe-Zardusht* by Dr. Erich Schmidt in 1936. It has been published in transliteration and translation by M. Sprengling in the *American Journal for Semitic Languages and Literature*, 53, No. 2, Jan. 1937, pp. 126-144. It is dated about 293 A.D., i.e. the beginning of the reign of Narse. It is important for early Sassanian onomastics and for a reference to some obscure religious ceremony. I have heard that a revised complete translation of the inscription has been recently published. Twenty short Pahlavi inscriptions, rather in a cursive script, were found at Derbend in Russian Azerbeijan by E. A. Pachamoff, who has published them in *Bulletin de la Société Scientifique d'Azerbeidjan*, No. 8, Bakou 1929. They mention a certain Barznish who was *Hamārkar* or controller of revenue of Azer-

beijan. In excavations of the French mission at Shahpur, a bilingual, Arsacid and Sassanian, Pahlavi inscription was discovered in 1936. It was engraved on the shaft of one of the columns of a votive monument. It mentions the erection of a statute of Shahpur I in 266 A.D. The monument was found 525 m. to the west of a fire-tempe called *Ātur-Anāhit.* It has been published by R. Ghirshman in *Revue des Arts Asiatiques,* X, 1936, pp. 123-129. Besides these monumental inscriptions, short Pahlavi legends are found engraved on gems of Sassanian seals, and on coins and clay bullae. Those on gems pertaining to the Kaiser Friedrichs Museum of Berlin have been published by Paul Horn and M. S. Scekin. Since 1934 I have been collecting materials for a work on Sassanian seals preserved in different museums of Europe and America, and in private collections. My report on Sussanian seals of the India Museum of Calcutta has been sent to its curator in 1938. There exist Pahlavi ostraca written in ink on potsherds. They were found at Susa and in the vicinity of Teheran. They are hopelessly fragmentary, and are therefore only of an epigraphical interest. A. Pagliaro has given a tentative reading of the Pahlavi dipinti found on fresco-paintings in the ancient synagogue of Dura-Europos, situated on the Euphrates, in *Report of the Sixth Session of excavations at Dura-Europos,* Chicago 1936. Neither the reading of Pagliaro nor that of Benveniste to whom the dipinti had been communicated, are satisfactory. There exists a big collection of Pahlavi papyri in the Staatlichen Museen of Berlin and Vienna. Olaf Hansen has published sixty-six papyri of Berlin in *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Academie der Wissenschaften,* No. 9, 1938. Their script is Book-Pahlavi, but very cursive. This fact makes their decipherment extremely difficult.

It would be too long to mention the names of books and articles published by western and Parsi scholars in the field of Avesta, Ancient Persian and Pahlavi languages and literatures. I shall name only a few worth a special notice, particularly those written by Parsi Iranists.

The metre in Zoroastrian sacred and profane texts has drawn of late the attention of some German and French Iranists. Karl F. Geldner and after him Johannes Hertel have contributed to researches on the metre found in the later Avesta, especially in the Yast literature. The metrical form of some of the Ancient Persian inscriptions has been first noticed by Johannes Friedrich, cf. *Orientalische Litteratur-Zeitung,* 1928,

cols. 238-245 and 288 seq. And H. W. Bailey, E. Benveniste, A. Christensen, and W. Henning have dealt with the question of versification in some portions of the Pahlavi literature. It is not surprising that apart from the Manichaean and Christian hymns and psalters preserved in several manuscripts from Turfan, some sort of poetical composition existed in Sassanian times, but their traces are certainly obscured by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script and by the pedantry, and to a certain extent, ignorance of later scribes.

Dr. Irach Taraporevala has published *Selections from Avesta and Old Persian with critical apparatus and a vocabulary* for students of the Calcutta University in 1922. It is interesting to note that Iranian languages are studied even in Japan, where a chair for Iranistics has been held in Kyoto Imperial University by Prof. Gikyo Ito. Another Japanese Iranist is Mr. Shigheru Araki of Tokyo.

D. M. Madon, *Study of the Gathas, Part I, The Gatha Ahunavaiti*, Bombay 1916, and Khodabakhsh E. Poonegar, *The Zoroastrian Gathas translated with Notes and Summary*, Bombay 1928, show the results of the critical study of the Gathas, as inaugurated by the Gatha Society of Bombay, one of whose active exponents is Prof. Behramgore Anklesaria. Aga Poore Dawood has translated into Persian the Gathas and a portion of the Yasht literature, and thereby he has made the Avesta accessible to the Zoroastrians and Muhammadans of Iran in their own language.

Christian Bartholomae has left an immortal name in the field of Pahlavi. His researches on the Pahlavi version of the Avesta scriptures are embodied in the foot-notes to Avesta words in his monumental work *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*. He has also handled nearly the whole of the Pahlavi literature in a quite novel way. In philological discussions on several obscure Pahlavi words, he has quoted passages *in extenso* in which they occur with their readings and translations: cf. *Mitteliranische Studien*, I-IV, in *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes; Zur Kenntnis der mitteliranischen Mundarten*, I-VI, in *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916-1925. Thus he has done an important preparatory work for a Pahlavi dictionary with concordance. The Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat Funds and Properties have entrusted the work of compiling such a dictionary several years ago to Mr. Bomanji Dhabhar, an eminent Pahlavi scholar, who has already done more than half the work. But he had to give it up last year owing to serious eye-trouble. Bailey,

Pagliaro, and others have recently adopted Bartholomae's method of doing research-work in Pahlavi. Bartholomae's articles on Sassanian law, based on the *Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān* (*Ueber ein Sassanidisches Rechtsbuch, SHeidelbergAW.* 1910 and *Zum Sassanidischen Recht.*, I-V, *ibid.* 1918-1923) show his masterly treatment of such a difficult subject as Sassanian law. This Pahlavi text has been wholly translated by Sohrab Bulsara with copious notes under the title *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, Bombay 1937. That he has not always agreed with Bartholomae in the interpretation of many passages shows clearly the difficulty of the task which is enhanced by the ambiguity of the Pahlavi script. Bulsara has also translated another important Pahlavi text called *Aerpatastān and Nīrangastān*, Bombay 1915. This is the only text on Zoroastrian liturgy. The Gujarati translation of the *Dātistān i Dēnīk*, Bombay 1926, is a joint effort of two eminent Pahlavists, the late Ervad Tahmuras Anklesaria and the late Ervad Sheriarji Bharucha. The late Dastur Darab Sanjana had completed a few years before his death in 1928 the remaining work of editing and translating the *Dēnkart*, Vol. X-XIX. The publication of these works were undertaken by the Trustees of the Parsi Punchayat.

Among those who have published and translated some of the Pahlavi texts contained in the *Pahlavi Texts, I-II*, edited by Jamasp-Asana, I may mention B. N. Dhabhar, Markwart-Messina, A. Pagliaro, J. C. Tavadia, J. C. Tarapore and J. M. Unvala. These texts are simple but important for compiling a Pahlavi dictionary, particularly the text of *King Husrav and His Boy* and *Draxt i Asūrīk* contain words which are seldom found elsewhere in the Pahlavi literature.

The University of Copenhagen has published up to date in fascimile the following Pahlavi codices pertaining to its library with an introduction by Arthur Christensen: K 20 and K 20b, containing *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak*, *Bundahishn*, and other texts, K 35, containing *Dātistān i Dēnīk and Pahlavi Rivāyats I-II*, Epistles of Mānushchihr and the Selections from Zātsparm, and K 26, containing *Artāk Vīrāz Nāmak* and *Mātīkān i Yavisht Friyān*.

Firoz S. Masani's series of Pazand prayers in Gujarati transliteration and translation, Bombay 1917-1921, is an important contribution to the understanding of Pazand, *i.e.* Pahlavi written in *plene* with Avesta characters, reproducing the Middle Persian or non-Semitic pronounciations with a marked tendency for the southern dialect. This is the first translation

of the Pazand texts made by a Parsi scholar after the publication of Spiegel's translation in *Aveta, die Heiligen Schriften der Parsen*, übersetzt, Bd. III, Leipzig 1863, pp. 207-246.

There are two big collections of *Rivāyats*, those of Dārāb Hormazyār and Hormaziār Farāmarz. These Rivāyats composed in Persian are collections of questions on religious subjects asked by the Zoroastrians of India to their co-religionists in Iran through their emissaries and answers brought by them during the course of the XVth upto the beginning of the XVIIIth century of the Christian era. Maneckji Rustamji Unvala had prepared an edition of the Rivāyat of Dārāb Hormazyār in two volumes, which has been published after his death by Dr. Jivanji J. Modi with an introduction in Bombay in 1922. Bomanji N. Dhabhar has published an English translation of the Rivayāt of Hormaziār Farāmarz with copious notes and a glossary of unusual Persian words found only in Zoroastrian writings, Bombay 1932.

J. M. Unvala, *Collection of Colophons of Manuscripts bearing on Zoroastrianism in some Libraries of Europe*, Bombay 1940, contains among others several Pahlavi colophons of valuable manuscripts. They have been transcribed and translated. J. C. Katrak, *Oriental Treasures*, Bombay 1941, deals with colophons of manuscripts in private libraries of some Parsis of Gujarat. This book records only the salient facts mentioned in the colophons. All these colophons are important not only for fixing the date of manuscripts, but for determining their relative value.

It is just natural that the Parsi scholars have produced a big literature on Zoroastrianism in their mother-tongue Gujarati, from which the following are worth noting: Jivanji J. Modi. *Lectures and Sermons on Zoroastrianism*; Khurshedji E. Pavri, *Resālchāe Khurshed*, which has been translated into English; Sheriarji D. Bharucha, *Rīstistān* or a description of the funeral ceremonies of the Parsis. The last named work contains exhaustive information on the subject gathered from the whole of the Zoroastrian literature.

Dastur Dr. Dhalla has traced the development of Zoroastrianism from its very beginning up to the beginning of this century in *Zoroastrian Theology*, and in *History of Zoroastrianism*, New York 1914 and 1918. R. Pettazzoni has worked on the same lines as Dr. Dhalla in his *La Religione di Zarathushtra nella storia religiosa dell'Iran*, Bologna 1930.

A. Christensen has contributed monographs on the critical study of Zoroastrianism. Chr. Bartholomae, *Zarathushtras Leben und Lehre*, Heidelberg 1919, and A. Meillet, *Trois Conférences sur les Gathas de Zarathushtra*, Paris 1915, are two short but very important monographs on Zarathushtra and his religion.

After taking all that has been written up to date on the religion of the Achaemenids, A. Berriedale Keith says "The proper conclusion to be reached on the evidence seems, therefore, to be that it is impossible to deny that Dareios may have been influenced decisively in his attitude towards Ahuramazda by the teaching of Zoroaster." (Cf. *Dinshah Irani Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1943, p. 25). That Xerxes prays for protection for himself and his family to Auramazdā and Arta, we know from the recently discovered inscription of Naqshe-Rustam, and we further know that Artaxerxes II Mnemon invokes Auramazdā, Anāhita and Mithra in his inscription from Susa. Thus we have an idea, though of course incomplete, of the angelology of the Achaemenids.

My *Observations on the Religion of the Parthians*, Bombay 1925, remains up to date the only attempt at tracing the religious beliefs and customs of the Parthians from historical, epigraphical and numismatic sources. Archaeological and numismatic documents discovered recently at Susa show that the Parthians practised two main cults, those of Mithra and Artemis-Anaïtis (Anāhita) as his *parèdre*. These two enjoyed even a special cult among the Sassanians, as is shown by two bas-reliefs of Taqe-Bostan. Anāhita figures also on the reverse of certain coins of Bahram II.

Seven Manichaean manuscripts were discovered at Medinet Mahdi in the province of Fayum in Egypt in 1933. They contain the Coptic version of the works composed by Mani and his disciples. One of them has the major portion of the book called Kephalaia which was composed by Mani himself. They are dated at the latest 400 A.D. They contain undoubtedly references to Zoroastrian doctrines though from a biased point of a Manichaean. They are important for understanding Zoroastrianism as it was practised by the early Sassanian sovereigns. Some portions of these manuscripts have been published with their translation into German by Carl Schmidt and H. J. Polotsky, in *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1933.

What concerns Sassanian and post-Sassanian history and culture, two important works have been recently published; one is *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* by A. Christensen, Copenhagen 1936. It gives the political, cultural and social history of Iran under the Sassanian rule. The other is *A short sketch of the history of Tabaristān and of the Masmoghāns of Damāvand,* which I have incorporated in my *Coins of Tabaristān,* Paris 1938. It is a history of the Zoroastrian princes of Tabaristan and of the adjoining mountainous districts who declared their independence immediately after the downfall of the Sassanian empire, and ruled over these provinces for nearly one hundred and fifty years, sometimes only formally acknowledging the suzerainty of the Caliphs of Baghdad.

Two important works on the early history of the Parsis have been published in Bombay in 1920; one is *Studies in Parsi History* by Shahpurshah H. Hodivala and the other *Parsis of Ancient India* by Shapurji K. Hodivala.

A. Christensen has tried to trace the Iranian legendary history as given in the *Shāhnāma* to the original Pahlavi *Xvatāi-Nāmāk* in a series of monographs published in *Studier fra Sprog- og Oldtidsforskning,* Köbenhavn. Later Iranian tradition of Zohāk as preserved in the Pahlavi *Bundahishn* and the *Shāh-nāma* reflects the Babylonian myths of Nin-Gishzida and En-kidu, as I have shown in two articles, one entitled "Zohāk" and published in *Studi e Materiali,* V, Bologna 1929, pp. 56-68, and the other entitled "Gopatshāh" and published in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies,* V, iii, London 1929, pp. 505-506. Working on the same line, much light can be thrown on other Iranian myths.

It would be out of place to give an idea of the work done in the field of Iranian archaeology and numismatics. Still, I cannot but mention an interesting series of coins recently found at Susa, viz. the post-Sassanide copper fels of the Umayyad and Abbasid governors of Susa, Rai and Istakhra with Pahlavi and Arabic legends in Cufic characters. I have published twenty-five such coins in *Numismatic Chronicle,* London 1937, pp. 280-296. Another series of coins with Pahlavi and Hephthalite, Brahmi or Arabic legends were issued by the Hephthalite or White Huns on the Sassanian models. I have given the readings of their Pahlavi legends in an article entitled "*Hephthalite Coins with Pahlavi Legends,*" published in the *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India,* Vol. IV, part I,

1942, pp. 37-45. Colonel Allotte de la Fuÿe has published in *Monnaies incertaines de la Sogdiane et des Contrées Voisines, Revue Numismatique*, Paris 1925, 1926, several coins with legends in Sogdian characters which reveal perceptibly their Aramaic origin.

Finally, I may mention that many interesting articles and monographs on Iranian and allied subjects have been published in the *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute* of Bombay by Parsi scholars. Eight Memorial Volumes in honour of Parsi and European savants have been published up to date by the Parsis of Bombay, and two more are in preparation, to which the majority of the articles contributed are written by Parsi scholars.

Gentlemen! From this short survey of the work done in the field of Iranian culture in general, and ancient Iranian languages in particular, since the beginning of this century and even earlier, we see that Parsi scholars have contributed their valuable share along with their European confrères. They have done a great service in unravelling the secrets of difficult Pahlavi texts in conformity with the spirit of Zoroastrianism of the Sassanian and post-Sassanian epochs. What concerns the translations of the Avesta scriptures, with rare exceptions, they have maintained the prestige of the school of Zoroastrian research founded by the late Mr. Khurshedji Rustamji Cama. Of course, their translations exhale rather fervour for the Zoroastrian faith, which is always lacking in those done by *mere* philologists. The Parsi community which is at present struggling against the countercurrents of orthodoxy, mysticism and ultra-rationalism seems to be not contented with the merely dry philological translations of their sacred scriptures. To cater, therefore, for the mystical cravings of some we have their wholly allegorical and mystical interpretations as given by the Ilme-Khshnumists, and for the emotional cravings of a few other Anglicized Parsis a *beautiful* translation of the Gathas of Zarathushtra is being prepared by a couple of enthusiasts!

Gentlemen! Ever since its birth in Germany Iranistics has flourished in that country, where nearly in all big universities eminent professors have occupied unlucrative chairs. In France, in the University of Paris and in the College de France, an Anquetil Dupereon, a Burnouf, a Darmesteter, a

Meillet, a Benveniste have graced the chair for Iranian studies at the intervals of decades. Mr. Blochet who has done good work in Pahlavi is little known to the Parsis. The German school of Iranistics is represented by Christensen in Denmark, by Nyberg in Sweden, by Morgenstierne in Norway, by Freiman in Leningrad, by Pettazzoni and Pagliaro in Italy and by Pure Dawood in Iran. In England, the chair for Iranistics had remained vacant since the death of Mills. It was occupied in 1929 by Bailey of the School of Oriental Studies of London, thanks to the princely donation of the Parsis of Bombay. Bailey left the School in 1934, and his successor to the chair, W. Henning, a German professor of the University of Berlin and a student of Andreas, was appointed in 1936. Iranistics has been introduced into Japan by the Japanese pupils of Prof. Behramgore Anklesaria.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ISLAMIC SECTION

By

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GENTLEMEN,

I am very grateful to the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by electing me to preside over the Islamic section. Although I was given very short notice of the fact that I have to preside over this section, I accepted the position as it gives me an opportunity to discuss with fellow scholars certain problems that have been of late engaging my attention. I hope that with your kindness and co-operation the work of this section would be carried on successfully.

Many historians, have written on the Muslim invasions of India, and the foundation and the growth of Muslim power in that country; yet, hitherto no one has attempted to write a history of the advent and spread of Islam in India considered apart from the military successes and political achievement of the Muslims. The spread of Islam over so vast a portion of this world is due to many causes, social, political and religious; but some hold the view that India is a typical instance of a country where the spread of Islam is due to persecution and forced conversions, and mention as examples the brutal massacres of Brahmans by Mahmud of Ghazna, the p rsecution of Awrangzeb and the coercion employed by Haydar Ali, Tippu Sultan and the like. How untrue is this view may be judged from the fact that even in the centres of Muslim power such as Delhi and Agra, the Muslims hardly exceed one-tenth and one-fourth of the population in modern times.

Of the series of Muslim invaders of India from the fifteenth year after the death of the Prophet of Islam up to the eighteenth century A.D. some were mere adventurers, some came only to plunder and retired laden with spoils, while others remained to found kingdoms that have had a lasting influence up to the present day. But these conquerors do not appear to have had that *love for souls* which inspires the true missionary. The Khiljis, the Tughlaqs, and the Lodis were generally too busily engaged in conquest or in civil war. They evinced very

little proselytising zeal and cared little for things spiritual. These conquerors were usually rough Tartars or Turks, ill-grounded in the faith of Islam and untouched by the true Semitic enthusiasm. It is a great misfortune for India that the lateness of its conquest in the cause of Islam has delivered her into the hands of merciless and turbulent Mongol or Turkish generals, whose aim was solely to establish themselves as independent rulers, and obtain by violence as much as possible from its inexhaustible source for their unending wars. It is well known that after the year 1000 A.D., the ambitions of the violent and illiberal Turk had, for nearly two centuries, torn the body politic of Islam, devastating the empire by their misgovernment and interminable warfare, more effectively than any outside foe. After a series of convulsions which destroyed the unity of Islam in a political sense, the branch known as Ottoman Turks established themselves in Constantinople in 1453 holding sway over Syria, Egypt and Arabia; the Safawids became independent in Persia. While these Turks were compelled to respect the cultural traditions and bureaucratic organisations of the old Islamic lands, the class of Turks who migrated southwards to India through the North-west under the appellation of Ghaznawis and Ghoris, gave free rein to their impulses unrestrained by the cultural traditions of Islam. Thus it was a great misfortune that India did not come under the sway of the Arab Empire and the great Islamic civilization, which reached its highest point in the reign of Harun-al-Rashid, the fifth Caliph of the House of Abbas (814 A.D.). In consequence, "the blood-stained annals of the Sultanate of Delhi", as Vincent Smith remarks, "are not pleasant reading."

Of all the successors of Qutbud-Din (1206 A.D.) down to the establishment of the Timurid Dynasty (the Grand Mughals) in 1526 A.D. there is scarcely one who was not intolerant, tyranical and cruel, and the same may be said, with few exceptions, of the minor dynasties. When the Muslim power became consolidated under the Mughal dynasty the religious influence of Islam became more permanent and persistent.

Thus in the centuries of Muslim rule preceding the Mughal era, no doubt, force and official pressure might have gained converts from among the natives of the country, but by far the majority of them embraced Islam of their own free will. The history of the proselytising movements and the social influences have not received due notice from historians, both European and Indian; the histories of the Muslim India are mere chronicles of wars or campaigns, and fanaticism or in-

tolerance of the Muslim princes. No attempt has been made to study systematically the biographies of Muslim Saints and local traditions with a view to reconstruct a history of the period quite independently of the political life of the country. It may not be quite correct to say that a study of the religious side is not possible or fruitful without surveying first the political aspect of Muslim rule in India, because Islam has gained adherents in the Deccan and South India at a time when political power was weakest.

The first appearance of Islam in South India dates as far back as the seventh century during the life time of the Prophet. It is not true, as some writers have maintained, that Islam made its first appearance in Southern India about two hundred years after the Hijra (822 A.D.) of the Prophet. The Arabs had trade relations with the East long before the birth of the Prophet of Islam. In the second century B.C., the trade with Ceylon was wholly in the hands of the Arabs. In the sixth century A.D. there was considerable trade between China and Arabia by way of Ceylon. At the beginning of the seventh century the commerce between China, Persia and Arabia was further extended. Siraf, on the Persian Gulf, was the chief emporium for the Chinese traders. It was mainly through the Arab merchants that Syria and the Levantine countries received the supply of the Eastern produce like spices, ivory, gems, etc. These circumstances have contributed for a continual stream of the influence of Arabs and Persians flowing upon the west coast of India, Ceylon, and in East Indies as far as China, before the appearance of Islam in Arabia.

The character of the commercial relationship between China and Arabia may be guaged from the tradition of the Prophet 'Seek for knowledge even unto China.' Mention is made of the Arabs in the Chinese annals at the commencement of the T'ang dynasty (618-907 A.D.) ; the Chinese also note the rise of Muslim power in Madina, the city of the Prophet, and briefly describe the tenets of the new faith. But such references to Arabs and the new religion are not yet ascertained from the records of South Indian languages. Though direct historical evidence is lacking, it is most probable that Islam was first introduced into South India and Ceylon in the life time of the Prophet by merchants who followed the old-established sea-route.

The traditionary record which gives an account of the first advent of Islam in Malabar is related by Zaynud-Din-al-Mabari (16th century) in his *Tuhfat-al-Mujahiddin.* He says

that a party of Muslim faqirs with a Shaykh arrived at Cranganore, intent on a pilgrimage to the Footprints of Adam in Ceylon. When the Raja heard about their arrival he sent for them, entertained them, and made kind enquiries of them. The Shaykh informed the Raja of the advent of the Prophet Muhammad, explained to him the tenets of the religion of Islam, and the miracle of the splitting of the moon. "Allah, glory be to Him, and exalted be He, had caused to enter in his mind the truth of the mission of the Prophet, and the king believed in him. The affection for the Prophet took possession of his heart." So the Raja requested the Shaykh, and his companions to come back to him after their pilgrimage to Adam's foot-print. On the return of the pilgrims from Ceylon, the Raja of Cranganore asked the Shaykh to get ready a vessel for his voyage, without the knowledge of any one.

There were lying in that port many vessels belonging to foreign traders and the Shaykh made arrangements with one of the captains for the journey. As the time of departure drew near, the Raja gave orders that none of the inmates of his house or his ministers should come into his presence for a period of seven days. The Raja set himself to appoint a governor for each of his provinces and wrote out detailed instructions, defining the limits of the territories of each so that one might not encroach upon the limits specified for the other.

Then the Raja embarked with the Shaykh and the faqirs during night time, and reached Pantalayini where they landed and stayed for a day and a night. Thence they again set sail and proceeded to Darmadam where they landed and stayed for three days; then they again set sail till they reached Shuhr on the Arabian coast where the king and all those who were with him alighted. Here he remained for some time, and then returned to his own country with a party of Muslims for the purpose of erecting mosques and propagating the faith of Islam in that country. But the Raja fell ill on the way and died. On his death-bed he solemnly enjoined on his companions—namely Sharaf, son of Malik, his uterine brother Malik son of Dinar, his brother's son Malik, son of Habib son of Malik and others—not to cancel their voyage to Malabar after his death. They replied "We do not know your place, nor the extent of your villayet. We decided on travel because of our friendship to you." On hearing this the Raja gave them a letter of recommendation to his viceroy, at the same time bidding them not to inform any one in Malabar of his death.

Then Sharaf ibn Malik, Malik ibn Dinar, Malik ibn Habib, and his wife Qamariyya, and others with their children and dependents set sail for Malabar in a ship and arrived off Cranganore. They landed and presented the letter of the deceased Raja to the ruler at Cranganore but they concealed the fact of his death as they had been enjoined. When the ruler went through the letter he granted them plots of lands. The newcomers settled there and erected a mosque. While Malik ibn Dinar settled in Cranganore, his nephew Malik ibn Habib stood up in his place to erect mosques throughout Malabar.

Malik ibn Habib proceeded to Quilon with his wife, some of his children and his property, and erected a mosque there. Then leaving his wife at Quilon he started to Mount Delly and built a mosque there. Then he proceeded to Barkur, to Mangalore and to Kasaragod. In all these places he built mosques one after another. Then he returned to Mount Delly and stayed there for three months. Thence he went to Srikandapuram, Darmadam, Pantalayini, and Chaliyam. In all these places he built mosques one after another. He stayed in Chaliyam for a period of five months. Then he returned to Cranganore where his uncle Malik ibn Dinar was living. He then started from that place to all the mosques mentioned above, and after saying his prayer in every mosque he came back to Cranganore, "feeling thankful to Allah, and praising Him for making the Faith dawn in a country filled with disbelief."

Then Malik ibn Dinar and Malik ibn Habib went to Quilon with their companions. They settled there, except Malik ibn Dinar and some of his companions who set sail to the Arabian coast. Malik ibn Habib left some of his children at Quilon and returned with his wife to Cranganore where he and his wife died.[1]

It may be that there is no evidence of historicity in this narrative, yet the circumstantial evidence cannot be lost sight of. Zaynud-Din thinks that the introduction of Islam in Malabar could not have been earlier than the third century of the Hijra. But the opinion in general circulation among the Muslims of Malabar is that the conversion to Islam of the Malabar king took place at the time of the Prophet upon the monarch's perceiving on a night the splitting of the moon. He set out on a journey to visit the Prophet and had the honour

[1] For details see *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin:* Translated by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, 1942.

of meeting him. On his return journey he died at Shuhr. Although there is no authority for the different dates, or for the popular belief, yet there is no conclusive evidence to show that Islam was *not* introduced in the life time of the Prophet. On the other hand, if we could set a value on the knowledge of Arab geographers with reference to Southern India, we find that Quilon, Sindhudurg, Shirur and Supara on the west coast, and Conjeevaram, and Madura on the east coast of the Indian peninsula seem to be main centres of trade from the earliest times. Ibn Khurdadhbeh (844 A.D.) the Director of Posts and Police in Media who draws up in his book official notices of the principal trade routes, is the first author to describe with a fair degree of accuracy the leading cities on the west and east coasts of India. But it is ascertained that the Director of Posts has recorded only the traditional knowledge about the sea route to the east, that was in vogue from the earliest times and current in the name of Sulayman. Later research has shown that Sulayman's book is a compendium of different accounts by various travellers and navigators which may be taken to represent the knowledge possessed by Arab geographers from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D.[1]

It is related in the book of Sulayman that most of the ships from China take in their goods at Siraf and set sail to Maskat at a distance of two hundred *parasangs* from Siraf. From Maskat the ships depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Quilon. It is a month's journey from Maskat in moderate wind. There is a garrison at Quilon, where ships from China also come. Between Maskat, Quilon and the sea of Harkand it is about a month's journey. At Quilon they store sweet water. Thence the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, pass through many islands like Kalahbar, Java, Batuma, Kadranj, Champa, Sanja and thence to Canton in China. Thus the account of Sulayman shows clearly that Muslim navigators were quite familiar with the seas and the journey from Siraf as far as Canton in China.

The extensive commerce with the East, carried on by the Arabs from the early times through the sea route described above, makes it easy to suppose that the Arab trader might have been the exponent and teacher of the new creed in Quilon and other ports of Southern India, and the South Indian Muslim and the Arab might have been the joint medium for the propagation of the Faith in Malay Archipilago and other islands

1 *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India*; by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, University of Madras, 1942.

in the East Indies. It can be easily understood how the sight of the Arab or Muslim trader at prayer, at stated intervals, his absorbed and silent worship of the Almighty God, would impress the peoples at a low stage of civilization. Curiosity would naturally prompt inquiry, and the knowledge of Islam thus imparted might win over a convert who might not have cared, had it been offered unsought. This fact has been noticed by many observers. To quote an eminent Christian Bishop:

"No one who comes in contact for the first time with Mohammedans can fail to be struck by this aspect of their faith........Wherever one may be, in open street, in railway station, in the field, it is the most ordinary thing to see a man, without the slightest touch of Pharisaism or parade, quietly and humbly leaving whatever pursuit he may be at the moment engaged in, in order to say his prayers at the appointed hour. On a large scale, no one who has ever seen the courtyard of the great mosque at Delhi on the last Friday in the Fast-month (Ramazan) filled to overflowing with, perhaps, 15,000 worshippers, all wholly absorbed in prayer, and manifesting the profoundest reverence and humility in every gesture, can fail to be deeply impressed by the sight, or to get a glimpse of the power which underlies such a system, while the very regularity of the daily call to prayer, as it rings out at earliest dawn, before light commences, or amid all the noise and bustle of the business hours, or again as the evening closes in, is fraught with the same message."[1]

Bound up with these ritual observances, the articles of Faith are so simple, definite and positive, that they do not leave the believer in doubt as to what he has to do. When he performs the duties, he gets the satisfaction that he has fulfilled all the precepts of the Law. This kind of union between reason and rituals has captured the imagination of the peoples in Southern India with whom the Arab traders came into contact after they received the New Dispensation. There is also one other circumstance which contributed to the easy conversion to the Faith in South India. The Hindus who suffered from caste restrictions looked upon Islam as the source for their emancipation from the disabilities attached to the caste system.

The facts related so far bear witness to the peaceful character of the proselytising influences that were at work on the Malabar coast for centuries from the life time of the Prophet.

[1]*Mankind and the Church*; pp. 227-8 By Dr. G. A. Lefroy, London. 1907.

The agents in this work were chiefly Arab merchants. There would appear to be no record of the individuals who took part in the peaceful propaganda. But there is ample material for such a study. At Quilandy in the malabar District there are a number of Arabic inscriptions over the tombs in the compound of mosques which have not yet been studied carefully.

The information we possess of the spread of Islam in the Deccan in the earliest times is also meagre. But we learn from Sulayman and Masudi that the early Chālukya and Rāṣtrakūṭa kings, (6th to 10th century A.D.) referred to by the Arabs as the Balhara line of kings, were very kind and affectionate to the Arabs and Muslims who settled down in the area of Konkan. These Arabs intermarried with the women of the country and lived a prosperous life. They built mosques and observed religious practices without any hindrance. They were even granted by the rulers the privilege of living under the Islamic Law.

Under the Muslim dynasties of the Deccan from the middle of the fourteenth to the end of the seventeenth century, a fresh impulse was given to Arab immigration. During this period the trader, the soldier of fortune and missionaries, all sought to make spiritual conquest in the cause of Islam and win over the Hindu population of the country by their preaching and example. Here again it may be observed that the kings of the early Deccan dynasties did not resort to forcible conversions. On the other hand, their rule was characterised by a striking toleration compared with the Muslim sovereigns of Hindustan. The reasons for this attitude are manifold, and these have to be studied in great detail.

Thus the entire period of the spiritual conquest of Southern India in the cause of Islam may be divided into two parts: first, the early adherents gained by Arab traders who devoted their leisure hours to the preaching of Islam in the streets and bazaars of the South Indian cities; next come the conversions due to the political influence of the court and armies of the various Muslim dynasties in the Deccan. Side by side with these influences is another of an entirely different character, *viz.*, the preachings of the Muslim saints from the earliest times. Their endeavour with an effort to realise in actual life the ideals of religion served as a veritable tonic to the life and thought of the Hindus and quickened many minds into a fresh life in the path of Islam. The spiritual energy of the saints has helped to bring to the front the finer spiritual qualities which are the truest incentive to the missionary work. The South Indian soil also was admirably suited to such an endeavour.

The medieval Hindu society was, above all, a religious society. To religion it owed its social organisation, social inequalities, heritage of literature and laws. Religion has not only created the cultural background and psychological orientation of Hindu society, but supplied for its members a philosophy of living. The whole range of Hindu literature reflects this social insistance on religious values and an interest in matters of religion. When Islam came into contact with such a society, there was little difficulty for the Hindus to grasp the teachings of Muslim saints. The central dogma of Islam—there is but one God, Creator of heaven and earth, who alone is to be worshipped, the absolute Master of all His creatures, whose lives He has, in His inscrutable Love and Wisdom, foreordained, and whom He shall judge on the last judgment Day—this positive character of its teaching attracted minds that were dissatisfied with the vagueness and subjectivity of a pantheistic system of thought. The doctrine of divine unity (Tawhid) as adumbrated above has been the basis for the Sufi system of thought. The system conceives that not only True Being, but Beauty and Goodness, belong exclusively to God, though they are manifested in a thousand mirrors in the phenomenal world. God, in short, is Pure Being, and what is "other than God" (*ma siwa Allah*) only exists in so far as His Being is infused into it, or mirrored in it. He is also pure God and Absolute Beauty; whence He is often called by the Sufis in their pseudo-erotic poems, "the Real Beloved", "the Eternal Darling" and the like. There is ample evidence to show that Muslim saints, who belonged to this system of thought withdrew from secular warfare, and came in large numbers to Southern India before the tenth century A.D. They roamed about as faqirs, distinguished by the patched robe, wallet and staff, who scorned to earn so much as a mite by their own labours, trusting to the Providence of God and the charity of the people. This type of individualist asceticism fitted admirably into the Hindu system of religious thought and attracted many who became their disciples. In the early stages these Muslim saints (followers of the inner light) excited the disapprobation of the legalist. But at a later period, probably during the latter part of the eleventh century, Sufism was gradually moulded by al-Ghazzali and others into a more or less philosophical system, and was also, to a considerable extent, brought into alliance with orthodoxy. After this the followers of the mystic path came to be grouped in congregations, called after some eminent Shaykh, who was regarded as the founder of the *tariqa* or rule, with the ritual litany which was one of the distinguishing marks of each congregation. The disciples of each order went round the world and preached

the Faith. They all looked up to the descendants or successors of the Founder of their order as the head. The reverence accorded by the disciple to his Shaykh when alive, and the elevation of former Shaykhs to the rank of saints, to whom invocations were addressed, seemed to the theologian (legalist) to destroy the non-sacerdotal principle, and even to trespass into polytheism, the one mortal sin in Islam. At first the breach between the theologian and Sufi had been much wider, but in course of time the popular influence enjoyed by the Sufis forced the theologians, however unwillingly, to terms in the matter of veneration for saints. Especially with the influx of the Turkish element into the social and political life of Islam, the theologians found it necessary to admit much that they had formerly resisted. Still they continue to chafe at them, and the hostility continues, though less openly shown.

Southern India had the full benefit of the teachings of Muslim saints or Sufis from the earliest times and still continues to draw inspiration from the same source. The happy relationship between the Hindus and Muslims in Southern India is due, in a large measure, to the liberal views held by the Muslim Saints.

The history of Islam in Southern India by no means always continued to be of so peaceful a character, but it does not appear that the forcible conversions of the Hindus to Islam which took place in the later centuries, can be parallelled in the early history of peninsular India. The same may be said also of the history of Islam in the Deccan.

In conclusion, it may be observed that it is the zeal for the truth of their religion that has inspired the Muslims to carry with them the message of Islam, to the people of every land into which they penetrate, and the stupendous result in the Deccan and Southern India has been due to the great labours of Muslim saints and preachers, who, with the Prophet himself as their great example, have spent themselves for the conversion of unbelievers. The whole of the Deccan and Southern India is studded with tombs of these pure souls; little is recorded beyond their names and the sphere of their labours. There is a great need to collect more information about them and write a history of the spread of Islam in the Deccan and Southern India on the basis of such missionary annals.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : ARABIC AND PERSIAN SECTION

By

PROF. MOHMAD IQBAL,
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GENTLEMEN,

I am fully conscious of the honour the Executive Committee of the Oriental Conference has done me in asking me to preside over the Arabic and Persian Section. I thank them for this kindness and assure you, gentlemen, that I have accepted this honour, by no means to arrogate to myself the task of directing your deliberations, but with the sole object of coming in contact with you in order to learn and be benefitted by your illuminating discourses.

I shall not give you in my address any survey of the literary activities in Arabic and Persian at various centres in and outside India, for I am aware that I am not addressing a gathering of laymen but of experts who know every detail of what is going on. Nor shall I take up for discussion any particular subject connected with the Arabic and Persian languages. On the other hand, I propose to lay before you what, I think, are our most urgent needs and requirements for the promotion of studies and research in these languages, as also in Islamic History. It is for every one of us to see what possible efforts can be made to supply these needs and to overcome the difficulties in the way.

The first and foremost of these difficulties for us in the field of research is, to my mind, the lack of critical, correct, and well-printed texts. It is true that there are several good libraries in India with fine collections of manuscripts, well-preserved, well- looked after and well-catalogued for the benefit of researchers. But are they easily accessible to those who stand in need of them ? Can a scholar of average means in India travel long distances in order to reach them or can he afford to acquire their costly photographs or transcripts ? And, above all, can we rest assured that they will be kept preserved for a long time to come ? It can by no means be a matter of satisfaction that our precious manuscripts and documents are being acquired and kept safe in big libraries. What safety can be guaranteed for them in this age of aerial attacks and incendiary bombs ? Even within the fireproof walls of European libraries with underground vaults there is no safety for them.

And what will be their fate inside the frail buildings of Indian libraries if, God forbid, our cities at any time are subjected to such terrible air raids as are common today in Europe? I leave you to imagine the consequences.

A greater danger than that of the air raids exists for our precious collections of antiques and manuscripts. There are people in every country, here as well as in Europe, with very strong communistic opinions who condemn the spending of national wealth in the purchase of such costly old-world relics, who consider it a great waste and would instead make a better use of this money to promote industry or to manufacture war weapons. With such people in power, a wave of fanaticism and indignation can, at any time, destroy museums and libraries. Political and racial hatred, so common in the present-day world, can be another possible cause of such destruction. During the last Great War, the infuriated mobs in America made bonfires of German books in certain libraries. God forbid that such a thing should ever happen to our collections of manuscripts, but it is (alas!) possible. And in India, besides such human destroyers of books, there are some natural ones. There is white ant and there is damp and there are worms. In Iran, if no danger of worms and damp exists, there are other very strange causes that make valuable books disappear. Some years ago when I was in Teheran, I paid a visit to the Kitab-khana-i-Majlis, one of the best libraries in Iran. In their published catalogue of manuscripts I had noted a rare copy of the Diwan of Hafiz, transcribed by the famous calligraphist Maulana Ṣultan Ali Mashhadi. I had made it a point to see it. On requesting the Librarian to let me have a look at it, I was told that the book was gone; it was presented some months before, to the Crown Prince of Sweden who visited the Library, and a very rare old album of Persian paintings was at the same time presented to his wife who came with him. These two (*viz.* the Diwan and the album) were the most precious volumes in their possession. The Librarian proudly told me that it was their custom to give such gifts to distinguished visitors who came to inspect their Library. Alas, I was not such a distinguished visitor! Just imagine what will be left in their Library after all the Crown Princes of the world have visited it! This furnishes an instance of how a manuscript, even after it is properly catalogued and made known to the world, can leave a library and disappear for ever.

Now the question is, what is the remedy? How can we save our manuscripts from all these ravages? There can be only one answer. The only way to save them is to publish

them. Publish as many of them as possible and as soon as possible. It is most imperative under the present conditions to start series of publications such as the Gibb Memorial Series or the series of Arabic works published by the Dār'ul Kutub al-Miṣriyya. It is a task which should be undertaken by every institution of learning and, above all, by the Osmania and the Aligarh Universities. The newly constituted Islamic History Conference and the already existing Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia should devote their energies essentially to this task. Of Sanskrit books, so far as I know, there are at present fourteen series in progress in India, while of Arabic and Persian publications there are only six. The best and the richest of these is the series of the Dāirat' ul Ma'ārif of Hyderabad. The Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Punjab University in their Oriental publications have brought out some very rare Arabic and Persian books, but their progress is very slow and their liabilities are not confined to Arabic and Persian. The Islmic Research Association of Bombay and the Kutub Khāna-i-Aliya of Rampur have newly started their series, but they are handicapped by the meagreness of their financial resources. We must also appreciate the efforts of the Majlis-i-Mukhṭuṭat-i-Fārsi of Hyderabad for the preservation and publication of Persian manuscripts. But considering the very large number of Arabic and Persian manuscripts that await publication, these six series are hardly enough. More and more should be started. Researchers, I think, should drop everything else and devote themselves solely to the work of editing and publishing. For what other work of authorship, whether critical, historical, biographical, lexicographical or scientific is possible if old sources are not accessible? I would advise the Dār'ul Muṣannifin of Azamgarh, the Nadwat' ul Muṣannifin of Delhi and Jamia Millia Islamia to include in their literary activities the task of publishing old Arabic and Persian texts.

Apropos of this, I may make a passing remark on the lack of a good press in India for printing Arabic and Persian books. Great value is attached nowadays to the beauty and get-up of a book. For years past the only press with good Arabic type has been the Baptist Mission Press of Calcutta. But its charges are exorbitant. I do not know how long the curse of litho-printing will keep its hold on our minds. While every other country in the world has abandoned it and replaced it by the more convenient, more beautiful and in the long run less expensive type-printing, we are still, as ever, adhering to our old, antiquated, out-of-date litho-press. What comparison is there in beauty and charm between books printed

in Cairo and Teheran and those lithographed in Lahore and Delhi? People abroad simply throw them away in disgust. We must at once give up our slovenly litho-printing and popularize books printed in type. It is a matter of satisfaction that type-printing is being introduced and improved in Hyderabad. But Hyderabad alone is not enough. Unless there is a large number of printing presses in India with beautiful Arabic, Persian and Urdu types, books will not be made cheap, nor will their aesthetic outlook improve.

Other precious relics of Islamic Culture which, like manuscripts, stand exposed to the danger of destruction are Muslim monuments, inscriptions and coins. Some of the former presidents of this and of the Archaeological section of the Oriental Conference have in their addresses, greatly stressed the need of studying and editing the unpublished Arabic and Persian inscriptions, which abound in all parts of India. I need not repeat what they have said. It is sad indeed to note that gradually and steadily the Muslim monuments are crumbling, being partly subjected to the decay of time and partly demolished by human hands carrying away the precious building material for other purposes. What invaluable sources of Muslim history and memories of a brilliant era are being lost! The Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia in its session held at Lahore and again at Delhi passed resolutions urging the Archaeological Department to devote more attention to the preservation and publication of Arabic and Persian inscriptions. The Department is doing what it officially can, but not all that is needful. Muslim monuments are scattered all over the country and the inscriptions that still survive are innumerable. Unless the official activities of the Department are supplemented by archaeological explorations conducted by the universities and also by individual efforts on the part of scholars, the desired results cannot be achieved. The universities in India should include the subject of Epigraphy in the syllabuses of Oriental languages. I am glad to inform you that the Punjab University has given a lead in this matter and has introduced Muslim Epigraphy as a subject of study in the M. A. examinations in Arabic and Persian. It is gratifying to learn that the Inter-University Board, in its last session held at Hyderabad a fortnight ago, has passed a resolution urging the universities to make Indian archaeology and epigraphy optional subjects in post-graduate courses in Indian history. It is to be hoped that when this resolution is carried into effect, we shall before long have a band of epigraphists studying archaeology and making valuable discoveries. It is fortunate that Muslim monuments in India

are not, like some of those in Iran, buried underneath the earth. We are thus saved the difficult and costly process of excavations. Everything is on the surface and the task of the archaeologist is much easier. I think it would at present be very desirable if a society, to be called the Islamic Archaeological and Numismatical Society, be formed to organise research in Muslim Art, Archaeology and Coins. It should be made to hold its sessions at regular intervals at various centres and should take in hand the work of publishing Arabic and Persian inscriptions such as mentioned above. For this purpose it should start a quarterly or bi-annual journal like the excellent Āthār-i-Irān published twice a year (both in French and in Persian) by the department of Archaeology in Iran. The Society can exist independently or be amalgamated with the newly founded Islamic History Conference.

I shall now pass on to the statement of another great necessity in the sphere of research in Arabic and Persian. Taking stock of what has been done so far in India, Europe, or other countries, we find that it is mainly in the field of literature, philology, history, geography and religion that the Oriental scholars have done any good work. They have, on the other hand left the domain of Art, Philosophy and Sciences entirely unexplored. They have not been able to determine the contributions of the Muslims to these sciences, the origin of which is generally associated with the West and which are termed modern. The reason is obvious. To a European the acquisition of the Arabic language with all the intricacies of its grammar and the vastness of its vocabulary is the work of a life-time. He has no time left for any other study. He ends by becoming an Arabist and begins his researches in what he has learnt of the literature, prosody and rhetorics of the Arabic language. Moreover, he believes in specialization. He will pursue one and only one line of study. If he chooses to be a linguist he cannot be a scientist, if a scientist, he cannot be a linguist. It is rare for a person in Europe to combine the study of a science and of a language. This explains why no Arabist of Europe has been able to carry his researches into the field of Muslim sciences such as Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry, Music, Philosophy and Medicine. Examples of rare attempts made are: the History of Arabian Medicine by Dr. Campbell (1926), Lectures on Arabian Medicine by Prof. Browne (1921), History of Arabian Music by Dr. Farmer (1929). A History of Chemistry in Mediaeval Islam by E. J. Holmyard which was once announced as one of the future publications of the Gibb Series, has never appeared. To these may be added

a few translations of scientific works from Arabic into modern European languages.

But in India no such attempts have been made. Only a few papers on the study of Optics and Physics by certain Muslim scientists were read in the various sessions of the Idara-i-Maarif-i-Islamia. These have been published in its proceedings. In fact the Idara was founded by the late Sir Mohammed Iqbal with the sole object of conducting and encouraging researches in Islamic sciences. "The culture of Islam" he said, "is the youngest of all Asiatic cultures. For us moderns it is far more easy to grasp the spirit of this culture than to imagine the world-picture of those ancient cultures whose intellectual and emotional attitude it is extremely difficult to express in a modern language. The difficulty of the historian of Muslim culture is mainly due to the almost total lack of Arabic scholars trained in special sciences....It is in Art as well as in the concepts of special sciences and philosophy that the true spirit of a culture is revealed. But for reasons mentioned above, the student of Muslim Culture is yet very far from understanding the spirit of that culture."

The task of making up this deficiency is far more difficult for us Indians than for Europeans. Whereas they have to master two things—a science and the Arabic language, we have to master in addition to these two, the English language which is the medium for acquiring modern sciences. And where is the encouragement for such arduous task? How will the scholar be repaid for all this hard labour? These are days of struggle and high cost of living. The career of research must be made sufficiently lucrative in order to attract brilliant and ambitious type of scholars. Funds must be provided and handsome stipends must be given to researchers of this kind. Those of the scholars who have received training in a special science, must be encouraged to study Arabic and for this encouragement special scholarships must be awarded by Muslim institutions and trusts. Another good suggestion in this connection is that our scholars should go not to Europe but to Egypt for this kind of research work. They will not only have the benefit of mastering the Arabic language more easily but will also be able to make use of the excellent libraries of Cairo where, I think, Arabic manuscripts of scientific books are more abundant than in the libraries of Europe.

And now I shall say a few words as to the present condition of Arabic and Persian studies in the Indian Universities and the future of these studies.

Persian and Arabic are treated in India as classical languages and are taught as such in the Indian Universities, exactly as Greek and Latin—classics of Europe—are taught in the Universities of Europe. Their position is no doubt analogous, but there is a big difference between the classics of Europe and the classics of the Muslim world. Whereas Greek and Latin are dead languages, Arabic and Persian are most vitally alive. They should not therefore be taught, as they unfortunately are, as dead languages. In the syllabuses of various universities mostly the old books are prescribed. No place is assigned in those syllabuses to modern literature, and the study of journals and newspapers is totally neglected. No heed is paid to pronunciation—the living pronunciation of the "people of the tongue." When Arabic and Persian are living and progressive languages, we should move with their progress. We should know thoroughly the trend of their modern literature and the new cast into which these languages are being moulded. Our pupils in the universities should be encouraged to practise speaking and writing in these languages. Universities should employ Iranians and Egyptians as teachers. Example is already set by the Punjab University, where an Arab is at present working as teacher of Arabic (in the Oriental College) and the post of a lecturer in Persian has been created, which will be filled by an Irani. This example should be followed by other Universities in India.

The utility of the Arabic and Persian languages is very imperfectly understood in India. We regard Arabic exclusively as the language of religion and Persian essentially a language of history and poetry. But their utility is and (please God) in future will be much greater than this. Arabic and Persian are going to be the cultural links between Muslims of India and their brethren abroad. They will be the most potent unifying factors of the Muslim world. In the post-war world when Asiatic nations will be thrown closer, when the means of communication will be made quicker and travelling easier, the commercial and cultural relations between India and the Near East will be revived and Arabic and Persian will serve as media for all inter-communications. I strongly believe that the importance of these languages will very much increase in future, and they will be taught in Indian Universities like French and German in the English Universities. And, if the proposed federation of Arab states is actually realized, Arabic will once more become the lingua franca of the Muslim world.

I shall end by striking a note of warning to the Persian people who for some time past have been proposing to follow

the example of the Turks in adopting the Latin script for Persian. The case of the Turks was very different. They thought that certain sounds of their language could not be correctly represented by Arabic script. Perhaps it was so. Moreover, their literature was by no means of an international character. If they have changed their script, nothing is lost to the world. But if the Persians did so, they will deprive the world and their own future generations of the gems of their past literature, a literature which is the property of common humanity. They should not do anything so foolish. Persian will not then be read anywhere outside Iran. Persian literature will lose half of its readers and admirers. India has always been the intellectual market for Persian literature. Persians must not lose their market by this change which is not going to serve them any useful purpose.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS : SANSKRIT SECTION

By

MM. P. V. KANE, M.A., LL.M., BOMBAY.

I deem it a great honour to have been called upon to preside over the Classical Sanskrit Section at this Conference. Among my predecessors who occupied this chair were such great scholars as Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri, Mahāmahopādhyaya Prof. Kuppuswami Shastri, Dr. Woolner and Dr. Thomas. Therefore I feel great diffidence in the work entrusted to me. I am handicapped by two things, viz. the short time at my disposal after it was notified that the conference was to be held in this holy city of Benares and my own personal difficulties owing to some eye trouble. I hope that with your whole-hearted co-operation and help I may be able to carry out the task undertaken by me. Though the full meeting of the whole conference will bear witness by a special resolution to the loss suffered by the passing away of scholars, I cannot begin my work without referring to the irreparable loss to Sanskrit studies caused by the death of Dr. Sukhtankar, Prof. Haradatta Sharma, and M. M. Abhyankar Shastri.

The field of the Classical Sanskrit Section is vast. Its boundaries are nowhere exactly defined, nor are the duties of the Chairman specified anywhere. Therefore I have to fall back upon previous practice (*śiṣṭācāra*). If I may draw an inference from previous practice, this Section includes the Epics, the Purāṇas, Kāvyas, Dramas, Kathā and Akhyāyikā, the Śastras of grammar, etymology, metrics, Dharmaśāstra, Alaṁkāra and Nāṭya, Kāmaśāstra and Arthaśāstra. Sometimes papers on astronomy, mathematics, the Upaniṣads and Mīmāṅsā have been included in this section. The scholars that presided over this section sometimes made in their presidential addresses certain general observations or pointed out the desiderata of this section or took a bird's-eye-view of the works and articles published during the preceding two years. I cannot pretend to have read or even seen all or even most of the works or articles published during the last two years. But I have tried to do what I could. Works are being published in several series and at several well-known presses in Bombay, Poona, Calcutta, Baroda, Benares, Lahore, Madras, Adyar, Mysore, Trivandrum, and Srirangam. Numerous journals publish articles on matters relating to classical Sanskrit, such as

the Indian Culture, Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta; Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, New Indian Antiquary, Poona Orientalist, at Poona; Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society, Journal of Bombay University, Journal of Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, in Bombay; Journal of Oriental Research, Journal of Indian History at Madras; Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society at Rajahmundry; Journal of the Mythic Society at Bangalore; Journal of Sri Venkatesh Oriental Institute at Tirupati, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society at Patna, Journals of the Benares Hindu University and of the Mysore and other Universities, the Journal of the recently started Ganganath Jha Institute. A host of scholars, both old and young, are engaged in contributing papers to these several journals. This is a very hopeful and encouraging sign for the progress of Sanskrit studies. It would be invidious to mention a few such names and omit the rest. But I cannot help referring to the papers contributed and work done in this section by some of our comparatively younger scholars on a variety of topics such as Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Mr. P. K. Gode, Dr. Raghavan, Prof. V. M. Apte, Dr. Pusalkar, Prof. N. A. Gore, Prof. S. L. Katre, Prof. V. R. R. Dikshitar, Dr. Hazra, Prof. Devasthali, Dr. J. B. Choudhuri, Dr. V. S. Agarwal, and Dr. R. N. Dandekar.

A few remarks may be made about certain desiderata in our Section. The critical edition of the Mahābhārata is making slow but substantial progress. An edition of some at least, if not all, of the 18 Purāṇas is a great desideratum. The papers published by Dr. Hazra on the Devīpurāṇa, by Rao Bahadur Rangaswami Ayyangar on the Nandi-Purāṇa and by Dr. Pusalkar on the Vāyu Purāṇa indicate the urgent necessity of sifting the Purāṇa literature for the purpose of enabling scholars to draw certain conclusions on history, sociology and Dharmaśāstra. Another great desideratum is to have a bibliography prepared on the lines of the Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology published by the Kern Institute at Leyden, but of a much wider scope indexing references to all texts printed in India and elsewhere and to all works and papers written on Indology in India and abroad in English or in other languages. This is a stupendous task and can be undertaken only by a central body possessing ample funds and commanding the co-operation of numerous scholars. This is a work which should be undertaken by the conference itself.

Among the texts published in the last two years, I should like to mention particularly the following:—

The Āranyakaparva of the critical edition of the *Mahābhārata*; the *Vyavahāranirṇaya* of Varadarāja; the *Dattaka-Candrikā* (with a learned commentary by Pandit Marulkar), the *Kālamādhavakārikā*, *Jyotirnibandha* and the *Tithicintāmaṇi* (all from the Ānandāśrama Press); *Dharmadvaitanirṇaya*, *Sāpiṇḍyanirṇaya* of Śrīdhara and *Sāpiṇḍya-dīpikā* of Nāgoji (edited by Principal Gharpure) in Dharmaśāstra; the *Sāṅkhāyanagṛhya-sūtra* (published at Junagadh); the *Daṇḍanīti-prakaraṇa* edited by Mr. Bendrey; the *Alaṅkāra-Mahodadhi* edited by Mr. L. B. Gandhi in the G. O. S. and the *Alaṅkāraratnākara* of Śobhākara (edited by Prof. C. R. Devadhar); the *Vedānta-paribhāṣā* with English translation by Prof. Suryanarayana Shastri, the *Aṇūbhāṣya* on the Brahmasūtra (I. 3-4) edited by the late Mr. Teliwala, the *Brahmasūtra Siddhānta-Muktāvalī* (published by the Ānandāśrama Press) in Vedānta; the *Rāmānuja-Campū* under Kāvya; the *Pancarātra-rakṣā* (published in the Adyar Library Series).

Among works and monographs I would draw particular attention to Dr. Raghavan's "*Studies on some concepts of Alaṅkāraśāstra*," "*Bhāsa*" by Dr. Pusalkar, Prof. Sakhare on "*History and Philosophy of the Lingāyat religion*," Dr. De's "*Early history of the Vaiṣṇava faith*"; the "*Progress of Indic Studies*" (Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona); *Vīra-Saivism* by Dr. Nandimath, the Bibliography of the Rāmāyaṇa by Prof. N. A. Gore. It is really creditable that inspite of the scarcity of paper and the depressing conditions engendered by the Great War so many texts and such valuable works were published during the short space of two years.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS
RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY SECTION

By

MAHĀMHOPĀDHYĀYA DR. UMESHA MISHRA, M.A., D.Litt.,
Allahabad University.

MEMBERS OF THE CONFERENCE,

I CONSIDER it to be my first duty to express my most sincere gratitude to the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have conferred upon me by inviting me to preside over the Section of Indian Philosophy and Religion of this session of the Conference which is holding its sittings within the precincts of a University which I am proud to call my *Alma-mater*. Being fully aware of my limitations and of the onerous duty which a President has to perform, I feel much diffident to shoulder the responsibility, but as आज्ञा गुरूणां ह्यविचारणीया, I have no other choice.

As the President of a section it is my next duty to deliver an address covering the progress achieved in the subjects connected with the Section since we met last at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1941, and to place before you some of the more important problems which as a student of Indian Philosophy I have before me.

Before proceeding with the first part of my work, I must confess very frankly that the survey of the progress made in this Section, as given below, in no way claims to be quite exhaustive and comprehensive. It is partly due to the short notice of the session and partly to the consideration of not encroaching upon the time of others while delivering it before the audience here.

I

The most important contribution to this Section is the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Parts I and II, by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane. Pandit Kane's scholarship needs no introduction. The first volume of his *History of Dharmaśāstra* has been before the public for over ten years and we know what great amount of labour and scholarship is necessary for such a monumental authoritative work. The present volume contains the treatment of *varṇa, āśrama, saṁskāras,*

āhnika, ācāra, dāna, and *utsarga* and *śrauta* sacrifices. The author has based the exposition of all these topics on authoritative original sources including most of the modern *Nibandhas.* The subject is so vast and its nature is sometimes so complicated that it is difficult to say that all the schools of Dharmaśāstra are fully represented, but as far as it seems, Pandit Kane has not omitted any important text from his treatment. We are much indebted to the author for his contributions and are anxiously looking forward to see the third volume which I hope is almost complete by now.

The next but not the less important work is *Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā in its Sources* by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha with an Appendix by myself named *Critical Bibliography of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā,* also known as *Mīmāṁsākusumāñjali.* It is the first volume of the newly started *The Library of Indian Philosophy and Religion Series* under the general editorship of Sir S. Radhakrishnan and published by the Benares Hindu University. Dr. Jha was, undoubtedly, one of the greatest scholars of recent times. As regards his contributions to Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, we may say without any hesitation that he has done the same service which the great Kumārila Bhaṭṭa did in his time to the Śāstra. His present work which was unfortunately his last contribution in this life, is the most exhaustive and comprehensive treatment of the three well-known schools of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, namely, *Bhaṭṭa, Guru* and *Miśra.* By the publication of this work we have got a complete book on the History of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā based on original sources.

The *Āgamaśāstra of Gauḍapāda* deserves our next attention. Though generally it is called *Māṇḍūkyakārikā* or *Gauḍapādakārikā,* yet the present author likes to name it *Āgamaśāstra,* because it is an "authoritative treatise which deals with or is based on a traditional doctrine or doctrines." It has been edited, translated and annotated by Mahāmahopādhyāya Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya of Calcutta after a thorough study of the book for about twenty years. Professor Bhattacharya is not at all satisfied with the interpretation given by Śaṅkarācārya, and identifies it with that of the *Vijñānavāda.* It is true, holds Prof. Bhattacharya, that Gauḍapāda advocates the *Vijñānavāda* in his *Kārikās,* but certainly, he takes the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* as the ultimate basis for his treatment. One may or may not share with his views, but there is no doubt that his treatment has opened quite a new line of thinking and is worth further investigation. In spite of all the praise that the present edition deserves, it is a fact that

the printing of the text in Devanāgarī script would have been much more desirable.

Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University deserves our congratulations for his *Early History of the Vaiṣṇava Faith and Movement in Bengal.* In this interesting work the author gives us an account of the views of early Caitanyaism based on almost all the original works written by the followers of Śrī-Caitanya. Though not quite exhaustive, the author has given a summary of almost all the works written in Sanskrit by scholars and devotees inspired by the personality of Caitanya. He also discusses therein the interpretation of *rasa-śāstra,* theology, philosophy, rituals etc. as found in the works of Vaiṣṇavaism of that period. The book, on the whole, is indeed a valuable contribution to the literature and deserves our praise.

One of the most important books that has been published in the *Adyar Library Series* is *The Philosophy of Viśiṣṭādvaita* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A. The main purpose of this work, as he himself has told us, is to give a critical and comprehensive exposition of the central features of the Philosophy of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* and its relation to other schools of Vedānta. The author very dispassionately and critically elucidates almost all the aspects of the school. He proceeds with a clear outlook and makes efforts to judge his statements from the correct angle of vision of all the schools of Vedānta. His statements are quite authentic and do not conflict with the true spirit of the school on any point. The author seems to me one of the best exponents of the thought. It is indeed a very good addition to the literature of the school.

Dr. S.C. Nandimath, Principal, Lingaraj College, Belgaum has added *A Hand-Book of Vīraśaivaism* to the literature of the Lingāyata School. Śaivaism is one of the important schools of Indian Philosophy which has two sub-schools—Śaivaism of Kashmir and that of Southern India which is, ordinarily, called Vīraśaivaism, or more popularly, Liṅgāyatā Darśana. The author has made a comparative study of the various schools of Vedānta and has compared and drawn contrasts between their views and those of the Liṅgāyata school. The teachings of this school are more particularly ethical, but their philosophical back-ground cannot be overlooked. The author has discussed topics like the conception of God, *Śakti, Māyā,* Appearance, and Reality. The book is well written and the author deserves every encouragement.

History and Philosophy of Liṅgāyata Religion (being an Introduction to the *Liṅgadhāraṇacandrikā* of Nandikeśvara)

by Mr. M. R. Sakhare is another work added to the literature of Vīraśaivaism. The main object of the author is a comprehensive treatment of the History and Philosophy of the school. Mr. Sakhare traces the origin of the school to the twelfth century A.D. The school has got a philosophy of its own and deals with the social and religious aspects also as practised amongst its followers. It is influenced both by the Śaivaism and the Śāktaism. Both in theory and practice its views are very reactionary and revolt against the orthodox views and do not appear to believe even in the influence of the *Law of karman*. Perhaps this was the reason why it could not spread far beyond the locality of its origin.

The author in his enthusiasm has gone far beyond the limits of his main theme, and so has been not much successful in his attempts. It was not at all necessary for him to go back to the old questions and discuss the much controversial topics of the ancient civilisation of the country in this very volume. If the author were serious enough to discuss such questions, he could have done it in a separate volume. Besides, some of the statements made therein, are far from satisfactory and ought to have been more critically examined before being put before the public. As it is, the book is much confused and contains many things which need not have been there at all.

Next, I pass on to the *Nimbārka School of Vedānta* by myself. As far as I know, no attempt was ever made to write in English, as a matter of fact, in any language except Sanskrit, a comprehensive History of the school prior to this. The only book published in English is the *Doctrine of Nimbārka* in two volumes by Dr. Roma Chowdhari, which is nothing but an English translation, with some annotations, of the two direct and indirect commentaries on the *Brahmasūtras* of *Bādarāyaṇa* known as the *Vedānta-Pārijāta-Saurabha* and the *Vedānta-Kaustubha*. The third volume which was announced to contain a full philosophical exposition of Nimbārka's doctrines is still awaiting its publication. The book under review is an exhaustive treatment of the doctrines of the school based on almost all the available texts in print. It is fully documented and is thus most authoritative.

The work of Bhai Manilal C. Parekh, named *Vallabhāchārya—Life, Teachings and Movement* is perhaps the latest addition to the literature of the Vallabha School. The book is divided into four sections—Life of Vallabha—Teachings of Vallabha—Movement of Vallabha and the *Bhāgawatadharma* in Gujarat. The exposition is quite popular and has not much to philosophy in it. What I mean is that no effort has been

made in this book to go to the original texts as to bring out the philosophical doctrines of the school. Perhaps that was not even the object of the author. Though quite interesting, the book cannot be taken to be a scholarly representation of all the aspects of the school based on original sources. Then, we know that there is much scope for writing on the social and religious aspects of the school, which also are not found in this book. To me the school of Vallabha appears to be, more or less, a living system which exists not only in belief but is strictly adhered to in practice, and so it is necessary that a much more comprehensive study of the doctrines of the school should be presented to the scholarly world. I have been myself working on it for about a year or so and have collected all possible and necessary material and hope to present a volume to the scholarly world before long.

The Jaina Sadhus have been writing in Sanskrit from a pretty long time on Jaina thoughts. It is gratifying to find that they have lately begun to write in English also to popularise their thoughts. This will enable us to have more authentic books based on original sources and traditions of the *Sampradāya*. It is our first duty to preserve the traditions which alone can guide us like a torch in our scholarly pursuits to bring into light the hidden treasures of thoughts. It is because we have lost tradition in several branches of our literature that we are quite in dark as to the correct interpretation of various important problems connected with them.

I am glad to mention in this connection the efforts made by Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya of Ahmedabad. Under the common title *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* he has brought out four volumes. The first part of the first volume deals with the twenty-six previous *Bhavas* (existences) of Mahāvīra after the realisation of *Samyaktva* (right belief). The second volume contains an account of the twenty-seventh *Bhava* of Mahāvīra as Vardhamāna Kumāra. The third volume treats of *Gaṇadharavāda*, that is, the explanation of doubts by the eleven chief disciples of Mahāvīra namely, Indrabhūti and others. The fourth volume is named *Sthavirāvalī* which contains an exposition of the *sthaviras*, that is, the old and highly respected learned ascetics. All these works are well annotated, translated and explained. Every effort has been made to make these volumes useful and up-to-date. The expositions though very lucid, interesting and informative, are sometimes mere frivolous. To write much more than what is necessary seems to be a habit with the modern Jaina writers. For a scholarly work brevity of expression should always be adhered to.

Cosmology Old and New, by Mr. G. R. Jain and published in the *J. L. Jaini Memorial Series*, contains a free English translation of the fifth chapter of the *Tattvārthādhigamasūtra* of Umāsvātī with ample notes. The author has not only taken great pains to explain the *sūtras* but has also gone beyond the scope of the school to compare and contrast its doctrines with those of the other systems of Indian Philosophy. This sort of comparative study is, undoubtedly, very useful and desirable, but one should remain very careful against misinterpretation of thoughts. There are certain statements in this book which are quite misleading and confusing, and I am afraid, instead of doing any good to the beginners, they may create prejudices in their mind.

A History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas by Prof. H. R. Kapadia gives us the history of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon. The author has collected very good material from the original sources based on manuscripts. He has tried to emphasise more on the traditional aspect of the thought, and so he may not appear to be very critical in his judgment to the modernists. It is good that we should try to preserve our traditions, but at the same time we should not forget to make out clear distinction between traditions and history. There is no serious and systematic arrangement of the various aspects of the thought. With such an ample and original collection of material the author could have written a far more interesting and critical book on the subject.

Likewise, we have got a few modern works on Buddhism also to note here. There is the *Early Monistic Buddhism*, Vol. I by Prof. Nalinaksha Dutt wherein questions like—what is not Buddhism, what is early (monistic) Buddhism, how a Buddhist should live etc. have been discussed. The book is written more from the popular point of view than for the use of critical scholarship.

Then there is a collection of sporadic writings and lectures of the late Mrs. Rhys Davids which she has named *Way-farer's Words*, Vol. II. It contains an account of her own researches in early Buddhistic sources. She rightly criticises the various old and current views on Buddhism and holds that for the correct interpretation of Buddhist thoughts, original Pali records are still to be properly studied. Most of the interpretations of the Buddhist thoughts, she holds, have been disproved simply because they could not be supported by original texts. She goes even so far as to apply her argument to systems like Vedānta also. There is enough truth in what she has said.

Indeed, working without consulting original texts is responsible for many a mistake in several other fields also.

The *Ethical Philosophy of the Gītā* by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari of Madras is a very interesting book. The author (in nine different chapters) has expounded the ethical aspect of the *Bhagavadgītā* in the light of *Viśiṣṭādvaita* by adopting, as he himself says, western methods of critical enquiry. The ethical stand-point of the various schools of Indian thought has been examined in the light of the western thought and a true valuation of the position of the *Gītā* has been made out. The author is a very good scholar of Viśiṣṭādvaita school and has clear ideas about the different stand-points of almost all the schools. His treatment is quite lucid and unbiased.

The Progress of Indic Studies (1917-1942), published by the *Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute* in connection with its Silver Jubilee, contains a brief survey of the progress made in Indian Philosophy by one of my students Dr. P. T. Raju of the Andhra University. The author gives us a very sketchy account of the work done in this field. The treatment, besides being quite unsatisfactory, is entirely misleading. It is strange that the author has such an imperfect acquaintence with the essential characteristics of Indian Philosophy. He has throughout misunderstood the Indian outlook and is not at all clear as to the high standard that Indian Philosophy has ever kept before it. One fails to understand how a philosophy, which deals with the ultimate Truth, can change with the change of the cultural surroundings. There are so many questionable remarks and sometimes quite incorrect, that it is not at all possible for me to refute them here. I will, however, certainly refer to one or two points which will be quite sufficient to show his ignorance of the subject. Every Sanskrit Pandit is never regarded as a philosopher. There are thousands of Vaiyākaraṇas, Jyotiṣis, Vaidikas, and many others who never, even in their dream, think of themselves as philosophers, although they are great Pandits. His assumption that for being a philosopher and for understanding the difficult Sanskrit texts, training is needed in the European philosophy is entirely untenable. You can very easily gather his ideas about Indian Philosophy from the following lines which I quote from his essay. He says:

"It is true that, Sanskrit being a dead language, a good deal more knowledge of the language is required for the understanding of Sanskrit philosophical texts than of English for the understanding of English philosophy. But this admission

does not imply that every Sanskrit scholar without the necessary training in philosophical thinking can be a philosopher. And training is needed not only in Sanskrit philosophy but also in the European. It will not do if one knows a little about Berckeley's *Principles* or Spinoza's *Substance*. A more systematic training is necessary before India can produce many philosophers who can rank with the greatest intellects of the West. Apart from the question of producing new systems, even in interpreting our ancient thought a good knowledge of Western Philosophy is necessary."

Such being the standard of judgment of Dr. Raju, I think only half a dozen (or even less) scholars who have got thorough training in European philosophy, can deserve to be called Indian philosophers, while Śaṅkarācārya, Rāmānujācārya, Vācaspati Miśra, Śrīharṣa, Udayanācārya, Dharmakīrti, Vasubandhu, Nāgārjuna and all those, who have done similar services to the cause of knowledge in India and are regarded by all as great philosophers of this country, do not deserve to be called philosophers, simply because they were never systematically trained in Western Philosophy. It is painful to hear and even pronounce any judgment on such remarks of Indian students. I am extremely sorry to have dealt with this at length, but I think it is very necessary for me to speak of it in this manner, so that no student of philosophy of any country should ever cherish such a wrong notion about Indian Philosophy in future.

Besides, some other works also have appeared during this period, and without discussing their merits I only mention them here: *A Manual of Buddhist Historical Traditions*, by Dr. Bimala Churn Law, *Studies in Religion and Philosophy* by Dr. Susil Kumar Maitra, *The meaning of the Religious Forms* by Mr. Abinash Chandra Lahiri, *The Yoga of Kathopanishad* by Shri Krishna Prem, *Lectures on Yoga and Vedānta* by Swami Shivananda, *Bhagavadgita and Modern Philosophy* by S. C. Roy, etc.

Recently efforts have been made to write History of Indian Philosophy in Hindi. We have two such works before us worth mentioning—by one Dr. Nandakishora Devaraja and the other by Pandit Baladeva Upadhyaya, a Professor of this very University. The book of Pandit Upadhyaya is much more comprehensive and scholarly than that of Dr. Devaraja. It presents a very good reading for those who do not know the subject and cannot read the standard works from the original sources. As these remove a long felt desideratum in Hindi

literature, I welcome them, and hope that many more efforts will be made to produce better books in other modern languages.

Similar efforts have been also made in Maithilī in recent times. The late Mm. Dr. Sir Ganganatha Jha wrote a book on Śaṅkara-Vedānta, called *Vedānta-Dīpaka*. It is very interesting and lucid in its exposition. Dr. Jha, as was his usual habit, has explained the whole system without confusing his readers with the intricacies of Vedānta. The book is written for popular use and not for any critical scholarship.

Likewise, Babu Kshemadhari Sinha of Madhubani has written a small book on Sāṅkhya, named *Sāṅkhyakhadyotikā* in Maithilī. The author has followed the treatment of the *Sāṅkhyasūtra* and has tried to give the substance of entire school in this small book. His exposition is quite easy and lucid and is very interesting for general reading. Though not quite in agreement with the outlook of the author, I welcome such efforts simply because these are useful for those who would have remained quite ignorant of the subject without such books.

II

After reviewing in brief the progress made in Indian Philosophy and Religion in the course of these two years, I now propose to take up the next and perhaps the more important aspect of my duty.

It is already known to you how Philosophy in India is inseparably connected with the very idea of existence. It is, perhaps, because of this that it has outlived all possible changes—social, religious and political—through which the country has passed. Several nations of the world have, from time to time, invaded, conquered and ruled over the country, partly or wholly, and produced political and a few social changes. The Muslims, the Buddhists and the Jainas and many others have attempted to reform the social and religious outlook of the people of this country and may have been even successful to a certain extent, though quite detrimental to the interests of Indian thought and people, yet none of them could ever produce any change whatsoever in the philosophical outlook of the country. Since the very dawn of reasoning, truths, as propounded by the great seers, have remained unaltered. The utterances—the unfolding of the best and mature experiences of the great seers and sages—have proved infallible and unsurmountable so far. It is in this respect that India has held her head high and has never stooped down before any nation of the world. Indian

Philosophy is, undoubtedly, the purest and the most reliable record of human achievements. In fact, it is the nucleus round which all that is best and most sublime in India has grown. Hence, if we want to study India in her unsophisticated form we must unearth her hidden treasures—the philosophical records—of which we are so proud.

It should be always kept in mind that in order to study the mind of any country it is most indispensable to be very intimately and sympathetically acquainted with the general conditions of the country, with the natural trend of the mind of its people and with its religious and social customs and practices. The unperturbed and unassuming life of a country forms the very back-bone of the thought of that country. It is found reflected and interwoven in its literatures—both light and serious. But there is something more and much more important than this in Indian literature, particularly, in its Philosophy. The gradual evolution of her philosophical thoughts, the mature and infallible experiences of the great seers of the past as recorded in the authoritative texts, represent only the theoretical aspect of human existence, while the practical side of it is found in the actual and unsophisticated normal life of her people. If, therefore, a system of philosophy, in India, does not correspond to the actual functioning of human life on regular and sane lines, it would have neither any practical value nor any general appeal; and I am afraid, it does not deserve to be recognised as a system of Indian thought. In other words, one must study and understand with faith the true spirit of the life of Indian people in order to have a proper grasp of the spirit of their philosophy.

It must be kept in mind that Philosophy and life of the people in India both aim at the same goal, that is, absolute freedom from pain or the realisation of the highest truth. There exists mutual reflection between these two. In other words, the life of people in India is regulated in close adherence to what is found in her Philosophy. Thus, Philosophy and Life may be said to be identical for Indians. The standard of judgment is the same for both. So without any hesitation we may say that the life of people in India is nothing but Philosophy in practice. This alone differentiates Indian Philosophy from those of other countries.

The ultimate aim of Philosophy and Life in India is realised by the true vision of the Supreme Self, that is, *Ātman*; so says the Sruti 'आत्मा वाऽरे द्रष्टव्यः,' and every system of thought directly or indirectly stands as a means (*sādhana*) to this very

aim. It is only because of this that it deserves the name *Darśana*. The nature of this *Ātman* is so very subtle that to speak of it, nay even to think of it, is simply impossible as is clear from the Śruti—'यतो वाचो निवर्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह।'

It is never possible to know the unlimited *Ātman*, that is, its realisation, with the limited *Manas*. The *anantarūpa* of the *Ātman* cannot be expounded by any one particular school of thought. So what is found in different systems is that each one has limited its scope and represents one or two aspects of that ultimate truth only. Thus Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, for instance, asserts the separate and independent existence of *Ātman*, while the Sāṅkhya proves that it is nothing but pure *caitanya* and leaves for the Vedānta to propound its blissful nature. Accordingly, every enquirer into the nature of this ultimate truth cannot realise it at one and the same time. It is, therefore, that the great *Ācāryas* have advised us to proceed after the *Arundhatīdarśana-nyāya* and have laid great emphasis on the question of *Adhikāribheda*. It necessitates the attainment of those qualifications and conditions which must be acquired and fulfilled by the aspirant to philosophical studies before he can enter their portals and also in the course of those studies until he realises the ultimate goal. With this back-ground the various schools of Philosophy in India have been arranged and any one desirous to study them must also be accordingly equipped.

This being so, it must be admitted that the various schools of Indian Philosophy expound the Truth from different angles of vision. Thus, it is not correct to hold that all the schools of thought deal with the same aspect and from the same stand-point. I do not think it would have been ever possible for the systems of thought to differ amongst themselves had they all taken their stand upon the same angle of vision. Can under any circumstancec a thing, say a pot (*ghaṭa*) for instance, appear to be different from what it is, if it be looked upon from the same stand-point? But that there exists vast difference in the objects of treatment between the various schools cannot be gainsaid. So the conception of a *bhūta*, for instance, cannot be the same in various schools. It is this very difference in the outlook that necessitates the difference in their objects of treatment. Again, to an enquirer when all the systems are looked upon collectively, there appears a sort of gradation also amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy. One system presupposes the treatment of another. As for instance, the Śaṅkara-Vednta presupposes the *satkāryavāda*, the *caitanyasvarūpa* of the *Ātāman*, and so on of the Sāṅkhiya. It

12

is therefore, difficult to follow a particular system, if systems dealing with those stages which are prior to that, have not been properly studied. The doctrines of Śaṅkara-Vedānta cannot be rightly understood if the Sāṅkhya system has not been thoroughly studied, or those of the Sāṅkhya without the careful study of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, and so on. Hence, what one particular system teaches is only an aspect of the ultimate truth and not the whole.

Keeping all this in mind if any new approach is made to realise the highest end, it is welcome, and I would consider it as an addition to the existing systems of Indian Philosophy. Do we not have some ten different systems of Vedānta alone closely based on the *Brahmasūtras* all leading to one and the same goal? Not to speak of the past but even within our own living memory, only some three years back, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Pañchānana Tarkaratna of this very city propounded a new line of thinking, called *Svarūpādvaitavāda*, and wrote a new and quite original commentary on the *Brahmasūtras*, *Īśāvāsyopaniṣad* and the *Bhagavadgītā* named *Śaktibhāṣya*. His view-point is indeed a fresh addition to the list of the already existing monistic thoughts in the history of Indian Philosophy. According to this view, the Absolute or the Universal Being is the Unity of Supreme Power which is identical and yet in a mysterious way transcendent of its mutually contradicting aspects of *Cit* and *Acit* (*Puruṣa* and *Prakṛti*), or Spirit and Matter—the eternal principles of Light and Darkness, of Consciousness and Insentiency, of Immutability and Flux. Spirit and Matter are held to have a common essence with *Brahman* or *Śakti*; in fact, they have the same indivisible unity of Being (एका सत्ता) as of *Brahman* or *Śakti*. There may be others who might have done similar service to the cause of true knowledge. The only point to be kept in view is that we should be true to our aim and consistent in our method of approach in accordance with what has been said before.

This sort of originality is possible only when a man has maintained moral and spiritual discipline throughout his life and is at least above the average man, if not entirely free from *rāga*, *dveṣa* and *moha*; and is always guided with right intuition 'अपरोक्षानुभूति' and is also equipped with the knowledge of the existing systems. In the present generation most of us are busy in ascertaining the correct interpretation of the existing texts. No doubt, this is very useful and must be done at all cost, but we should never forget that this is a means only and not the final aim. Though Philosophy in India is more or

less individualistic and requires that every individual person should realise the ultimate truth for himself, yet it is also necessary that he should leave behind his mature experiences for the good of the future generation.

It is very encouraging to see that the study of Indian Philosophy is becoming more popular and that the students and teachers of European Philosophy also consider their equipment incomplete without its study. To my mind this is a change which has been brought about by the publication of the *History of Indian Philosophy* by Professors S. Radhakrishnan and Das Gupta. No doubt, the ground was originally prepared by the translations of the most important and difficult texts by the late Dr. Jha and a few others, but it is from the pen of these professors that the thoughts have been synthetically arranged and presented to the scholarly world in an interesting and readable form, so that it has become quite clear to all that Indian Philosophy also can be studied like the Philosophy of other countries. Following these scholars many others have also begun to write and it is very pleasing indeed to see several books now in the field. These scholars represent one type of scholarship, while the other type is found represented by scholars like the late Mm. Dr. Jha, Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinatha Kaviraja and a few others who have produced much more critical works entirely based on original sources and imbued with authenticity.

These two types of work present a very important problem for us. We know that Western thought, though critical and logical, is yet entirely speculative. Scholars trained in that thought wholly depend upon reasonings and have no means to verify their conclusions. It is also a fact which needs no verification that howsoever pure a reasoning may be, it can never ensure the validity of the results unless it is corroborated by the actual reality. It is not that the Western scholarship does not realise this deficiency in its method, but as the philosophical problems are so very subtle and as they deal mostly with things which are beyond the range of our physical means of verification, it is not at all possible to carry on experiments in this field. It is, therefore, that the results of their speculation are frustrated very often and the scholars working according to that method are never sure of what they are doing. In Indian Philosophy, however, there is the process of *nididhyāsana* which is compulsory for all to test the validity of the results of pure reasoning, and so its conclusion is never found invalid.

Under the circumstances, when scholars trained in the Western method purely on speculative lines make an effort to interpret the subtle problems of Indian Philosophy, they cannot ordinarily be expected to change their outlook and use the Indian method ; for, once the speculative method has made its impression on their mind, it is difficult, if not impossible, to wipe it off and remove their prejudices. I whole-heartedly welcome their scientific outlook but not their prejudices and lack of faith in the critical judgment of the orthodox scholars. I would insist on the combination of the critical method of Western scholarship and that of the orthodox learning. It may be true in the present circumstances to doubt the critical habit of Indian scholars, but it is simply ignorance to deny it. Our higher studies in different branches of learning very clearly show that the method of critically examining a problem is even now traditionally present in most of our orthodox Pandits. It is, therefore, that the scholars of European Philosophy try to find out the thoughts of Spinoza, Berkeley, Hume, Kant and Hegel in the works of Indian thinkers and if, by chance, they could thrust in their views in the works of Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others, then alone they appear to attach some sense to the works of Indian Philosophers. In other words, the present standard of judgment of our modern scholars is Western thought. Whatever appears similar to or is found nearer to the Western thought, that alone can have some value for our modernists. The result is that Indian thoughts are interpreted wrongly in the light of the western thoughts and the true spirit and merit are hardly ever realised by them. This is a grave danger which we have before us. If this practice is allowed to continue for a longer period, I am afraid, the original contributions of Indian Philosophy will be thrown behind the huge columns of thick dark clouds of utter ignorance, and the sublime tradition of the thought will be irrecoverably lost.

Already it is found that, due to one reason or another the traditions of certain schools are lost and we find ourselves in utter helplessness to understand the true spirit of those thoughts. I will just refer to one or two instances to illustrate the above.

From our studies of the various schools of thought, including Epics and Purāṇas, it appears that the school of Sāṅkhya has been so very popular that hardly there is a *śāstra,* or even a book of Sanskrit literature which does not refer to its teachings, and it is perhaps due to this very popularity that we have so many variations in its treatment. As for instance, some hold *Prakṛti* to be eternal, while others consider it to be a product.

Again, some believe that there is only one *Prakṛti*, while others propound its plurality, and so on. But due to the loss of its tradition and some connecting link, we find hardly any commentary which can claim to be true and faithful to what Īśvarakṛṣṇa has taught in his *Kārikās*, and to my mind it has become extremely difficult to restore his teachings.

Again, a much more serious result appears to be that though it is so very clear that there exists a synthetic gradation amongst the various schools of Indian Philosophy, yet most of our orthodox Pandits, who are, in fact, the real custodians of the treasures of Indian scholarship, are quite unwilling to accept it. It is the negligence of this outlook which seems to me responsible for so much misunderstanding in the true interpretation of philosophical problems even amongst the orthodox Pandits.

Then again, we know that the Bhāṣya of Rāmānujācārya on the *Bādarāyaṇasūtras* is called *Śrībhāṣya* and there is a common belief in this part of the country that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta is said to belong to the *Śrīsampradāya*. Most of our Pandits and modern scholars hold that *Śrī* is the founder of the *Sampradāya* and they quote the following verse from the *Padmapurāṇa* in support of their belief :

कलौ खलु भविष्यन्ति सम्प्रदायप्रवर्त्तकाः ।
श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसनकाः वैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः ।।

But our critical study and enquiry in the traditional families indicate that *Śrī* is not the founder of this *Sampradāya* and that the school of Rāmānuja-Vedānta emphasises *Śriyaḥ Patiḥ* and not *Śrī*. It is further said that as the term *Śrī* indicates नित्यविभूतिमत्त्व, the Vaiṣṇavas of the Rāmānuja school and others also have been traditionally adding it before everything they name. So they have *Śrīvaikuṇṭha*, *Śrīdhāma*, *Śrīmukha*, and so on. Now it is difficult to say which of the two views is correct.

These are some of the instances where we can see the disasterous results of the loss of tradition and original thoughts. So if our modern scholars continue the practice of reading western thoughts in Indian ones, I am afraid, only after a few years the true spirit, nay the very foundation of Indian Philosophy, will be shaken, and once the tradition is lost, it will not be possible to recover it.

I must make it clear that I am not opposed to any comparative study, rather I think it very useful for the clear understanding of philosophical problems. What I mean, therefore

is that as the two thoughts differ like the two poles in their outlook, it is very difficult to find out any common and useful ground to work on and any kind of forced interpretation to bring them together will simply ruin the cause. So these two thoughts should be left to flourish quite independently in their own separate spheres. And if ever any reference has to be made for showing some similarity, their outlook should never be forgotten. With these clear ideas of difference in mind whenever and wherever any attempt is made to study Indian Philosophy, it is welcome. It is, therefore, quite necessary that we, the students and teachers of Indian Philosophy, should try to study the original texts on the traditional methods and not to depend upon mere translations which are generally confusing and sometimes convey thoughts not quite accurate. At present there is a great need of that type of scholarship which the late Mm. Dr. Jha, Mm. Rāmāvatāra Śarma and the present Mm. Gopinatha Kaviraj have shown in their works. We should produce works written with the help of modern critical method combined with the depth of learning of the traditional Paṇḍits. This type of work alone can maintain the high tradition and purity of Indian thought. Our work should be marked with authenticity fully documented with original texts and critical judgment. We know such works will not be so popular, but is it not dangerous to sacrifice everything for gaining popularity? For popularity too we do want a separate set of books, so that they can be freely used by the beginners, or those who are working in different fields and cannot easily get any facility to study standard works. But here also I would like the presentation of thoughts to be very accurate, so that the grounding of our beginners may not remain shaky and unsound.

By the way, I wish to inform you that it is with this very idea that the admirers and friends of the late Dr. Ganganatha Jha have founded a *Research Institute* at Allahabad. Amongst its various aims, one is to bring the two types of scholars together to their mutual benefit. There are eminent Sanskritists whose knowledge of their subject is deep and quite sound, but neither it is recognised in the world of modern scholarship nor does the advantage of their learning become available to such modern scholars who need it most. It is very necessary to bring the Sanskritists who have finally qualified themselves on the traditional lines in close touch with the methods of modern scientific researches and to provide facilities to the modern scholars for introduction to the depth of the traditional learning of the orthodox Pandits. Then alone we shall have the most

needed combination of what is the best in the two types of scholarship. This will also help us to preserve the ancient traditional learning of the country which to our great regret is fast disappearing. But it pains me to remark that we never feel for this even for a moment. It will not be out of place to quote a few lines from the experiences of an ex-Governor of Bengal which will tell you what others think of our Pandits even these days. Lord Lytton says: "I have called this book *Pundits and Elephants* because, as I said in my farewell address to the members of the Asiatic Society[1] these were examples of the indigenous, genuine and original qualities which compelled my admiration whenever and wherever I met them. I never tired of watching elephants and studying their ways and habits. They seemed to me to be the embodiment of the true civilisation of India. Their antiquity, their calm dignity, their deliberation, their immense reserve of strength, their complete self-confidence and their superb humility were qualities that I also associated with the Pundits."

Coming back to my proper subject, I wish to draw your serious attention to a very important fact. I need not say that India is essentially a country of spiritual and religious thoughts. Philosophy and religion are the two vital parts of her people. Not only in the very veins of her people there flow Philosophy and Religion but even in the very soil below their feet we see nothing but Philosophy and Religion. Such being the case, how do you like that thousands of her children go out of the sacred portals of our Universities every year without getting any opportunity whatsoever of thinking, nay even of hearing, for a moment of their own essence, I mean Philosophy and Religion? We prescribe courses in Western Philosophy, Logic, Psychology, Metaphysics, Ethics and so on and teach our boys things which are quite foreign to their nature and which may or may not be congenial to them, but why are we ashamed or careless to prescribe even one fourth of the entire degree course to be *compulsorily taught* in Indian Philosophy? Do you dare say that there is nothing worth teaching? What more shameful can it be to see that the best brains of the country go out without ever being told of the hidden treasures of their own in the *Upaniṣads* and the works of the great Ācāryas—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and others?

[1] *Vide*—Pundits and elephants are things which are associated in my mind, they alike arouse my deepest respect, and I shall be ever grateful to the country that has made me acquainted with them btoh"—1927

The same is the fate of Religion which alone teaches us the means of becoming happy here and hereafter. It is religion alone which moulds the life of a man. If closely seen, it is found that every man follows consciously or unconsciously some religion or other, but what is required is to give a regular training in it on right lines, so that one can understand the essence of it and make the best use of it in the course of one's whole life. But we see that in the course of his entire period of training a boy is never told of it. He is, therefore, quite ignorant as to the very aim of his life. Even when he grows old and completes his training period, he becomes so much merged into the worldly life that he hardly gets any time to think of what is Religion. The result is that throughout his whole life he fails to experience peace and consolation and never realises the force of inner self. He never feels for a moment that there is a life after death and that he should make some preparation for that long journey. His life remains aimless and irregular. May I ask you to tell me who is responsible for all these? Can we consciously throw the blame on the shoulders of our youngsters? Never. Persons in authority alone are to be blamed. It is their duty to give them timely instructions in this line also. So they alone are responsible for all the shortcomings of our youngsters. Even if anything is being done at present towards this in any institution, it is clear they are never serious and so the little they do becomes a farce.

It is never late to admit one's own mistake. We may even now, if we desire to do something seriously, rectify our past negligence. I would, therefore, suggest that we should try our best to introduce a full paper in Indian Logic at the Intermediate stage and one full paper in the degree course to begin with and after some experience we must reserve fifty per cent of the total marks for Indian Philosophy for every examination. We are the authorities to propose this in our committees of courses in different Boards and Universities, and if we at all realise the seriousness of this proposal, we should not fail to take the earliest steps to implement it in our committees and to draft syllabus for the course and appoint qualified scholars to write books accordingly.

There is one more point to which I would like to draw your attention. For any kind of higher research work a good collection of manuscripts is quite indispensable. Though there are several organisations where this work of collection and search is being done, yet there is a very great need of making much more vigorous efforts in this field. Every day we see

that thousands of manuscripts are crumbling to pieces and are left at the mercy of white-ants and are lost for ever. It is to be kept in mind that for the reconstruction of the social, political, philosophical and religious history of India, we have to depend entirely on these manuscripts alone. That we have not yet been able to do much work in the ancient period of our history is a clear proof to show that our searches in this field are not quite satisfactory. I may inform you that just a little effort in this field has enabled us to collect over three thousand manuscripts for the newly established *Ganganatha Jha Research Institute* at Allahabad within five or six months. We have definite information about thousands of manuscripts lying unused and uncared for in this very city and we can easily imagine the importance of these manuscripts. I may tell you that the owners in most cases are ignorant of the value of these manuscripts and so they are perishing. It is very difficult to preserve these manuscripts and if no effort to secure them or to preserve them even in their own places is made in near future, they will all be thrown in the lap of mother Gaṅgā. It is also necessary in most cases to get their transcripts done, for some of the manuscripts have become so very old that they will be destroyed even while handling. This work of ours needs big funds and sincere workers. For want of funds, I am sure, no serious scholarly work can ever be allowed to suffer and particularly, when we have our revered Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya and Professor Radhakrishnan with their Rajas, Maharajas and Birlas. I only feel dearth of men for this serious work. We know it cannot be done by one man. It is a work which can be done, if all of us join together and try to collect these manuscripts from every village and town where we go and live. I would even ask the students to collect these from their villages and place them in safe places.

Lastly, I would draw your attention to the fact that there seems to be a tendency to regard Jainism and Buddhism as separate from Indian Philosophy. I do not see any justification for this. Already there are so many splits and do we not feel tired of it? Are they foreign to India? Do we not see vast differences even amongst the orthodox systems themselves? Can any student of Indian Philosophy neglect their study? It is the duty of every student of Philosophy to study each of these systems from the right angle of vision and do full justice to them. No system of thought can be properly studied without reference to all of them. So I leave it to you to find out if there is any sense in this split.

This is all, friends, that I had to say ; and I hope we shall be able to do something to further the cause of Indian Philosophy on right lines. I shall regard myself amply rewarded if you can secure a safe place for it in our Institutions and also do something to collect and preserve manuscripts. Before I conclude, I must once more thank you for your kindness and patient hearing.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: PALI AND BUDDHISM

By

DR. P. V. BAPAT,
Professor of Pali, Fergusson College, Poona.

BROTHER AND SISTER DELEGATES,

I have to thank, very sincerely, the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference for having given me the honour of presiding over this section, of Pali and Buddhism of the XIIth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference. It is for the first time in the history of this Conference that a separate section is being assigned to Pali and Buddhism. It was, perhaps, discovered by the organisors of the Conference that this subject did not receive the attention it deserved, when combined with Ardhamāgadhī or Prakrits and Jainism section. Prof. Benimadhav Barua in his presidential address of the Prakrit section of the Tenth Session of our Conference held at Tirupati made a remark: "I sincerely hope that from the next session of the Conference, Pali, too, would be given a distinct place which it pre-eminently deserves." Specialisation has now advanced to a such stage that it is being more and more difficult for Oriental scholars to keep abreast with the latest developments in the varius branches of the oriental studies. The world-wide interest which Buddhism invokes has made it still more difficult.

Before we proceed further, it is our bounden duty to pay homage to the departed savants in our field. Mrs. C. A. F. Rhys Davids, the President of the Pali Text Society since the death of her illustrious husband, Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids, in the year 1922, passed away on 26th June, 1942. She was ably guiding the affairs of the Pali Text Society which continued to publish, with re-doubled force, as it were, the texts and translations from Pali. Though in the last few years of her life there was a considerable change in her conception about the fundamental teachings of the Buddha, she was considered to be a champion of studies in Pali and Early Buddhism. Prof. Stcherbatsky of the Academy of Arts and Sciences also passed away. He had been a very ardent exponent of Buddhist philosophy and his books on 'Conception of Buddhism,' 1923, 'Conception of Nirvāna" 1927, and his 'Buddhist Logic' (two vols. 1930-32) have proved to the world of scholars his merits to

interpret to the Western world the philosophy of Buddhism contained in difficult Sanskrit texts. Prof. E. H. Johnson expired in October 1942. His translations of Buddhacarita and Saundarānanda are well-known and we shall very much miss his reviews on books on Indology. Prof. Heinrich Zimmer of Heidelberg University died as an exile in New York. His work 'Māyā, der Indische Mythos' is well-known. We have also come to know of the sad death of Prof. Lüders of Berlin University. His publication of the Fragments of Buddhist Dramas as well as of Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā had created a great stir in the world of scholars. Quite recently news has been published of the expiry of Sir Aurel Stein. His wonderful discoveries in Central Asia have opened up quite a new vista of Buddhist studies, and the treasures of manuscripts discovered by him have kept a number of scholars busy in deciphering and interpreting them. His famous volumes on Ser-India have become the fittest monuments for him. We are also grieved to learn of the death of the Polish scholar, Stanislas Schayer, from occupied Poland. He was well-known for his 'Pre-canonical Buddhism' (AO 1935), 'Fire and Fuel' (1926), 'Anityatā, the problem of impermanence in Buddhist philosophy' (1933-34) and 'Contributions to the Problem of time in Buddhist Philosophy' (1938).

I. *Pali in Europe*

It is being increasingly more and more recognised that the studies of Pali and Buddhism cannot be entirely divested of studies in earlier literature of India like the Vedas, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads, particularly the last, and that it is not possible to have a proper perspective of the Buddhist thought without thoroughly understanding its background. Buddhism cannot be taken as a manifestation of an independent up-start movement, but it must be taken as a chain in the historical evolution of Indian thought.

In January 1943, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, commemorated its Silver Jubilee and marked the occasion with the publication of two volumes, one of which gives the 'Progress of Indic Studies' in twelve sections. Unfortunately, it does not include the progress of studies in Pali and Buddhism. Friends have suggested that as this is the first occasion when a separate section in our Conference is being given for Pali and Buddhism, it would not be out-of-place to take a survey of studies in Pali and Buddhism in general, during the last twenty-five years. It would also make good the lacuna in the Bhandarkar Institute volume.

The philological interest of European scholars in Pali studies in the early few years of the second half of the nineteenth century, as revealed by Fr. Müller's 'Beiträge zum Kenntniss der Pali-Sprache' (1867-69), Senart's 'Kaccāyana's Grammaire Palie' with translations and notes (Paris, 1871), J. Minayeff's 'Grammaire Palie' (Paris, 1874), A. Grünwedell's 'Rūpasiddhi', (Berlin, 1883) etc., was soon followed by the interest in the literature and religious thought of the Buddhists. It was considered necessary to make organised and systematic attempts in making available to the European scholars the original Pali texts and Dr. H. Oldenberg published in Roman characters the Vinaya Piṭaka, or the Collection on Buddhist Discipline (London, 1879-83). When Dr. T. W. Rhys Davids retired from Ceylon Civil Service, he with the help of other scholars founded the Pali Text Society (1881), which, since its first publication in 1882, has been publishing, until lately (1941), two volumes, at least, every year. The Society had published by the year 1918 almost all the books of the Sutta and Abhidhamma Piṭakas (except Apadāna and Tika-paṭṭhāna). If this period of 1881-1918 could be roughly described as being devoted to the publication, in the main, of the original Canonical texts of the two Piṭakas, Sutta and Abhidhamma, the succeeding period can be described as being devoted to the publication of the commentaries on the canonical texts. Commentaries already undertaken were completed and fresh ones were taken in hand and published. We may say now that the Pali Text Society has supplied to us the commentaries on most of the Canonical texts. Those on the Vinaya, Aṅguttara, Paṭisambhidā and Theragāthā are incomplete while those on Buddhavaṁsa and Apadāna are probably on the waiting list. It is needless to say how very valuable these commentaries have been to all Pali scholars. The indexes to the published texts, canonical as well as commentaries, have been found to be very useful and we learn with much regret that the work on Piṭaka Concordance remained incomplete before the death of Mrs. Rhys Davids (1942).

English Translations of Canonical Texts

Another important activity of the Pali Text Society has been to supply us English translations of the canonical texts in Pali. This series, along with the Sacred Books of the East as well as the Sacred Books of the Buddhists, has covered most of the important books of the canonical literature. Miss I. B. Horner, on whom we understand has now fallen the mantle of the Presidentship of the Pali Text Society, has given two

volumes of the Book of Discipline and a third is reported to be in press. These volumes along with the Vinaya Texts of Rhys Davids and Oldenberg (1881-85) cover most of the important volumes of the Vinayapiṭaka. A large part of the Suttapiṭaka is translated. The Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas have their translations in the 'Dialogues of the Buddha' (1899, 1910, 1921) and 'Further Dialogues of the Buddha' (1926-27 in the Sacred Books of the Buddhists). 'The Book of Kindred Sayings' by Mrs. Rhys Davids and F. L. Woodward of Tasmania (1917-1930) and the 'Book of Gradual Sayings' by F. L. Woodward and E. M. Hare (1932-36) are the translations of the other two Nikāyas, Saṁyutta and Aṅguttara. Of the Khuddakanikāya, the most popular of the important volumes, the Dhammapada and the Suttanipāta were already translated by Maxmüller and V. Fausböll respectively in the Sacred Books of the East Series, vol. X (1881). In the Minor Anthologies, however, Mrs. Rhys Davids has included the Dhammapada also along with the Khuddakapāṭha for her translation. Udāna and Itivuttaka are translated by F. L. Woodward, while Dr. B. C. Law has given us the translations of Buddhavaṁsa and Cariyāpiṭaka (1938) in the same Series. We are further assured that the translations of Petavatthu and Vimānavatthu, with excerpts from the commentary, by H. S. Gehman and Jean Kennedy are in press. Thera-and-Therī-gāthā have been already known to readers in their English garb: 'The Psalms of the Early Buddhists—the Sisters (1909), the Brethern' (1913). Only three volumes in this Nikāya the Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga and Apadāna still remain to be translated. Of the Abhidhamma, Dhammasaṅgaṇi, the first basic work, was already translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids in her 'A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics' with a very learned introductory essay (Oriental Translation Fund, No. XII, London, 1923). An excellent translation of another important Abhidhamma book, Kathāvatthu is found in 'Points of Controversy' or Subjects of Discourse by Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids (1915). Dr. B. C. Law's 'Designation of Human Types' (1922) translates Puggalapaññatti, a minor Abhidhamma text. Thus only four works of the Abhidhamma still remain to be translated—Vibhaṅga, Dhātukathā, Yamaka and Paṭṭhāna.

Non-Canonical Texts

Of the non-canonical works, the most interesting ones, the Dīpavaṁsa and Milindapañha, were given to us by H. Oldenberg and V. Trenckner, respectively, as early as 1879 and 1880. In addition to a few minor works of later times such

as Khuddakasikkhā, Mūlasikkhā, Cha-dhātuvaṃsa, Pajjamadhu, Saddhammopāyana etc. that appeared in the P. T. S. Journals, from time to time, the important non-canonical treatises like Abhidhammatthasangaha, the most popular Manual on Buddhist philosophy by Anuruddha (1884), Gandhavaṁsa (Journal, 1886), a brief bibliography of Buddhist books in Pali, Sāsanavaṁsa, (1897) a traditional account of the spread of Buddhism in Southern Asia, Nettipakaraṇa, a philosophical treatise (1902), Mahāvaṁsa (1908) and Cūlavaṁsa (1926-27), the Chronicles of Ceylon, Buddhadatta's Manuals on Vinaya and Abhidhamma (1915, 1928), Visuddhimagga (1920-21), the most standard book of encyclopædic nature on early Buddhism and Vaṁsatthappakāsinī (Commentary on Mahāvaṁsa) came at intervals.

English Translations of Non-Canonical Texts

Of the most important texts of these non-canonical texts, also, English translations have now become available. Shwe Zan Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids have given (1910) the translation of the Abhidhammatthsangaha in their 'Compedium of Philosophy' with a masterly introduction by the former. Of the same work, E. L. Hoffmann has given a German translation (1928). Another Burmese scholar, Principal P. Maung Tin gave us the translations of the Aṭṭhasālinī (1920-21) and Visuddhimagga (1922, 28, 31) in his 'Expositor' and 'Path of Purity' respectively. W. Geiger and Mrs. Mabel R. Rickmers have translated the Chronicles, Mahāvaṁsa and Cūlavaṁsa (1912, 1929-30). Along with the Aṭṭhasālinī, some other important and interesting commentaries also, have been made available to purely English readers. The Commentary on Dhammapada, a book of world-literature, has been translated by E. Watson Burlingame in his 'Buddhist Legends' (Harvard Oriental Series, 28, 29, 30, 1921). 'The Debates Commentary' by Dr. B. C. Law is an illuminating translation of the commentary on Kathāvatthu, a text which, as tradition puts it, was added to the list of Abhidhamma books at the time of the Third Council of Pāṭaliputta or Patna.

The Jātakas form a literature by themselves, and the standard edition of V. Fausböll stands unrivalled. Their popularity is highly enhanced by their English translation by several scholars working under the general editorship of Prof. E. W. Cowell (Cambridge Uni. Press, 1895-1913).

Thus from the short review of the activities of the Pali Text Society, it will be found that a very large portion of the credit of supplying critical editions, in Roman characters, of

the texts of the Pali Canon as well as of most of the commentaries, goes to the Pali Text Society. In the work of translations, the credit is shared by the Society along with the organisors of the Sacred Books of the East, Sacred Books of the Buddhists, as well as the organisors of the Harvard Oriental Series, in which last we have another translation of the Suttanipāta along with the text printed facing it (No. 37, 1932).

Publications in the East

(i) Ceylon

With the national awakening in the East, the young Buddhists of Ceylon were enthused with a new spirit of the revival of Buddhism. There was produced keeness in the minds of young men to revive the simplicity of the original Buddhist Faith, to revive the study of old Pali texts, and to revive the practice of having Buddhist names in families where Christian names were more or less forced upon them by the political vicissitudes in the history of Ceylon. Rich merchants felt an urge to do something for the Buddhist faith. In Hewavitarane family, there was founded a Trust called 'Simon Hewavitarane Bequest Fund' to provide for the publication of the texts and commentaries in Pali. With the assistance, in 1914, of the veteran Pali scholar from Mahārāṣṭra, Prof. Dharmānanda Kosambi, plans were laid for the publication of the commentaries. Petavatthu-Aṭṭhakathā was published as the first in the series (1917). Then soon followed the commentaries on other texts like the Thera-and-Therī-gāthā (1918), Dīghanikāya, first part, (1925) etc., with the total result that by now (1943) there have appeared as many as forty-four volumes—no mean accomplishment—on excellent paper, with clear type, with variants in footnotes, with indexes and with bold type for words commented upon. These are much better, on account of this last feature, than the Aluvihāra editions. Most of the commentaries on the Sutta and Abhidhamma books are completed, or are on the way to completion. The Aṭṭhakathās on the Majjhima and on the Vinaya, however, are a long way off their completion. It is much to be desired that when the commentaries are all published, the works of the original canon are also taken in hand, along with the Ṭīkās or sub-commentaries. It is astonishing to find that even in Ceylon, there should not be still any printed editions of the Yamaka, Paṭṭhāna, Paṭisambhidāmagga and all the Jātakas. It is also interesting to note that in the Simon Hewavitarane Series, Commentaries on the Nettipakaraṇa (1921), Suttasaṅgaha

(1929) and Catubhāṇavāra (1929) as well as the Visuddhimagga-Aṭṭhakathā—it is customary to call it an Aṭṭhakathā as it has been credited to fulfil the roll of an illuminating Commentary on the Nikāyas—are included.

Although there have been several texts and commentaries printed elsewhere in Ceylon, which it is impossible to name, we may mention here Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta's Visuddhimagga (1914) and Apadāna (1930), two volumes of the Visuddhimagga Tīkā (which end with the Indriyasaccaniddesa-vannanā) edited by Morontuduve Dhammānanda Nāyakatthera of Vidyodaya-pariveṇa, Abhidhammaṭṭhavibhāvinī (1933) and Aṭṭhasālinī Mūlaṭīkā (1938) published in the Vidyodaya-Ṭīkā Publication Series. Dīghanikāya (all the three vols.) is published in the Mānatuṅga publication Series (1929) and Vimativinodanī, the commentary on Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā, is published by Dr. H. Gabriel de Silva, Colombo, 1935.

(ii) *Siam and Cambodia*

In Siam, with the patronage of the members of the then royal family, things have been much favourable. The commentaries (Aṭṭhakathā), were published in and about the year 1920 (B.E. 2463), while the whole of the Canon has been reprinted (1925-28) on excellent paper in 45 volumes. The Jātakaṭṭhakathā also has been published in ten volumes (1922-24). There are indexes, by no means exhaustive, to the Commentaries and though much has thus been done to facilitate the work of a scholar, one cannot help remarking that the usefulness of these volumes would have been increased if the original words commented upon had been printed in some distinctive type to enable them to be distinguished from the rest, as has been done in the books of the Simon Hewavitarane Series of Ceylon. Dīghanikāya-padānukkamo (Index to the Dīgha) is published under the patronage of the Royal Institute of Bankok (1933). Pañcikā (? Pañjikā) on Abhidhammatthavibhāvanī (1933) and several Jātaka collections in Siamese have appeared. Another interesting publication is a reproduction of Lefmann's Lalitavistāra with the Siamese translation (1933). In Cambodia, also, this modern activity in Buddhist publications is on the increase. Buddhist institutes were established at Phnom-penh (1930) and at Laos (1931). Several Pali texts with translations have appeared. Mlle. Suzanne Carpeles of Phnom-penh reported in 1937 (P. T. Society's report for 1937) that the work of the printing of the Vinayapiṭaka with text and translation, in Cambodian, in fifteen

volumes was completed and that the Mahāvāravagga of the Saṁyuttanikāya of the Suttapiṭaka was going to the press. Numerous little tracts have also been published in Cambodian translations for the use of the laity.

(*iii*) *Burma*

Burma has always been leading in the field of Tipiṭaka studies and a whole series of canonical texts, Commentaries, important non-canonical works, and Ṭīkās have been published from time to time. The art of presenting the works to the readers in an attractive form seems to be far from the minds of these printers and publishers. They will print even verses also as in prose, although in later editions attempt at improving this technique seems to be aimed at. Books published from the Hanthawaddy Press, P. G. Mundyne Piṭaka Press, and Zabu Meit Swe Press need to be specially mentioned. An important text published in the last mentioned Series is Peṭakopadesa by Mahākaccāna. Hardy had prepared a copy in Roman characters of this text and it has been still preserved in the State Library, Berlin. It was used by Rudolf Fuchs for his 'Specimen des Peṭakopadesa,' Berlin, 1908. This is a companion volume of the Netti-pakaraṇa, but does not seem to be much studied. Another interesting thing about this text is that it quotes certain passages which are taken from what the author calls 'Ekuttarika'—evidently corresponding to Aṅguttara—a title which is used by the Sarvāstivādins, although in another place it quotes from Aṅguttara as well. Another interesting feature of this series is that the words commented upon are indicated by a star. A number of sub-commentaries like Aṭṭhasālinī-Yojanā, Anuṭīkā, Madhusāratthadīpanī, Aṭṭhasālinī-Mūlaṭīkā and the Ṭīkas on other Aṭṭhakathās are available.

(*iv*) *India*

Just as the scholars of Europe, or of Ceylon, Burma, Siam, Cambodia etc. prefer to use for Pali the characters used in their own land, so also in India, the students of Pali prefer to use Indian characters for Pali. After the introduction of Pali studies in the University of Calcutta or of Bombay, the Indian student keenly felt the need of Pali books in Indian characters. Pandit Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya's Milindapañha (only a part) appeared in Bengali script. His Pali Prakāśa and Pātimokkha appeared in Bengali, while Prof. R. G. Bhadkamkar published in Devanāgarī characters his Jātakapupphamālā (1912). With the vigorous efforts of popularising Pali,

Prof. D. Kosambi published his Pali Reader, part I (1914), Bāhiranidānavaṇṇanā (1914) and Nidānakathā of the Jātakaṭṭhakathā (1915). The late lamented Prof. C. V. Rājawade published the 2nd part of Pali Reader as well as Hatthavanagallavihāravaṁsa (1916) and later, with the co-operation of Prof. N. K. Bhagvat and the present writer, Majjhimanikāya (Mūlapaṇṇāsaka), 1918. The present writer published in 1924 a very critical and scholarly edition of the Suttanipāta, several hundreds of copies of which were unfortunately burnt in the fire of the Aryabhushana Press, with the result that the book is now out of print. Dr. Bimal Churn Law followed with his Cariyāpiṭaka and Dāṭhāvaṁsa (1924, 1925), which, however, appear to be printed off by the publishers, without perhaps referring the proofs to the editor, as is so often the experience of the editors or authors. For, there are several very gross mistakes which do not appear to be possible from a scholar like Dr. B. C. Law. Prof. N. K. Bhagvat of St. Xavier's College, Bombay, has given Jātakakathāsandoha (1929), Khuddakapāṭha (1928), Dhammapada (1935) and when he became a member of the University Senate, he got the University of Bombay start the Devanāgarī Pali Texts Series, in which appeared the Nidānakathā (a reprint of Kosambi's edition, 1915), Mahāvaṁsa and Dīghanikāya (2nd vol. 1936), Majjhimanikāya (Majjhima-paṇṇāsaka, 1937-38), Therīgāthā. and Theragāthā (1938-39), Milindapañha (edited by Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, 1940). Mahāvagga, we understand, is in press. Paritta and Buddhaghosuppatti may also be mentioned to his credit, although one wishes there may have been exercised a greater care in selecting the proper readings in the latter.

A similar attempt has also been made at Sāranāth, Benares, by the Mahābodhi Sabhā, and we have as many as eleven books of the Khuddakanikāya—all the volumes except the Jātaka, Niddesa, Paṭisambhidāmagga and Apadāna—edited by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, Ānanda Kausalyāyana and Jagadīśa Kāśyapa and published by Rev. Uttama of Burma. It is not for us, here, to express any opinion on these attempts, but even as first working editions, one wishes they had been more carefully and critically edited, with introduction and indexes.

Other more praiseworthy attempts may be mentioned in Prof. D. Kosambi's edition of the Visuddhimagga, part I, Text, published by the Bhāratīya Vidyābhavana (1940), Andheri, Bombay, IInd part of the same with his own independent, lucid commentary, Visuddhimaggadīpikā (1943) and that of Abhidhammatthasangaha with his own simple and remarkably clear commentary, Navanītaṭīkā (Mahābodhi Society, Sarnath,

Benares, 1941). Both these volumes have been supplied with indexes, and in the case of the former, he has also given the list of the important variants. While on this point, one cannot but be reminded of the attempts spread over more than half a century, of the Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. U.S.A., at giving a standard edition of the text and translation of the Visuddhimagga, originally attempted by Henry Clark Warren (1854-1899), the author of 'Buddhism in Translations' (Harvard Oriental Series, No. 3, 1896). Prof. D. Kosambi and the present writer had the good fortune of being associated with these attempts. But we are quite at a loss to know why the fruit of these attempts has not yet seen the light of the day. Pālibhāṣā praveśa by Mr. N. V. Tungar (1939) has been found as a very useful Manual of Pāli Grammar by students in Mahārāṣtra. Rev. Jagadīśa Kāśyapa has given us an excellent edition of Moggallāna's grammar in his Pali Mahāvyākarana (Mahābodhisabhā, Sarnath, 1940) written in Hindi and provided with all the necessary indexes. This book gives, in the first half, a very systematic treatment of the subject, suitable to the modern methods, and leaves nothing to be desired. Thanks are also due to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, for including in their newly started Bhandarkar Oriental Series, books of Pali literature. Prof. R. D. Vadekar has earned gratitude of the student-world by his edition of the Pātimokkha (1939) which would be found highly useful by students of Vinaya. With him as joint-editor, the present writer has laboured for several years in preparing critical editions of two very difficult works of the Abhidhamma character—Dhammasangaṇi (1940), and Aṭṭhasālinī (1942). These editions have been very highly spoken off. The scholarly introductions have been of considerable use even to laymen to understand the abstruse contents of the two works, and lay bare the intricacies of the subject matter dealt with in these books. The typographical devices and the exhaustive indexes highly increase the usefulness of the works even as books of reference on the subject of the Abhidhamma.

In passing, we may also refer to Mr. Batuknātha Sharma's Pali Jātakavālī, which gives the Pali Jātakas with their Sanskrit rendering printed on the opposite page. This Sanskrit rendering, though it occasionally misses the significance of the Pali idiom, will go a long way in popularising the Jātakas among the Sanskrit pandits. In Bengal, Thera and Therīgāthā, Majjhima, Mūlapaṇṇāsaka, Mahāvagga, Buddhavaṁsa, Dīgha I, Pācittiya, and Udāna were published by the Buddhist Mission, Rangoon, in Bengali script.

Translations are made in Bengali, of the Jātakas by Raisaheb Ishan Chandra Ghosh, of Dhammapada by Charu Chandra Ghosh, of Thera-and-Therī-gāthā by Bejoy Chunder Majumdar and of Udāna and Majjhima, the latter by a gentleman from Chittagong, whose name I have not yet come to know. Only the other day I saw a Bengali translation of Suttanipāta by Bhikṣu Sīlachandra. In Marathi also there have appeared translations of Khuddakapāṭha (1928, by Prof. N. K. Bhagvat), of Dīghanikāya by Profs. C. V. Rajwade and C. V. Joshi, of the Suttanipāta by Prof. D. Kosambi (Vividhajñānavistāra, 1937), and of a few select Jātakas by Prof. C. V. Joshi of Baroda, who has also edited for the Pali Text Society Saddhammappakāsinī, the Commentary on the Paṭisambhidāmagga (1933, 1941), and who has prepared for the High School students 'A Manual of Pali' which has become very popular, as has been vouchsafed by the several editions through which it has already run.

In Hindi, several works from Pali have been translated by the members of same trio from Sarnath, severally. Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana is responsible for Buddhacaryā, which appears to give the life account of the Buddha in the form of translations of original passages from Pali, as well as for the Translations of the Dīgha, Majjhima and Vinaya (first four vols.), The translator, rather with a sense of gratification, mentions the period of only a few weeks in which the work of the translations was accomplished. One would really wish that the translator had taken at least as many months as the weeks he was engaged on these works. Jātakas from 1-250 have been translated by Ānanda Kausalyāyana (Hindi Sāhitya Sammelana, 1942). In addition, some works like the Abhidhammatthasangaha and Milindapañha have also come in the Hindi garb.

II. Buddhist Sanskrit.

But Pali literature represents only a fraction of the Buddhist literature. It is well-known that the Buddhists prefered to have their literature worded in their own speech (*sakāya niruttiyā*) and that is why we find the Buddhist literature like the Prakrit Dhammapada (by Barua and Mitra), in Kharoshthī script, in a spoken dialect of the people in the regions to the North-west of India, or in Central Asia, or like the translations in Soghdian, Kutchee, or Uiguirish languages of Central Asia. But a time came when the Buddhists of India thought it necessary to adopt, for their sacred literature, the Sanskrit language, perhaps for securing the sanctity or, perhaps, for securing the

facility which the Sanskrit speech enjoyed as an inter-provincial language, and as a common vehicle of expression used by the Pandits, all over the Indian soil, for their religious or philosophical thought. Though the Sthaviravādins (the Therāvādis of Ceylon) remained staunch in their loyalty to the Pali-Prākrit idiom, the Sarvāstivādins of what later came to be styled as the Hīnayānists, and the Mahāyānists did adopt the Sanskrit speech for their religious literature. The Sarvāstivādins had, as counterparts of the Pali Nikāyas, the Āgamas known as Dīrghāgama, Madhyamāgama, Saṁyuktāgama and Ekottarāgama in Sanskrit. Although most of this Sanskrit literature except a few fragments of the Āgamas and of the Vinaya, is now lost, the Tibetan and the Chinese versions of these texts are still extent.

Literary Works

But occasionally these missing texts are, in fragments, no doubt, discovered from the buried treasures in Central Asia. N. P. Chakravartī has given in his 'L' Udānavarga Sanskrit' (Paris, 1930) such fragments with translation and notes in French. Other Sūtras of the class known as Arthvargīyas, corresponding to the Pali Aṭṭhakavagga, have also been discovered and Prof. A. F. R. Hoernle has discussed these surviving fragments of a Sanskrit version (*JRAS* 1916, pp. 709-732), which differs from the present Pali text, inasmuch as several of these fragments reveal a prose introduction which is absent in the Pali version. There has been also a Chinese version of the same (Nanjio, 674) of which we shall have to say later. A similar version of the Pali Pātimokkha appears to have existed and Prof. M. Nagai has made a comparison of the Bhikkhu-Pātimokkha in Chinese and Pali (1928). A number of Sanskrit manuscripts written in Gupta script of the 6th or the 7th century A.D. have been recently discovered—some of them as recently as 1931-32 and we are very much indebted to Dr. Nalināksh Dutt for having edited, for Kashmir Government, these texts (Gilgit Manuscripts, Vols. 1, 2, 1939; vol. 3, part ii, 1942) some of which like the Bheṣajyaguru-sūtra, Ekādaśamukha, Hayagrīva-vidyā etc. are minor texts, but others like the Samādhirājasūtra and Vinayavastu are quite substantial. Samādhirājasūtra, in part, did once appear as a publication of the Buddhist Text Society of Calcutta in 1897, but the other, Vinayavastu, is a very valuable discovery. It is a Sanskrit counterpart of the Pali Vinaya and agrees, in certain chapters, very closely with the Pali text, though differing in others very substantially. The published portion is about

one-fourth of the whole and represents chapters VII-X. Chapters I-VI have been, we understand, entrusted to Prof. P. C. Bagchi and we have been looking forward to the publication of these chapters as well as others, which are expected to cover as many as three more parts. The Sanskrit of this version definitely points out to a Prakrit original. There is the difficulty of sanskritising the Pali-Prakrit original and several terms like the *poṣa* (Pali posa), *paścātśramaṇa* (*pacchā-samaṇa*), *avadhyāyanti, kṣipanti, vivācayanti* (*ujjhāyanti, khipanti, vipācenti*), *sthāpayitvā* (*ṭhapetvā* in the sense of 'except') *arthavaśa* (*atthavasa*) point to the Pali expressions. Sometimes there is an incorrect sanskritisation as Puṣkarasāri instead of Puṣkarasādī corresponding to Pokkharasātī of Pali.

To our scanty collection of Buddhist Sanskrit books, several additions have been recently made. Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra, one of the important sūtras of the Mahāyānists, appeared in the Bibliotheca Buddhica Series (1908 ff.), in which several other Sūtras have been published in excellent editions. Of the Central Asian recension of this Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, we know from N. D. Mironov in the Buddhist Miscellanea and W. E. Soothill has given (1930) in his 'Lotus of the Wonderful Law, or the Lotus-Gospel' simply a rendering of one of the Chinese versions of the original Sanskrit text, of which the translator seems to be making no use. Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra which was printed in Calcutta in 1900 appeared in a new edition by Bunyiu Nanjio (Oxford Uni. Press) in 1923. The Suvarṇaprabhāsasūtra, another less important but a very popular Sūtra, has appeared at Kyoto under the editorship of Nanjio and Hokei Idzumi (1931). This Sūtra had also a local importance, inasmuch as portions of this Sūtra were recited at the coronation ceremony of Japanese kings. Johannes Nobel has given a very admirable edition of the same in Roman characters, with a very learned introduction (1937), while Dr. D. W. Radloff has given an 'Uiguirischen' version of the same (B.B. No. 27, 1930). The late Baron A. Von Staël Holstein has given us an excellent edition of Kāśyapa-parivarta (Commercial Press, Shanghai, 1926), a Mahāyāna Sūtra of the Ratnakūṭa class, with Sanskrit, Tibetan and four Chinese translations. The unique paper manuscript on which the Sanskrit text is based was found in Khotan in Chinese Turkestan, towards the end of the last century by local treasure-hunters and sold to M. Petrovsky, the late Russian Consul at Kashgar, who subsequently sent the same to the Academy, where the editor studied it and from which a photographic reproduction was taken by him for his use. It is written in characters of the

Khotan variety of the Indian Gupta alphabet (upright Gupta) with peculiarities which point to the ninth or tenth century A.D. as the probable date of the manuscript. A Mongolian translation of the same is also known to have been in existence, though all attempts of the editor for securing the same failed. Another important Mahāyāna doctrine of the ten Bhūmis or planes has been treated in the Daśabhūmika-sūtra (edited by J. Rahder, 1926). This Sūtra also has been a very popular Sūtra and has been translated into Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese. A glossary of words in all these languages as well as in Sanskrit has been prepared by Prof. Rahder (Buddhica, Paris, 1928) and it will be highly useful to check up the interpretations of the original Sanskrit in these different translations. Prof. E. H. Johnston gave us not only another edition of the text of the Buddhacarita (Cantos I-XIV) already edited by Cowell (1893), but also the translation of the original Sanskirt text as well as the translation of the Tibetan and Chinese versions of cantos XV-XXVIII (1937). He has also translated (1932) for the Punjab University another poem, Saundrānanda, of Aśvaghoṣa. Prof. Lüders had revealed (1911) from fragments of Manuscripts found at Turfan the existence of at least three Buddhist dramas, of which Śāradvatīprakaraṇa of Aśvaghoṣa may be mentioned. He has to his credit another important discovery—that of Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā, the original of the Chinese translation which gave the wrong title 'Sūtrālaṅkāra' (Nanjio, 1182). He has shown that its author was not Aśvaghoṣa but a Takṣaśilā monk named Kumāralāta (Leipzig, 1926). Prof. Sylvain Lévi edited Mahākarmavibhaṅga and Karmavibhaṅgopadeśa (Paris, 1932). The former gives the Sanskrit version of the Pali Cūlavibhaṅgasutta of the Majjhima (No. 135) with the addition of stories included in the Pali commentaries. The story tells us of the birth, as a dog, of the father of Śuka Taudeyaputra (Pali Todeyyaputta) and the Buddha is represented as explaining to the son that the dog barking in his house was none else but his father, reborn as the result of his *karma*. The Italian savant G. Tucci has given (*JRAS* 1934, pp. 307-25; 1936 pp. 237-252, 423-35), the first, second (incomplete) and the fourth chapters of the Sanskrit text, Ratnāvalī, by Nāgārjuna, often quoted in the Mahāyāna literature of India and Tibet. The third chapter is missing and the fifth chapter was promised to follow. Prof. Sylvain Lévi and Susumu Yamaguchi have edited (Nakaku, 1934) Madhyāntavibhāgaṭīkā, a systematic exposition of the Yogācāra-vijñaptivāda as contained in Vasubandhu's Bhāṣya on the Madhyāntavibhāgasūtra of Maitreya Asaṅga. As important contributions to the Prajñāpāramitā literature, may

be mentioned Abhisamayālankāra-Prajñāpāramitā-upadeśa-śāstra, edited by Th. Stcherbatsky and E. Obermiller (B.B. No. 23, 1929), the fascicule I of which gives the Introduction, Sanskrit text, and Tibetan translation. A Japanese scholar, T. Matsumoto, has given us (Bonner Orientalischen Studien, Heft, Stuttgart, 1932) a specimen of the Sanskrit text (with its Chinese translation) known as Suvikrāntavikrāmī Prajñāpāramitā. Dr. Nalinākshа Dutt has given Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā (Luzac & Co., London, 1934). He tells us in that connection that the extant manuscripts of the Pañcaviṁśati do not represent the original Pañcaviṁśati from which the Tibetan and Chinese translations were made. Abhisamayālankārakārikā is a commentary, from the Yogācāra point of view, on the Pañcaviṁśatisāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitāsūtra by Maitreyanātha. Abhisamayālankāra-ālokā is a commentary by Haribhadra on Abhisamayālankārakārikā and is edited by G. Tucci (Gaikwad O. Series, No. 62,. 1932) with indices of proper names and special words. Prof. U. Wogihāra has also given us the whole of the text in Roman characters (1932-1935).

Philosophy and Logic

As an exponent of Sarvāstivāda Buddhism, nobody could be called a stronger champion than Vasubandhu. Prof. G. Tucci has edited from a manuscript in Nepal—copies of which could be traced to French Sanskritists also—the Trisvabhāvakārikā of Vasubandhu, of which Prof. Louis de la Vallee Poussin has also given an edition (Bib.B. VI. No. 163). Perhaps the most important of Vausbandhu's works are Abhidharmakośa and Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana has attempted to restore (1932), with the help of the Commentary Sphuṭārthā-abhidharmakośavyākhyā of Yaśomitra and the Kārikās and notes given in Louis de la Vallée Poussin's monumental translation in French (1923-31), the Kārikās of Vasubandhu, with his own comment in Sanskrit. The study of this work is further aided by the publication of U. Wogihāra's edition of that Commentary, Sphuṭārthā (1932-36), of which only two fascicules are published (1918, 1930) in the Bib. Buddhica Series. Other important publications in connection with Vasubandhu's philosophical works are the two tracts, published from a Nepalese manuscript by Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1925), of Viṁśatikā with the author's Vṛtti and Triṁśikā with the commentary of Sthiramati. Hermann Jacobi has given a German translation of Triṁśikā as well as of the Commentary. This same thesis of Vasubandhu has been the subject of two other volumes (1928-29) of Poussin, where he is giving the French translation of the Chinese Com-

mentary on Vijñapti-mātrāa-siddhi by Yuan Chwang. G. Tucci has published (*JRAS* 1930, pp. 611-23) from a Nepalese manuscript in Newari characters, a fragment from the Pratītyasamutpāda-vyākhyā, Vasubandhu's Commentary on Pratītyasamutpāda-sūtra. While dwelling on this point, we may as well mention Dr. V. V. Gokhale's thesis (Bonn., 1930) on Pratītyasamutpādaśāstra of Ullangha, translated into Chinese by Dharmagupta (607 A.D.) and Amoghavajra (8th century A.D.). Dr. B. C. Law has discussed (*JRAS* 1937, pp. 287-92) the various forms in which the Law of Causation appears in Pali texts with the additional intersting information that while the Kurram inscription on a casket gives only one aspect (*samudaya* aspect), the two brick inscriptions at Nālandā gives the same in the form of the Pratītyasamutpādavyākhyā of Vasubandhu. Further light is thrown on the subject by E. H. Johnston's 'Gopalpur Bricks' (*JRAS* 1938, pp. 547-53) where he tells us that on bricks II and III from Gopalpur (Gorakhpur Dist., U.P.) preserved in the Indian Institute at Oxford, he finds the Law beginning with the middle and ending with vijñāna and not avidyā. This stage perfectly agrees with that preserved in the Mahāpadāna and Mahānidāna suttas in the Dīgha (Nos. 14, 15). Prof. Tucci in his 'Pre-Dinnāga Buddhist Texts on Logic from Chinese Sources' (G.O.S. No. 49, 1930) tells us of Śataśāstra of Āryadeva, Vigrahavyāvartanī of Nāgārjuna and of other works like Upāyahṛdaya and Tarkaśāstra preserved in Chinese. He also describes to us the Nyāyamukha of Dinnāga (*JRAS* 1931, p. 483), the oldest Buddhist text on logic, after Tibetan and Chinese material. He has published the English translation of the same Chinese version at Heidelberg, 1930. As a help to the understanding of the same, Śankaraswamin, a disciple of Dinnāga, wrote his Nyāyapraveśa (G.O.S. No. 38 edited by A. B. Dhruva). There is the Vṛtti of Haribhadra, and Pañjikā on the latter by Pārśvadeva. Pandit Vidhushekhar Bhattacārya has the credit of editing, in the same series (No. 39, 1927) the Tibetan text with Introduction and notes etc. Our study of Buddhist logic is further aided by Dharmakīrti's Nyāyabindu with the Ṭīkā of Dharmottara, with their most illuminating exposition in T. Stcherbatsky's two volumes on 'Buddhist Logic' (1930, 1932). Another important work on Buddhist philosophy (8th century A.D.) edited by Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya is 'Tattvasangraha' (G.O.S. 30, 31, 1926) by Śāntarakṣita with Pañjikā by his disciple, Kamalaśīla. We have its English translation (G.O.S. 80, 83, 1937, 39) by Dr. Gangānath Jhā who, by his English translations of several Sanskrit works on Indian philosophy, has conferred a great boon on non-Sanskritist students of Indian philosophy.

Tantric Works

Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa edited by Ganapati Shastri in Trivendrum series has been now followed by several books on Tantrism and we are much indebted to Dr. B. Bhattāchārya, the Director of the Oriental Institute, Baroda, for having published several books on the subject in the Gaekwad Oriental Series. He himself has edited in that Series 'Two Vajrayāna Works' (1929), Tathāgataguhyaka or Guhyasamāja, the earliest and most authoritative work of the Tantra School (3rd Century A.D.), with which we may also mention by the same author 'An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism', London, 1932. Advayavajrasaṅgraha, edited by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Harprasāda Shāstri is a collection of twenty short works by Advayavajra Sangraha, a professor of Ādikarmapradīpa school flourishing in the 11th century A.D. Sekoddeśaṭīkā, a commentary of Nāropā or Naḍapāda discovered by Prof. Tucci in Nepal, has been edited by his pupil, M. E. Carelli (1941, G.O.S. No. 90). It is a commentary on the Sekoddeśa section of Kālacakratantra describing the Abhiṣeka or initiation of a disciple into the mystic fold. Prof. P. C. Bagchi has added to our knowledge of the subject by his 'Studies in the Tantras' (Cal. Uni. publication) and by his article 'On some Tantric texts studied in Ancient Kambuj' (*IHQ*, 1929, pp. 754-769). Dr. S. K. De of Dacca University has described the Buddhist Tantric Literature (in Sanskrit) in Bengal (*NIA* i. pp. 1-23). Dr. Jatindrabimal Chaudhari's edition of the Tantrarājatantra with the Commentary Sudarśanā has an interest of its own in that the author of the commentary is a lady, wife of another scholar, Premanidhi, an inhabitant of Kumaun, in early 18th century A.D. (Contribution of Women to Sanskrit Literature, vol. 5, Cal., 1940) The authoress exhibits a literary grace and scholarly traits, with a command over Sanskrit language and a mastery of logical technicalities. She is often found to be combating the views of previous commentators. K. P. Jayasvala has made use of the historical material of Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa in his 'Imperial History of India in a Sanskrit Text' (Lahore, 1934). The mystic term 'Sandhābhāṣā' is traced by Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya (*IHQ* 1928, pp. 287-96) to the Pali expression *sandhāya bhāsitam*, speech aiming at or having in view a certain thing, which is the same thing as *neyārtha-vacana* or *ābhiprāyika-vacana* and is used in that sense in Saddharmapuṇḍarīka, Lankāvatāra etc., Dr. P. C. Bagchi gives several new documents and extracts from Tantric texts and discusses various forms of Sandhābhāṣā with Sanskrit and Chinese equivalents (*IHQ* 1930, 389-96). Another paper contri-

buted by the same professor to the Calcutta Oriental Journal (1934, No. 5) 'Some Aspects of Buddhist Mysticism in the Caryāpadas' deals with the same. Ordinary terms like boat, rat, elephant are not taken in their ordinary sense but they have a special sense in the mystic lore.

Influence on South Indian Literature.

As a result of direct or indirect influence of the works of Buddhist masters like Dinnāga may be mentioned an Old Tamil classic, Manimekhalai, which was brought to light, as I am informed by a competent authority, by Dr. Mahāmahopādhyāya Svāminātha Aiyyar among some rare Tamil Classics on Buddhism. The discovery of this work has aroused great interest among scholars and Dr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar and Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy have written on the same in their various contributions.

III. Tibetan

Aids to Study.

We must now turn to another vast store of Buddhism—Bkaḥgyur (popularly known as Kanjur) and Bstan-ḥgyur (Tanjur) of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. The study of Tibetan language is much facilitated by the enlarged edition of Jäschke's Tibetan Grammar with the Addenda by A. H. Franke and W. Simon (1929) as well as the reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan-English Dictionary. Students of Sanskrit will be grateful to Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattācharya for his Bhoṭa-prakāśa (Cal. Uni. 1939), which gives the outlines of the Tibetan Grammar and selected passages for reading, taken from Tibetan translations having Sanskrit originals. The notes, translations and word for word renderings give it the character of a 'Royal Road to Tibetan'. These books with the old Dictionary of Tibetan-English by Saratchandra Das (1902) may further be supplemented by the Tokyo edition of the Mahāvyutpatti (edited by Sakaki, 1926) which gives the Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese equivalents as well as a highly useful index of Sanskrit words.

Catalogues.

For the study of the Buddhist Tibetan literature, we have now 'A Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Kanjur preserved in the library of Otani Daigaku', Kyoto, Japan (1930-32). This catalogue compiled by B. Sakurabe and Prof. Teramoto contains a detailed list of Sūtras collected with the existing

corresponding texts in Sanskrit, Pali and Chinese. It also gives the page-references to the Narthang and Derge editions of the Tibetan Tripiṭaka. Another equally useful Catalogue of both Kanjur and Tanjur, edited by Profs. H. Ui, M. Suzuki, and Y. Kamakura, is published by the Tohoku Imperial University, Sendai, Japan, 1934. The indexes (Sanskrit, Tibetan and Chinese) are given in a separate volume.

Translations from Pali.

It was for a long time believed that the Tibetan Tripiṭaka contains translations of Buddhist works from Sanskrit only. But on a closer examination it has been found out that there are a few (very few indeed when compared with the mass of translations from Sanskrit) texts rendered into Tibetan from Pali. A distinct proof has been given by Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy Shastri in his 'First Sermon of the Buddha' (*NIA* i. 473 ff.) where he gives a Sanskrit rendering of the Tibetan translations of Dhramacakrapravartana—sūtra. The colophon as rendered by him clearly mentions Siṁhaladvīpa where the translator's teacher had his Pravrajyā and that he was staying in a Vihāra which was a seat of bi-linguists. Friedrich Weller has given the Mongolion and Tibetan versions of the Pali Brahmajālasutta with the German translation (ZII Band 10 Heft I, 1935). Kanjur, Mdo, vol. XXX contains thirteen (nos. 13-25) such texts translated from Pali. As prominent among such Sūtras may be mentioned Āṭānāṭiya-sutta (Dīgha 3rd vol.) Mahāsamayasutta (Dīgha, 2nd vol.) Girimānandasutta (A. Xth Nipāta, vi. 10) Mahākassapasutta (Sam. Mahā. ii. 11. 13) Mahāmangala (Khuddakapāṭha and Suttanipāta), Jātakanidāna etc. In this connection we may as well note that Nanjio in his Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka often makes a remark about a text, whether it agrees with Tibetan or whether it is lacking in Tibetan. In connection with all the four Āgamas of the Sarvāstivādins (Nanjio, 542-545) which are close parallels of the four Pali Nikāyas, Dīgha, Majjhima, Saṁyuta and Aṅguttara, Nanjio, perhaps, on the authority of an older catalogue like K'-yuen-lu (A Comparative Catalogue of Buddhist works collected in the K'-yuen period, A.D. 1264-94) makes the following remark "It agrees with Tibetan." So one may say that although the present available catalogues do not make any mention of Tibetan versions of these Āgamas or Pali Nikāyas, a further and closer examination may reveal the Tibetan counterparts. At any rate, as there is a Chinese record of the 13th century A.D. to that effect, one may conclude that such Tibetan counterparts did exist till the thirteenth century.

Restorations.

The peciliarity of the Tibetan translations is that they are so close, word-for-word, literal translations, that with the help of such translations of texts and commentaries, it often becomes possible to restore the original Sanskrit text. Of course, there is still the possibility that, of the numerous synonymous words used to express a certain sense or idea, one may not necessarily hit upon the right word. Such attempts to restore texts are found in Prof. P. L. Vaidya's 'Etudes' sur Āryadeva et son Catuḥśataka, chapitres VIII-XVI,' Paris, 1923 ; In Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya's 'Mahāyānaviṁśikā of Nāgārjuna' and Catuḥśataka of Āryadeva, 1931—which last really developed out of the author's review on Prof. Vaidya's book ; in Śīlaparikathā by Anantanāth Basu (*IHQ* 1931, pp. 28-33); in Nairātmyaparipṛcchā by Sujitakumāra Mukhopādhyāya (1931) ; in Dignāgā's Pramāṇasamuccaya (1st chapter) by H. R. R. Aiyengar, Mysore, 1930 ; or in Pandit N. Aiyyaswamy's Madhyamakāvatāra of Caṇdrakīrti, Madhyaṁkārthasangraha of Bhāvaviveka, Bhavasankrāntisūtra and Ālambanaparīkṣā and its Vṛtti by Dinnāga (Adyar Lib. 1942) etc. etc. Of this last text, there is a French translation 'Examen de l'objet de la connaisance' by Susumu Yamaguchi and Henris Meyer, Paris. We may also mention Dr. V. V. Gokhale's 'Akṣaraśataka' of Āryadeva, a Mādhyamika text where the Sanskrit text is attempted to be restored with the help of Tibetan and Chinese. Hastavālaprakaraṇa, a small work of Āryadeva, containing six verses is given by F. W. Thomas and H. Ui in *JRAS* 1918, pp. 267-310, with the Tibetan and Chinese versions. Prof. Étienne Lamotte, a pupil of the late Prof. Poussin, presents to us a critical text of the Tibetan translation of Mahāyānasangraha, with Yuan Chwang's Chinese translation and his own annotated French translation. The same scholar has also given us, after the Tibetan and Chinese versions, Karmasiddhiprakaraṇa (Bruges, 1936) with the translation of the 17th chapter of Madhyamakavṛtti in an appendix. E. Obermiller's translation of a work of Ārya Maitreya : 'The sublime science of the Great Vehicle to Salvation' with a commentary by Ārya Asaṅga is a manual on Buddhist monism. Constanty Régamey edited Bhadramāyākāra-vyākaraṇa (Warsaw, 1938), one of the minor Ratnakūṭasūtras, where the Buddha is represented as the greatest of the magicians. Tibetan translations of Vasubandhu's Kārikā of Abhidharmakośa and his Bhāṣya on the same, (B.B. 1917-30) of Daśabhūmika and Laṅkāvatāra-sūtras, of the works on logic, Nyāyamukha, Nyāyapraveśa, Nyāyabindu and Nyāyabinduṭīkā, of Samanantarasiddhi of

Dharmottara with Vinītadeva's commentary (B.B. XIX), of Udānavarga by Dharmatrāta (edited by Hermann Beckh, Berlin, 1911) are some of the important works which are highly valuable to Sanskritists.

Fresh Discoveries

As mentioned above, Tibetan Tripiṭaka is a vast store which needs closer examination and which will reveal the existence of several works not yet enlisted in the catalogues. The great scholar-social-worker, Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana, visited the libraries of several monasteries in Tibet during his frequent sojourns and discovered a number of new works, some of which proved to be the Sanskrit works considered to be lost to Sanskrit language. He discovered copies of Vādanyāya, Vārtikālankāra and Pramāṇavārtika, the first two of which have appeared as publications of the Mahābodhisabhā, Sarnath, and the latter was being published in the Journal of the *BORS* (App. to Vol. XXIV). Another discovery and identification of a Tibetan fragment of the Vimuttimagga, corresponding to the third chapter of the work and agreeing with the second chapter of the Visuddhimagga, was made by the present writer and he read papers on the same at the seventh and tenth Oriental Conferences held respectively at Baroda and Hyderabad in 1933 and 1941. His work on the same is continuing as is indicated by his article on 'Washington Manuscript' in the Annals of the BORI, Poona, vol. XXII parts i-ii, 1941, where he has shown the shorter version of the text to be the truer one.

IV. Chinese

Now I must turn to Chinese Buddhist studies. Chinese is one of the most difficult languages and it requires continuous study for years together before one can hope to get a thorough mastery over it. Most of the Indian works translated into Chinese are Buddhist. There are translations of only two non-Buddhist texts—one *Daśapadārthī*, (Nanjio, 1245) manual of Vaiśeṣika Philosophy, translated by Yuan Chwāng (in 648 A.D.). Prof. H. Ui has given us an edition of the Chinese text along with his own translation with the help of F. W. Thomas (Oriental Translation Fund, vol. 24, 1917). The other is *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*. Prof. Takakusu has given a French Translation of the Chinese (Nanjio, 1300) translation of the same by Paramārtha. For the Sūtras contained in the Chinese Tripiṭaka, we have, in addition to Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese Tripiṭaka (1883), Prof. J. Takakusu's Catalogue of Taisho Tripiṭaka (Tokyo, 1929) which contains 20 catalogues published till now. This

is very useful in tracing Buddhist texts, either from the name of the author or from the title of the text, in Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese or Japanese. This same has also been reprinted with numerous additions in honour of the first Anniversary of S. Mochizuki (Bib. Bouddhique). Further we have now Prof. P. C. Bagchi's 'Le Canon Bouddhique en Chine' vol. I, 1927. The second volume also has now been reported to be out. Another Catalogue has been issued (Tokyo, 1931) as an 'Annexé' to the Hobogirin, an encyclopædic Dictionary of Buddhism. It gives a serial list of all the 2184 texts in the 55 volumes of the Taisho edition of the Chinese Tripiṭaka edited by Prof. J. Takakusu and K. Watanabe (1924-29). It gives (1) the index of the names and authors of the texts in Japanese[1] (transcribed into Roman characters) (2) the index according to the Chinese Radicals, and (3) the Index, in Sanskrit and Pali, of the names of texts as well as of authors and translators. A chronological table on China is also appended. Another interesting book for Pali scholars is the 'Comparative Catalogue of the Chinese Āgamas and Pali Nikāyas' by Prof. Akanuma of Otani University (Nagoya, 1929). He has given a detailed comparative table of the Suttas in the Pali Nikāyas with the corresponding Chinese texts in the Translations of the Āgamas, and vice versa, with supplements and corrections.

The Chinese Tripiṭaka has been published in various editions and the edition printed in bold letters from wooden blocks seems to have been used by Nanjio for his Catalogue, as the references to pages given by him are found to be tallying with the existing editions in bold letters prepared from wooden blocks.

Like the Tibetan Tripiṭaka, the Chinese Tripiṭaka also is a vast store and unlike the Tibetan translators, the Chinese translators—except the earlier ones—had an eye more to the sense than to the words. So, from the Chinese translations alone it does not become easy, to make restorations.

Translations from Pali

In this literature also there are several works, which may be considered as the Chinese translations or versions of Pali texts. Besides the Chinese Āgamas referred to above, there are Chinese texts corresponding to the Pali Dhammapada, Udāna (Nanjio, 1353, 1365, 1439 etc.), Itivuttaka (Nanjio, 1321)

[1] There is also a Japanese Alphabetical Index of Nanjio's Catalogue of the Buddist Tripiṭaka with supplements and corrections, Tokio, 1930, ed. by Profs. Tokiwa, Ogiwara and Mino.

a few stray Suttas corresponding to those in the Suttanipāta, especially the Aṭṭhaka (Nanjio, 674) and the Pārāyaṇa-vaggas (see 'Katam Karaṇīyam' in honour of M. Anesaki by his pupils, 1934, pp. 289-304; also *JPTS* 1907). There is the Chinese version of the Vinaya of the Mūlasarvāstivādins, closely agreing with the Pali Vinaya. Prof. J. Takakusu has described (*JPTS*, 1905) the 'Abhidharma Literature of the Sarvāstivādins' which may be compared to the books of the Abhidhammapiṭaka of the Pali Tripiṭaka (see Introduction, p. ix of the Devanāgarī ed. of Dhammasangaṇi by Profs. Bapat and Wadekar, Poona, 1940).

Among the non-canonical texts also, may be mentioned Pali Milinda, which has a counterpart in Chinese translations (Nanjio, 1358; Nos. 1670a, 1670b of Taisho ed.), which agree with only the first three divisions of the present Pali text. Prof. M. Nagai drew attention (*JPTS* 1919) of Pali scholars to the Chinese counterpart of Buddhaghoṣa's 'Visuddhimagga'. The present writer has worked out this problem of their inter-relations in his 'Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga: A comparative study' (Poona, 1937), where he has given a detailed summary of the Chinese text 'Chie-t'o-tāo-lun' (Vimuttimagga). There is another important non-canonical work San-Chie-phi-po-sā-lün (Nanjio, 1125) corresponding to the Samantapāsādikā. The writer of this paper is working on the comparative study of these two works and it is expected that the result will reveal several new points with regard to the mutual relation of these two books, as well as the several versions of the Samanta-pāsādikā, before it reached its present voluminous size. At any rate, the comparative study of these texts will go a long way to settle the textual history of the Pali work.

Translations from Sanskrit.

But these Pali books are insignificantly smaller in number when compared with the Sanskrit texts having their translations in the Chinese Tripiṭaka. Not a few texts in Sanskrit are merely known by their names. The actual texts are irretrievably lost in India. But they are preserved in Chinese or Tibetan, or both, and hence the importance to Indian scholars of studying Chinese also. There are Chinese versions of the missing chapters of Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita, of Dignāga's Nyāyamukha, of the seven Abhidharma texts of the Sarvāstivādins (Nanjio 1273, 175, 1276, 1281, 1282, 1277 or 1292 etc.,) of Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi, a restoration of the first part of which has been attempted by Rāhula Sānkṛtyāyana with the help of Wong Mow Lam, Editor of Chinese Buddhist (*JBORS* XIX,

1933, 72 pages and vol. XX appendix), of Vasubandhu's Abhidharmakośa-śāstra (O-phi-ta-mo-ko-sho-lün, Nanjio 1267), of Nāgārjuna's Mahāyānaviṁśikā and of other books on logic like Upāyahṛdaya and Tarkaśāstra (by Tucci, *GOS* No. 49). Who would not like to have them at least in Chinese translations ?

Central Asian Discoveries.

Central Asian discoveries have led to the discovery of several Buddhist texts in Prakrit, Buddhist Sanskrit, Chinese, Soghdien, Kutchean, Uigurish, and Mongolian languages. A survey of these will land us into an endless ocean. And besides U. N. Ghosal has given us an admirable survey of this vast field (Progress of Indic Studies, Bhandarkar O. R. Institute, 1942). I shall barely mention only a few below—Khotanese Jātakastava (ed. by Sten Konow), Tun-huang manuscripts in Khotanese containing a fragment of a legend of Kaniska and of Aśvaghoṣa, fragments of Aṭānāṭikasūtra (Leipzig, 1919), of Kutchean texts (Udānavarga, Udanastotra, Udānālankāra and Karmavibhaṅga by Sylvain Lévi, Paris 1933, fragments of Upāyakauśalya mentioned in the Saddharmapundarika discovered in Khadlik, Turkish Turfan texts published by Dr. W. Bang, Berlin, 1934, Chinese Buddhist Texts in Tibetan writing edited by F. W. Thomas to whom we also owe a Buddhist Chinese text in Brāhmī script (*ZDMG* 1937, pp. 149), Soghdian Vessantarajātaka and Soghdian manuscripts preserved in the British Museum.

V. DICTIONARIES, GRAMARS AND WORD-INTERPRETATIONS.

The work of Pali scholars was considerably lightened by the publication of the Pali-English Dictionary by T. W. Rhys Davids and William Stede (1921-22). Though this dictionary has greatly removed the handicap that was keenly felt by Pali scholars, J. Charpentier in his review of the same in *JRAS* 1923, pp. 455-57, points out that the etymological part is "such that it ought not to appear in any scholarly work." Articles on Abbhuta, Abhijjhālu, Amacca, Ābhassara, Āloka, Ucca, Ussolhi are, sayshe, amazing to use a very moderate expression. A beginning of another Dictionary, 'A Critical Pali Dictionary' continued from Trenckner's beginnings by Anderson and Smith has been already made and nine parts have appeared till 1938. The work has not completed even the first letter, *a*. The reprint of Jäschke's Tibetan English Dictionary has been already referred to a above. The publication of Dr. P. C. Bagchi's

'Deux Lexique Sanskrit Chinois I,' 1929, and 2nd vol. 1937 are of great interest to Chinese Buddhist scholars. Prof. Sunītikumāra Chatterjee has described the importance of these two works by Li-yen and I-tsing, respectively (*NIA* ii. pp. 741-47), in that they reveal the peculiarities of the Buddhist Sanskrit of the regions to the North-west of India and of the regions in Central Asia on the one hand, and of the Gangetic plane in the Eastern India on the other. Li-yen's Sanskrit was of the former type, while that of I-tsing was of the latter. Obermiller's 'Indices Verborum, Tibetan-Sanskrit and Sanskrit-Tibetan', of the Nyāyabindu and the Nyāyabinduṭika (B.B., 1928) and Rahder's Glossary of the Sanskrit, Tibetan, Mongolian and Chinese versions of the Daśabhūmikasūtra will be found very useful by students of Buddhism. A study of Tibetan and Chinese equivalents by Walter Simon, reprinted from 'Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalischen Sprachen' Bd. XXXII. Hft. 1, 1930, would be most welcome by students of Tibetan and Chinese. 'A Dictionary of Chinese Buddhist Terms' by W. E. Soothill and L. Hdous (London, 1937) will be considered as a good step in the direction of an ideal work to be expected from the co-operative efforts of several scholars. A step in that direction has been already taken by the organisors of the Hobogirin—an encyclopædic Dictionary after the Chinese and Japanese sources under the direction of Profs. Takakusu and Prof. Sylvain Lévi (1929 ff.). Friedrich Weller's Chinesiche Dharmasaṅgraha (Leipzig, 1923) and the Tokyo edition of the Mahāvyutpatti (edited by Sakaki, 1926) with a Sanskrit index will be found to be indispensable. A Devanāgarī edition of the Abhidhānappadīpikā was published by Muni Jinavijayaji (Poona, 1924). A Bengali edition of the same had also appeared in Calcutta. And last but the most important work as a reference book is Malalaseker's Dictionary of Pali Proper Names. The editor deserves our warmest encomium for carrying out single-handed a work of this type. We can imagine what an enormous labour it must have involved for years together. It has tremendously helped the workers in the field of Buddhist studies. Helmer Smith's edition of the Saddanīti 1928-29 ff, (excellent editions of which in Sinhalese and Burmese characters are already available), and of which the index is yet to come, would also be welcomed by European workers in this field.

As regards word-study we may refer to a few articles such as those of E. H. Johnston (*JRAS* 1931, pp. 565-92), or of Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in the 'Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies' (Vol. IV, 1939) or on Ākiñcañña in *NIA*

(iii. 1-16). We may also add the following list which will be found to be interesting :—

Antaraghara	by Prof. P. V. Bapat	in NIA i. 81-82
Thīnamiddha	„ „ „ „	in F. W. Thomas Commemoration Vol. pp. 4-18
Tādi	„ „ „ „	in Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar Commemoration Vol. pp. 249-58
Middha	„ Edgerton	in NIA i. 607-10
Abhidhamma, Abhivinaya	Miss I. B. Horner	in IHQ 1941, pp. 291-310
Paṇṇākara	P. Thieme	in ZDMG 1939, 129-132
Yaṭṭhi in Mahāvaṁsa	Narendranath Law	in IHQ 1931, pp. 571
Vardhamāna	E. H. Johnston	in JRAS 1931, pp. 565-592; 1939, p. 690
„ „	Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy	in Ostasiatische Zeitscrift, Nf. iv. 1927-28, pp. 181-82
Sobhanika	G. H. de-A-Wijesekara	in IHQ, 1941, pp. 202 ff.
Akkheyya (Pali)	Dr. S. M. Katre	in IHQ, xi, p. 199
Bilanga-dutiya	Sylvain Lévi	in Melanges Anesaki pp. 84-95
Syndanikā	Sylvain Lévi	in Grierson Commemoration Vol.

VI. Literary Histories.

Several new works have appeared by way of giving more information about Buddhist literature. On the lines of 'Pali Literature of Burma' (1909) by Mabel Bode, Dr. G. P. Malalsekera has given us 'Pali Literature of Ceylon' (1928). 'A History of Pali Literature' in two volumes (1933) by Dr. B. C. Law appeared and the author has given us there a detailed idea of the contents of the Pali Literature, both canonical and non-canonical. English Translation of Winternitz's History of Indian Literature, part ii, by Miss Shilavati Ketkar and Miss Kohn (1936), subatantially revised by the Author, has considerably lightened the work of non-German-knowing Indian students. Tārānāth's 'History of Buddhism in India' is being given in its English garb, from its German translation by Schiefner, in *IHQ* 1928, 30, 31 etc., and the most interesting and highly valuable 'History of Buddhism' (Chos-ḥbyung) by the Tibetan writer, Bu-ston, has been translated by Obermiller and published in the 'Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus' by Prof. Walleser (1931-32). The very scholastic and the systematic

handling by the editor has made the work highly useful for our knowledge of the Buddhist Sanskrit and Tibetan Literature. Dr. B. C. Law's 'Buddhist Studies', 'Studies in the Apadāna' (Bombay *BRAS* xiii. 23ff), 'Study of the Mahāvastu (with a supplement)' 1930, and his latest 'Ancient Tribes of India' (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, vol. IV, 1943) utilizing every available information on the subject, have all added to our knowledge. Dr. Nalinaksha Dutta has given us the account of the Beliefs of the Mahāsaṅghikas, Sarvāstivādins and Sammitīyas in *IHQ* (1939, pp. 90-100 for instance). His article on Dhammasangaṇi (*IHQ* 1939, pp. 345-72) is worth a perusal, although his statements about the chronological relations of the different parts of the book are not acceptable. The present writer and Prof. R. D. Vadekar have put forth a contrary view as far as the Nikkhepakaṇḍa is concerned (Intro. to Dhs. p. xv-xvi). We have, in our Introduction to our latest book Aṭṭhasālini (1942), pp. xxxiii-xxxv, raised the problem of the authorship of several commentaries that are ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa by tradition. This problem was mooted by Prof. D. Kosambi in his edition of the Visuddhimagga (Introd. xiv-xv) published in the Bhāratīyavidyābhavana Series, already referred to above (p. 107). We have proved by various arguments that the tradition of ascribing to Buddhaghosa all the commentaries that are not definitely assigned to Dhammapāla cannot be accepted as reliable. We have shown (xxxiii-xxxv) that by a comparison of the present text of the Vinaya-Aṭṭhakathā, the Samantapāsādikā, with its Chinese version, it can be proved that the former seems to have gradually grown in size during several centuries and that there are irreconcilable reference to one another in all these Aṭṭhakathās wrongly ascribed to Buddhaghoṣa.

VII. Literary Problems.

There is also the problem of two or more Buddhaghoṣas. In the Aṭṭhasālini, introductory stanzas, the author says that he has been writing the book at the request of a Bhikkhu, Buddhaghoṣa by name (Bhikkhunā Buddhaghosena sakkaccam abhiyācito). Prof. B. M. Barua (*IC* 1934, pp. 294-95) had pointed out the same fact about two Buddhaghoṣas by referring to the Nigamanagāthā of the Vibhanga-Aṭṭhakathā, Sammohavinodani, (yācito ṭhitagunena yatinā—Buddhaghosena). Another Buddhaghoṣa is credited with Pādyacūḍāmaṇi, a Sanskrit Kāvya (Madras Govt. Oriental Series 1921).

Mrs. Rhys Davids adumbrated a new theory of the authorship of Milindapañha, that of *one* author editing the conver-

sations between Milinda and Nāgasena in early days and adding subséquent portions at two different occasions. Winternitz is not prepared to accept this theory (Hist. of Indian Lit. pp. 619-20, part ii. of Engl. Trans.) but he sticks to his own view that the first three chapters form one part and that all the rest are later and spurious additions. The absense of these later chapters in the Chinese version is certainly in favour of Winternitz. In this connection, we may as well point out the work of preparing a full biography on Milinda by S. Behrsing in the 'Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies' (1934, pp. 335-45 ff). Ratilal Mehta has given us, on the authority of the Jātaka tales, 'A Political, Administrative, Economic, Social and Geographical Survey' which he calls 'Pre-Buddhist India' (1939), although it is open to grave doubts whether the picture given by the Jātakas can really be called pre-Buddhist. Perhaps they give no other picture than the one seen by the Buddhist monks on their way round the town while begging food. Dr. B. C. Law refers to different recensions of the Jātakas (*JRAS* 1938, pp. 241-51) (i) one of 500 Jātakas as proved by Fa-hien's account (Legge's Travels of Fa-hien, p. 106), and by Cūlaniddesa (ii. p. 80), (ii) another of 547 Jātakas as presented in the Siamese edition based on a tradition of the Mahāvihara Aṭṭhakathās, and illustrated on the Ananda pagoda in Burma ; (iii) and a third one of 550 mentioned by Buddhaghoṣa and others and illustrated in the Petleik pagoda, Pagan.

In Buddhist Sanskrit literature, there had appeared an interesting controversy since the publication by Lüders (1926) of the 'Fragments of Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā.' One set of scholars headed by Sylvain Lévi (*JA* 1929, pp. 255-85) maintained that the Sūtrālaṅkāra (the title accepted by the Chinese translation) was the original work of Aśvaghoṣa and that Dṛṣṭāntapankti or Dṛṣṭāntamālya was a later edition of the same. J. Przyluski, on the other hand, supported the advocates of the contrary theory and in his article on 'Aśvaghoṣa et la Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā' (*BCLS* of the Royal Academy of Belgium, vol. XVI, pp. 425-34) maintains that Dṛṣṭāntapankti is the same as Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā of Kumāralāta and that further in his very lucid survey of the history of Buddhist Sects 'Dārṣṭāntika, Sautrāntika and Sarvāstivādins' (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 246-54) shows from the colophon of the work "Āryakumāralātāyāṁ Kalpanāmaṇḍaṭikā-(yāṁ nāma Dṛṣṭānta)-panktyām" that the work Kalpanāmaṇḍatikā was originally written by Kumāralāta, and that when he, an author of no great fame, was forgotten, it came to be ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa under the name Sūtrālankāra. Another problem of two works of the same name, 'Sūtrasamu-

ccaya' is handled by Anukūla Chandra Banerjee (*IHQ* 1941, pp. 121-46), who maintains that there were two works of this name by Śāntideva and Nāgārjuna and there is the authority of Bu-ston for the same.

VIII. Philosophical Problems.

There have been several attempts to dive at the original teaching of the Buddha. Several scholars, as remarked at the beginning of this paper, have made an attempt to treat Buddhism with the background of the Upaniṣads and Hermann Oldenberg and J. Przyluski have dealt with the question in 'Die Lehre den Upaniṣaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus' (1915) and 'Bouddhisme et Upaniṣad' (*BEFEO* 1932) respectively. Dr. Maryla Falk in her 'Nairātmya and Karman' (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 647-82) and her latest 'Nāmarūpa and Dharmarūpa' (Cal. Uni. publication, 1942) has exhibited the same tendency. Prof. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya in his numerous short notes appearing in Journals does the same thing. In his 'Evolution of Vijñānavāda (*IHQ* 1934, pp. 1-11) he traces the origins to the Upaniṣads. Helmuth Von Glasenapp has written (*NIA* i. 128 ff) on 'Buddhism in Kāṭhaka Upaniṣad'. Mrs. Rhys Davids, also, has turned to them and has found support from them to her new interpretation of the original teaching of the Buddha. Vidhushekhar Bhattacharya in his 'Basic Conception of Buddhism' (Ādhārchandra Mukerjee Lectures, Cal. Uni. 1932) has made an attempt to show that the Buddha found out that the suffering could cease by the extinction of desire. Mrs. Rhys Davids was, with a religious missionary zeal, hammering out, in season and out of season,—and what else would you say when she expressed her pet theories even while reviewing books of others ?—that the present Pali texts, although they are the oldest of the available authorities on Buddhism, do not represent the original teaching of the Buddha, but that they are the later monkish attempts of re-editing the teachings of the Buddha. She was lately repeating the same thing in her numerous books and contributions to learned Journals. In 'Buddhism not originally a Negative Gospel' (Hibbert Journal 1928), 'Sākya or Buddhist Origins' (1931), 'Growth of Not-Man in Buddhism' (*IHQ* 1928) etc. etc., she insisted that the Buddha could not have taught the denial of the soul—and that as a successful world-teacher how could he have taught this negative doctrine ?—which is not likely to enthuse his followers with any new spirit. She enumerates as many as eleven 'Nots'—things he will not have taught (*NIA* 1939-40, vol. ii, 183-89). She believes that inspite of the monkish editing, the present Pali

texts, if subjected to historical and textual criticism, do reveal several, what she calls 'left-ins', which give an idea of the original teaching of Sākya Buddha. She thinks that the priestly theory has degraded the sublime nature of man who, according to her interpretation of the teaching of the Buddha, was capable of progressing. With this definite theory firmly fixed in her mind, she tries to find the 'left-ins' which would support her in her original imagined teaching of the Buddha. And she reads, perhaps, too much in passages, which may not ultimately have any philosophical significance. In her 'Overlooked Pali Sutta' (*JRAS*. 1933, pp. 329-34) she refers to a passage from Aṅg. Tikanipāta, No. 40 'Tīṇi ādhipateyyāni—attādhipateyyaṁ, lokādhipateyyaṁ, dhammādhipateyyaṁ'. She finds here the negation of 'non-soul' theory, which she considers to have been fabricated by the Buddhist monks in opposition to the original teaching of the Śākya Buddha. Though she is supported in her new theory by her colleague and successor Miss I. B. Horner, the author of 'Early Buddhist Theory of Man Perfected' (1936), and by Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy in his 'Re-interpretation of Buddhism' (*NIA* ii. 575-90), Mr. E. H. Johnston in a review of her recent book ('recent' in the sense that it was revised), aptly remarks (*JRAS* 1937, pp. 505-07) that the author's view has substantially changed and that few scholars agree with her conclusions which she seems to arrive at by intuition. She finds different strata in a sutta where other competent authorities see none. Prof. Louis de la Vallée Poussin, on the other hand, observes in his article 'The Ātman in the Pali Canon' (*IC* ii. 823-24) that it is not beyond the range of possibilities that 'a few Buddhist philosophers of the early ages admitted a transcendent Ātmaṅ.' There are a *few* documents which may be interpreted to support the theory, but there are *many* which deny it. Hence he makes a very cautious remark: "We do not sin by imprudence when we consider as relatively late the canonical tenet of the negation of a self" (*ibid*. p. 822). Dr. Maryla Falk tries to explain, with the help of the Upaniṣadic interpretation, what to several appears to be the antinomy of Nairātmya and Karman (*IHQ* 1940, pp. 647-82). Theodore Stcherbatsky, however, is quite firm and while enumerating the different traits of Buddhism, puts the 'denial of soul' as the very first Doctrine of the Buddha, (*BSOS* VI, pp. 867-96).

Over another riddle of Buddhism, several authors have exercised their brains. Dr. B. C. Law has given 'Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (*IC* ii, 327-48), while Mrs. Rhys Davids in 'Historical Aspects of Nirvāṇa' (*IC* ii, 537-47) has found an early predecessor,

attha, of Nirvāna. Louis de la Vallée Poussin has written a special monograph on the same (1925), in reviewing which Prof. Stcherbatsky was prompted to write what ultimately grew into 'The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa' (Lenningrad, 1927) accompanied by his masterly introduction treating, in a historical manner, the interpretation of that highest ideal of the Buddhists in various schools such as Vaibhāṣikas and the like, Sautrāntikas, Madhyamakas and Yogācāras. In spite of this marvellous treatment, one cannot help remarking that as in his 'Central Conception of Buddhism' (Petrograd, 1923), here, too, the author does not show any signs of having used, at any rate fully, the Pali sources of information on the subject. But who can attain perfection in the treatment of that which has been universally recognised and acclaimed as 'indescribable, beyond the comprehension of worldly men'? Has it not been said :—

Bhavarāgaparetehi bhavasotānusārihi
Māradheyyānupannehi nāyaṁ dhammo su-sambudho
(Sn. 764).

"This Dhamma (Nibbāṇa) is not easy to be understood by people, who are attached to worldly life, who are moving with the worldly stream and who are (still) within the sphere of Māra (the Evil Spirit)."

IX. Conclusion.

But we must stop. We cannot expect to exhaust the various aspects of Buddhism. There is a relieving feature, noted in recent days, of the bright prospect of a better understanding of Buddhism. Societies like the Mahābodhi Society of Calcutta, of Sarnath, and the Buddha Society of Bombay have sprung up. Interest in Buddhist studies is being increasingly taken by Indian Universities. Calcutta University is, by far, the leading University in this field. Viśvabhārati University and its newly-started branch of Chinese studies carried under the auspices of Cheena Bhavana have great possibilities. Though Bombay University could not do much in this field having no research Dept. connected with this branch of studies, its constituent colleges like the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, the College, Baroda, and Fergusson College, Poona, have been doing the work of Buddhist studies by maintaining the Department of Pali. Thanks are particularly due to the life-member-conductors of the Fergusson College, for being the first in the field of providing for the teaching of Pali and all credit of Buddhist studies in Bombay University really

goes to that college, which has supplied teachers to the other two colleges, where they are carrying on their studies, each in his own way. Benares Hindu University has recently introduced the subject of Pali and Buddhist studies. Patna and Dacca have probably some arrangements. But other universities are sadly lagging behind, perhaps because they have not yet realised the importance and far-reaching character of the subject. Buddhist studies would no longer be capably handled by scholars who have attainments merely in the sphere of Sanskrit and Pali, but soon the knowledge of Tibetan, Chinese and Japanese will be considered as a *sine qua non* and Indian scholars will have to gird their loins to pick up their legitimate share in these studies. The Chinese and Indian Governments have decided upon an exchange of scholars and we are glad to learn that Rev. Bhikkhu Jagadīśa Kāśyapa has been requested by Chunking Government to organise the Department of Pali studies at Chunking. Let us hope that the Indian Government also will soon request some competent Chinese scholar to organise the study of Chinese in some central University-town in India and thus give an impetus to the Chinese Buddhist studies in India.[1]

[1] The writer of this paper acknowledges a debt of gratitude to Rev. A. P. Buddhadatta and Dr. B. C. Law who supplied to him several details of publications in Ceylon and Bengal, respectively; and to the editors of the 'Bibliographie Boudhique' (1930-37), which has been most useful to him in preparing this paper.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: PRAKRITS AND JAINISM

By

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MY COLLEAGUES AND FRIENDS,

If I were to confess that I did not deserve the honour done to me by my election as President of the Prakrit and Jainism Section of this Conference, it would mean a reflection on the judgement of those who made the choice. And if I say that their choice has been fit and proper, it may amount to self-conceit. Here is then a dilemma, and the way that suggests itself to me out of it is that I should not worry about the merits of the case now, but bow to the decision like a true soldier, thank you all for the very kind honour done to me and then proceed straight to discharge the duties of the office imposed upon me.

2. But as I begin to do so, my heart is pressed down with sorrow for the loss that we have sustained in the field of scholarship during the last two years by the cruel hand of death. Brahmachari Shitalprasadji renounced all his family interests at an early age and devoted himself to the service of the community with all his mite. He made extensive tours through out the country, edited the Jaina-Mitra and, in addition, wrote or translated some book every year till he passed away at the age of sixty-three on January 6th, 1942. Vidya Varidhi Barrister Champat Rai was well known through out the country as well as outside, as the author of the Key of Knowledge and many other books explaining the Jaina philosophy in its most universal form. He was the founder of the Digambara Jaina Parishad, the Rishabha Library in London and the Sohanlal Bankerai Jaina Academy of Wisdom and Culture at Delhi. He ended his career of great literary and social service at the age of sixty-nine on the 2nd June, 1942. We feel Dr. V. S. Sukthankar's loss particularly keenly because it was so sudden and untimely. We all know him as the great editor of the Mahābhārata, but what connected him with our sphere of studies was his thesis on Śākaṭāyana's grammar and his contribution on Bhāsa's Prakrit. Only the other day we received the shocking news of the death of a very great oriental scholar, Sir Aurel Stein. From amongst the most

valuable contributions of that veteran scholar our branch of study was particularly indebted to him for his discovery of a large number of Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkistan, which have since been published and translated and have been proved to be written in a form of Prakrit. The latest shock that we have received is the most untimely and sudden death of Prof. H. B. Gandhi. He was a brilliant student and a very promising scholar. He was first a professor of Ardhamāgadhī at M. T. B. College, Surat, and later on joined the staff of St. Xavier's College, Bombay. He died on the 24th November, 1943 at the young age of 27. Even then he has left behind more than a dozen contributions to Prakrit studies such as *A Study of Ardha-Māgadhī Grammar* (Surat, 1938), *Rāya Paseṇī Sutta* with English translation and introduction on the Jaina Agama (Surat, 1938), *Pāia-gajja-pajja-saṃgaha* (Limbdi, 1940) and *Pāia-kusuma-mālā*. Now all that we can do is to console ourselves in the thought that though these great scholars have departed from us in their body, they have left behind for us a brilliant record of work which should continue to guide and inspire us in the field of knowledge and research.

3. It is a matter of gratification to all of us that oriental studies, and amongst them the study of the languages and religions of our country, have taken great strides during the last one century. The Vedic and the Pauranic religions as well as the Brahmanic Sanskrit literature have been vastly studied and explored and facilities for this now exist in all our universities as well as in the important universities of the rest of the world. Buddhistic and Pali studies also caught the attention of scholars pretty early during this period, as a result of which most of that literature has been published and explored. But, unfortunately, the same has not been the case with Jainism and the Prakrit languages and literature which have been mostly associated with it. It is not necessary for me to dilate upon the importance of these studies on the one hand and the neglect from which they have suffered so far on the other, because that has been done quite adequately by my worthy predecessors in this office. In particular, my immediate predecessor Dr. A. N. Upadhye in his speech at the last session of the Conference had very thoroughly surveyed the position of the Prakrits and the work that had been carried out so far in the field. All that I find necessary today is to remind ourselves of the same. But consequent upon the redistribution of the sections of the Conference which has brought into existence an independent section for Prakrit and Jainism, it is necessary for me to emphasise the importance of the latter

branch of our studies. Jainism has played a great part in the cultural development of our country and has produced an imperishable mark upon our religious and social institutions as well as our art and literature. The philosophy that it has given us is in many ways unique. As there is no Creator according to the Jaina philosophy to bring into existence life and universe or to direct the phenomenal world, it had to build up a very thorough and detailed doctrine of *Karma* such as no other philosophy that recognises it in principle has cared to work out. Since there was no personal God to look to for mercy and protection, the basic principle on which society had to be organised was 'Live and let live', and the principle had to be most carefully explained in order to make it practicable for the individual. Since individuals are bound to differ in their mental outlook and environments, a breadth of vision had to be promoted and a well defined but graded system of self purification had to be provided. It is in this way that Jainism at its earliest stages came to hold that doctrine of *Karma* which may be said to be perfect in its own way, preached Ahiṁsā in a manner that would enable the individual to live and grow without serious clashes and conflicts with his fellow beings, developed the wonderful system of *Syādvāda* and *Anekānta* that would harmonise seemingly warring ideas and views, and evolved a unique system of self purification in the form of *Guṇasthānas*. Unfortunately, these aspects of Jainism have not received that serious attention of the modern scholars which they deserve. The irony of the situation is that those who study the system deeply are as a rule ignorant of the present day methods of interpretation and exposition, while those who are conversant with these methods do not generally get the opportunity or have the will to make a thorough study of the system.

4. The result of this ignorance ,on the one hand and apathy on the other has been very calamitous. Even today we are not agreed as to what the original creed of *Mahāvīra*, who first preached the doctrine and organised the community, was. We do not exactly know why his original teachings as arranged in the *Twelve Angas* by his immediate disciple Gautama were gradually forgotten or became woefully mutilated. When and how the two great sections of the community—the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras—separated from each other is still a matter of controversy and wild imagination. The greatest teachers such as Bhadrabāhu and Kundakundācārya cannot yet be assigned to any definite period of time, and opinions on the point differ, not only within the limit of a century or two,

but by several centuries. One would, for example, put Bhadrabāhu in the fourth century B.C., while another would place him in the fifth century A.D. How the various *Gaṇas* and *Gacchas* amongst the monks and the castes and communities among the laymen came into existence and on what differences they flourished for centuries is a matter of pure imagination and conjecture. What attempts, if any, were ever made to unify the community, we do not know. And the wonder of it is that all this darkness prevails, not because we possess no light in the form of the proper evidence, but only because, I am sure, we have not yet cared to examine our literary heritage in the right manner. Look at the condition of our records! No big attempt has so far been made to collect all the available inscriptions together, to say nothing of undertaking fresh explorations. A very large part of the literature is still locked up in out-of-the-way cellars and stores beyond the reach of an average aspirant. No serious effort has been made even to catalogue the manuscripts thoroughly. Whatever literature has been published is for the most part poorly edited, and numerous texts still appear without any kind of introduction or indexes, which makes their use for scholarly purposes difficult and sometimes valueless. Want of a good dictionary of the Jaina technical terms continues to be a serious handicap for one who may for the first time venture to study the literature. These defects could be rectified satisfactorily and soon only by the combined efforts of the society, and it is high time that a well organised effort should be made in the direction.

The Prakrit language of different periods and provinces, which is richly preserved in Jaina literature only, is most important from the point of view of its bearing upon our modern languages. But most of our Universities and Colleges have not been able to start teaching the Prakrits or make Prakrits available as a basic study for those who seek post-graduate degrees in modern Indian languages. I am glad to be able to say that the Benares Hindu University is not guilty of this crime, though the present position with regard to Prakrit studies needs improvement here also. Formerly, the Sanskrit courses in M. A. used to include a paper in Prakrits also, and even in the B. A. the Prakrit in the prescribed drama was taught as Prakrit. But unfortunately this sound practice has gradually disappeared from almost all the Universities with the result that our graduates in Sanskrit are practically blank about the Prakrits. I feel that the old practice deserves to be revived.

5. Thus, a big organised attempt has been lacking in many directions in the field of literature and education pertaining

to Prakrits and Jainism. Individual efforts of a limited nature have, however, not been wanting. On the contrary, they have been growing during recent years, and when we co-ordinate them properly they reveal a remarkable progress all round. So, I shall now try to draw your kind attention to the work which our colleagues have carried out in various directions so far as it has come to my notice, since my predecessor in this office reported to you on the subject two years ago.

6. To begin with the texts and translations of the Jaina Āgamas, Pt. Bechardas in his *Mahāvīra Vāṇī* (Sastā Sāhitya Maṇḍal, Delhi, 1942) has presented to us 345 Prakrit verses from the Jaina Āgamas and has classified them under 22 heads according to their subject matter. A Hindi translation is given on the page opposite. The work is well designed to give an idea of the broad principles of Jainism. The chief defect of the work is that the source of each verse has not been indicated. The *Nandi Sūtra* text with Sanskrit *chāyā* and Hindi translation by Hastimalla Muni has become available in a neat and handy volume (Satara, 1942). Upādhyāya Ātmārāmji in the Punjab has translated many of the Prakrit Sūtras into Hindi and the second volume of the *Uttarādhyayana* was published during this period (V. S. 1998).

Outside the canonical literature, the *5th Karma Grantha* called *Sataka* has been very well presented with a comprehensive Hindi explanation by Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri (Agra, 1942). Points of contact and dissimilarity between the Digambara and Śvetāmbara writers on the subject of Karma philosophy have been drawn attention to, and the introduction is well designed to make the doctrine of Karma intelligible to all. I understand that the *6th Karma Grantha, Sattariā*, is being similarly translated by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri. *Die Lehre Vom Karman* by Dr. Glasenapp has been translated from German into English under the title *The Doctrine of Karman in Jaina Philosophy* by Mr. G. Barry Gifford and has been published under the editorship of Prof. H. R. Kapadia (Pannalal Charity Fund, Bombay, 1942). The work is mainly based upon the six Karma Granthas and is the first accurate and comprehensive presentation of the Jaina Karma philosophy in English.

7. Of the Digambara Jaina Āgama the publication of the first three volumes of *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama* of Puṣpadanta and Bhūtabali together with the commentary *Dhavalā* of Vīrasena with a Hindi translation under my editorship was already noticed by my predecessor. I have been able to complete

three more volumes of the same work during this period, and thus the first of the six Khaṇḍas, *Jīvaṭṭhāna* is now complete (Jaina Sāhitya Uddhāraka Fund, Amraoti, 1941, 42, 43). The *Kaṣāya Pāhuḍa* of Guṇadhara with *Cuṇṇi Sutta of* Yativṛṣabha and *Jayadhavalā* of Vīrasena is also now in the course of edition and translation, and its first volume edited by Pt. Phulchandra Shastri, Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Kailashchandra Shastri has also gone through the press and may be published one of these days from Benares itself. The *Tiloya Paṇṇatti* of Yativṛṣabha has been edited by Dr. Upadhye and myself and its first volume containing the first four Mahādhikāras out of nine, with a Hindi translation by Pt. Balachandra Shastri has been published under the auspices of the newly started Jīvarāja Jaina Granthamālā. This is a very ancient and exhaustive work on Jaina cosmology. Volume second of this work is likely to go to press as soon as arrangements for the supply of the requisite quantity of paper are made. It may in this connection be noted that Brahmachari Jivaraj Gautamchand Doshi of Sholapur has now made a donation of seventy five thousand rupees under a registered trust deed to the Jaina Sanskṛti Samrakṣaka Saṁgha which he has himself founded, and one of the main activities of this organisation is to publish old texts in the Jivarāja Jaina Granthamālā. The *Samayaśāra Pāhuḍa* of Kundakundācārya, with a Hindi paraphrase, has been published in a neat and handy volume by Mr. Nanakchand Jaina, Advocate, Rohtak (Vīra Saṁvat 2468), while Mr. Jagat Prasad has translated into English the *Eight Pāhuḍas* of Kundakundācārya (Delhi 1942).

8. Other Prakrit texts that have appeared are as follows : D. C. Sarkar's *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization,* Vol. I (Calcutta University) gives a good perspective of the early Prakrit records which deserve a careful study from the linguistic point of view. Hāla's *Sattasai* chapters IV-VII with the hitherto unpublished commentary of Haritāmra-Pītāmbara has been edited by Jagadishlal Shastri (Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, 1942). Dr. A. N. Upadhye has given to us some very interesting Prakrit works composed in South India. His edition of *Siricindha-kavvam* of Kṛṣṇalīlāsuka has been published in Bhāratīya Vidyā (Vol. III, part i) and of *Soricaritta* of Śrikaṇṭha, Chapter I, in the Bombay University Journal (XII, 2, Sept. 1943). Shri Jinavijayaji's edition of a very interesting work *Dhūrtākhyāna,* to which Dr. Upadhye has added a critical essay dealing, amongst many useful topics, with the Prakrit dialect and style of the work, is completely printed and may be expected to be published

soon by Muni Jinavijayaji. Dr. Upadhye's edition of *Candralekhā* is sure to be eagerly looked forward to by all lovers of Prakrit literature, because it is a *Saṭṭaka*, the like of which is so far known to us only in Rajaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī*. The printing of this most interesting and valuable work has started and let us hope that it will be completed soon by the efforts, again, of Muni Jinavijayaji. *Līlāvatī* is yet another work, the edition of which Dr. Upadhye has in hand. It is one of the best artistic poems in Prakrit and is repeatedly referred to in rhetorical works of Bhojadeva and Hemacandra. Several manuscripts of the work have been secured and collated by the skilled editor already, and arrangements have been made for its publication also. I am sure all my colleagues share with me the eagerness to get these works as quick as possible.

9. In the field of the Apabhraṁśas, Dr. Shahidullah has edited 32 *Dohās* of Siddha Kāṇūpā and translated the same into Bengali (Sāhitya Parishad Patrikā, Vol. 49, No. 1). *Kāmakandalī* published in the Gaekwar Oriental Series is an interesting work for the study of post Apabhraṁśa, and so also is *Cūnaḍia* consisting of 31 stanzas composed during the 16th century (V. S. 1576) by Vinayacandra, the pupil of Bālacandra of the Māthura Saṁgha at Giripura ruled by king Ajaya, and published by Pt. Dipacandra Pandya in his article on *Cūnadi Grantha* (Anekānta V, 6-7). Pt. Parmananda Shastri has brought to our notice a new work *Sāntinātha-cariu* in 13 chapters composed by Mahindu son of Illarāja at Yoginipura (Delhi) during the reign of the Mughal emperor Babar in V. S. 1587 (Anekānta, V, 6-7). In another article the same writer makes mention of no less than 23 Apabhraṁśa works composed by the well known poet *Raidhū*, manuscripts of which exist at Delhi, Bombay and Nagaur. The period of the poet's literary activity is shown to be from V. S. 1497 to 1521 (Anekānta, V, 12). In my article on some recent finds of Apabhraṁśa Literature published in the Nagpur University Journal (No. 8, Dec. 1942) information has been given about five Apabhraṁśa poems, namely, *Pajjunna-kahā* of Siṁha (prob. 12th cent), *Sukumāla-cariu* of Sirihara (11th cent.), *Chakkammovaesa* of Amarakīrti (12th cent.) *Aṇuvaya-rayaṇa-Pāiu* of Lakkhaṇa (13th cent.), and *Nemināha-cariu* of Lakhamadeo (earlier than 1453). Mr. A. S. Gopani in his article on Maheśvarasūri's *Jnānapancamīkahā* assigns that work to not later than the 11th century and has analysed its contents which consist of ten stories narrated in about two thousand verses (Bhārtīya Vidyā III, 2, May 1942).

10. Let me now notice a few outstanding publications in Sanskrit. Close upon his excellent edition of the *Nyāya-kumuda-candrodaya* in two volumes, Pt. Mahendrakumar Nyāyācārya has given us a new edition of *Prameya-kamala-mārtaṇḍa* of Prabhācandra (Bombay, 1941), which is a great improvement upon the previous edition, and the introduction with a critical survey of the contents of the work in relation to the works of other logicians as well as the comparative footnotes and indexes are of immense value. *Jñānabindu-prakaraṇa* of Yaśovijaya Upādhyāya has been edited by Pt. Sukhalalji who in his excellent introduction focuses attention upon some of the most important features of the Jaina theory of knowledge in comparison with the Hindu and Buddhist systems. (Simghī Jaina Granthamālā No. 16, 1942). The *Bṛhat-kathākoṣa* of Hariṣena has been edited by Dr. Upadhye, whose introduction is a masterpiece of scholarship in the domain of the Jaina story literature (Siṃghī Jaina Granthamālā 1943). *Citrasena-Padmāvatī-caritra* is an interesting romance in Sanskrit published by the Jaina Vidyā Bhavana, Lahore. In the domain of technical literature Pt. Vardhamāna Pārśvanātha Shastri has published the text and Hindi translation of Ugrāditya's *Kalyāṇa-Kāraka* a work on medicine in Sanskrit verse belonging to the time of Nṛpatuṅga, who is identifiable with king Amoghavarṣa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty (Sholapur, 1940).

11. In Hindi the *Vardhamāna Purāṇa* of Navalaśāha, an 18th century poet of Bundelkhaṇḍa, has been edited by Pt. Pannalal Jaina Vasant (Dig. Jaina Pustakālaya, Surat, 1942). A work of special interest in Hindi is the *Ardha Kathānaka* of Banārasidāsa a well-known poet of the 16th century. It has been edited by Dr. Mātāprasad Gupta (Allahabad, 1943), but the editing here is very defective, chiefly for want of proper collation of manuscripts and application of the usual methods of rectifying scribal mistakes. But an ideal edition of the same work is given to us by Pt. Nathuramji Premi (Bombay, 1943), with a very informative introduction, notes and appendices. As a piece of autobiography in verse the work is unique in Hindi literature.

12. The following Kannaḍa works have lately been edited for the first time:—*Neminātha Purāṇam* of Karṇapārya (A.D. 1130-35) edited by H. Sesh Ayyangar (Madras University Kannada Series, 1940); *Khagendra-maṇi-darpaṇa* of Mangarāja (middle of the 14th century) a work on toxicology edited by A. Venkat Rao and H. Sesh Ayyangar (University of Madras, 1942); and *Pūrvapurāṇa* of Hastimalliṣenācārya edited from a single manuscript by Prof. K. G. Kundangar (Kolhapur, 1943).

13. Having noticed the old texts that have seen the light of day in full or in part, I may here make mention of some lists of important works. Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar has given us a list of 10 important manuscripts deposited at Nagpur, 24 at Jaipur, 32 at Amer, 200 palmleaf manuscripts at Moodbidri, 125 at Śravaṇa Belgola and 27 at Sonipat (Anekānta, V), selected from long lists of about 200 manuscript stores which have been compiled by the Vīra Sewā Mandir at Sarsāwā under his direction, and before too long we may expect a very comprehensive catalogue to be issued from that Mandir. An important compilation of this Mandir, which is now running through the press, is a *Purātana-Jaina-Vākya-Sūcī* which contains sententious remarks collected from about 65 old works regarded as authoritative in the Jaina community, and arranged in an alphabetical order.

14. Let me now bring to your notice a series of contributions in the form of articles or books concerning the Prakrit languages. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri in his article *Śramaṇa Saṁskṛti Aura Bhāṣā* (Anekānta V, 5) has pointed out how the Śramaṇas came to differ from the Vedic followers and how they adopted languages other than Sanskrit for their literature and propaganda. I have in my article *Sanskrit meṁ Prakrit kā Prabhāva* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā 47, 2) pointed out how the phonetic tendencies of the Prakrits are also traceable in Sanskrit and how many Sanskrit synonyms can best be explained on the principle of those phonetics. Prof. H. R. Kapadia has given us a *History of the Canonical Literature of the Jainas* (Bombay, 1941), while Dr. D. C. Sarkar gives us *A Grammar of the Prakrit Language* (Calcutta, 1943) which records some forms from the Inscriptions and is a good aid to understand Vararucī's Prakrit Prakāśa. Dr. Ghatage makes a *Survey of the Prakrit Studies* in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. *A Translation of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* by Dr. Burrow (London 1940) is a valuable contribution for the study of the language of those records with his companion volume on the *Language of the Kharoṣṭhī Documents from Chinese Turkistan* issued in 1937. In my article on *Paiśācī Traits in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from Chinese Turkistan* I have tried to show that the language of the records confirms to a remarkable extent to the peculiarities of the Paiśācī dialect of the Prakrit grammarians and that the name *Cūlikā Paiśācī* may be derived from *Śūlika* which was the ancient name of Kashgar where that dialect may have been developed, thus bringing the Cūlikā Paiśācī also in line with the other Prakrits which bear regional

names (Nagpur University Journal, No. 7). Alfred Master in his article on the *Mysterious Paiśācī* (*JRAS*, 1943, 1-2) denies the view that the Paiśācas were a tribe of the North-Western India and their language was known as Paiśācī, and also the view that the Paiśācī spoken by the people of the Vindhyas was a form of Prakrit influenced by Dravidian. On the contrary, he propounds the view that Piśāca could not denote any particular tribe nor Paiśācī any particular language, but the Dravidian root from which the word Piśāca may have been formed points to the meaning 'confusion of the mind' and the term is likely to have been used in the past for people whose language was unintelligible.

15. I may now notice a number of articles throwing fresh light upon the contents of Jaina books or discussing the dates of authors. Pt. Sumerchand Divakar in his article on *Mahādhavala para Prakāśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has given a short survey with quotations of the contents of that rare work called *Mahābandha*, of which the only manuscript so far known existed at Moodbidri in South Kanara. Mr. Divakar has succeeded in obtaining a complete transcript of the same and he is trying to edit the text and publish it with a Hindi translation. Pt. Mahendrakumar Shastri and Pt. Darbarilal Kothia have discussed the question of the authorship of the benedictory verse found at the beginning of *Tattvārtha Sūtra* and valuable evidence has been advanced to prove on the one hand that it was added by one of the commentators, and on the other that it belongs to the author of the Sūtras himself. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 1 ; Anekānta V). Pt. Phulchandra Shastri in an article on *Tattvārtha Sūtra kā Antah-parīkṣaṇa* (Anekānta, IV, 11-12 ; V, 1-2) has laid his finger on many points in the *Tattvārtha Sūtra* which correspond with the ideas of the Digambara School and differ from those of the Śvetāmbara School. Pt. Jugal Kishore Mukhtar in his article on *Sarvārthasiddhi para Samantabhadra kā Prabhāva* has shown how on many points the Sarvārthasiddhi Ṭīkā of Pūjyapāda bears clear influence of Samantabhadra's works. (Anekānta V, 10-11). Pt. Darbarilal Kothia in his article on *Samantabhadra aur Dignāga meṁ Pūrvavartī Kauna* (Anekānta V, 12) has, on the evidence of the views expressed in their works, made out a case for regarding Samantabhadra as a predecessor of Dignāga as well as of Bhartṛhari, Kumārila and Dharmakīrti. The same writer in another article on *Parīkṣāmukha Sūtra aura uskā Udgama* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has shown how Māṇekyanandi has based his work upon the works of Akalaṁka from which parallel passages are quoted. The heated controversy between Prof. Jagadishchandra and

Pt. Jugalkishore Mukhtar ended during the period under review and valuable evidence on the question of the priority of *Tattvārthādhigama Bhāṣya* and *Rājavārttika* commentaries on the Tattvārtha Sūtra has accumulated. (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara VIII-IX; Anekānta IV-V). Pt. Parmananda Shastri in his *Paumacariya kā Antaḥ-parīkṣana* (Anekānta V, 10-11) has drawn attention to several points of correspondence between the statements in Vimalasūri's work and those in the works of Kundakunda and Umāsvāti, as well as to some points where they are found to be in agreement with the Digambara or the Śvetāmbara views in contrast with the other. The points that are of a dubious nature between the Digambaras and the Śvetāmbaras are interesting, and still more interesting are the points which are peculiar to the work and have no correspondence in the works of either sect. Pt. Dipachand Pandya in his article on *Yaśastilaka kā Saṁśodhana* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has suggested numerous corrections and improvements of the published text of Yaśastilaka Champū of Somadeva on the basis of a good old manuscript of the work obtained by him from the Jaina temple at Ajmer. Dr. Upadhye in his article on *Padmaprabha and his commentary on the Niyamasāra* has assigned the author to about the close of the 12th century (Journal of Bombay University, XI, 1). Mr. P. K. Gode has fixed the date of Meghavijayagaṇi's commentary on Hastasanjīvana between 1680 and 1700 A.D. (Bhārtīya Vidyā III May, 1942). Dr. Banarsidas has published notes on the unpublished works *Vinayaṃdhara Caritra* of Śīladeva and *Bhīmakumāra Kathā* composed in Sanskrit and Prakrit (Jaina Vidyā 1942). Pt. Nemichandra Jain has given information about the contents of a work *Kevalajñāna-praśna-cūḍāmaṇi* on astrology in Sanskrit ascribed to Samantabhadra, a transcript of which has been acquired by Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri for the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah, from Moodbidri (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Mr. Kamtaprasad Jain has brought to light a *Virudāvalī* of the Mūla Saṅgha, Sarasvatī Gaccha, Balātkāra Gaṇa, which ends with Bhaṭṭāraka Merucandra Guru of the Humvaḍa family. This has been translated from Sanskrit into Hindi by Pt. Kamalākānta Upādhyāya (Jaina Siddhānta Bhāskara, IX, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri has continued the good work of collecting together the authors' Praśastis from the manuscripts deposited at the Jaina Siddhānta Bhavana, Arrah (*JSB* VIII-IX). Pt. Ajitprasadji has through the Jaina Gazette, which he has been editing all these days, given us English translations of various small Sanskrit and Prakrit tracts and written articles explaining to the English reading public the broad features and principles of Jainism.

Pt. Nathuram Premi's revised articles numbering 62 on Jaina authors and works as well as on the history of other Jaina institutions have now appeared collected in a book *Jaina Sāhitya aura Itihāsa* (Bombay, 1942). It is a mine of information for all those who wish to work further in the field. Mr. Agarachand Nāhaṭā has in an article on *Vīra Gāthā Kāla kā Jaina Bhāṣā Sāhitya* (Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā, 46, 3) drawn attention to 16 poets and their works in Apabhraṁśa or Bhāṣā belonging to a period between the 10th and the 14th century and to 8 works of prose in old Hindi of the 13th and 14th century out of the *Prācīna Gujrātī Gadya Saṁgraha* compiled by Muni Jina Vijayaji. The same author in his *Gujrātī Bhāṣā meṁ Digambara Sāhitya* has given a brief survey of the Digambara Jaina literature produced in Gujrati during the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries.

16. I may now be permitted to notice briefly a few articles interpreting the Jaina culture or discussing Jaina principles and doctrines. Pt. Sukhlalji in his Jaina *Saṁskṛti kā Hṛdaya* (Anekānta V, 8-9) has surveyed in a very thought-provoking manner the historical trend of ideas that characterised Jaina culture and how gradually the age of decadence set in. Dr. Devaraja in his *Jaina Dharma kā Mahatva* (*JSB* IX, 2) has tried to examine briefly the place of Jainism on the touchstone of history and reason. In my article on *Sāsādana Samyaktva ke Sambandha meṁ Śāsana-bheda* (Anekānta VI, 2-3) I have pointed out how the authors of the *Saṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras*, the *Cūrṇi Sūtras*, *Sarvārthasiddhi*, Sanskrit *Panca-saṁgraha*, *Gommaṭasāra Jīvakāṇḍa*, and *Karma Kānda*, the *Śvetāmbara Agamas*, *Karmagranthas* and Prakrit *Panca-saṁgraha* are in divergence with each other and cut across the sectarian boundaries on an important point of Siddhānta. I have also initiated a discussion in Jaina papers on some of the fundamental problems that have divided the Digambara and Śvetāmbara communities for centuries, with a view to induce a reconsideration of the whole position once again (Jaina Sandeśa VII, 29; *JSB* X, 2). Prof. K. C. Bhattacarya in his *Jaina Theory of Anekānta Vāda* has explained the Jaina system of manifoldness of truth in relation to European thought. Pt. Vansidhara Vyākaraṇācārya in his *Nayoṁ kā Viśleṣaṇa* (Anekānta VI, 3ff) has made an analytical study of the seven Nayas which constitute a very important part of the Jaina system of thought. Dr. Harisatya Bhattacarya in his *Nārāyaṇas, Pratināráyaṇas and Balabhadras* (Jaina Antiquary VIII-IX) has discussed the Jaina Pauranic personalities in the light of the Hindu Purāṇas. Mr. Kalipada Mitra has contributed an article on *Magic and*

Miracle in Jaina Literature (Jaina Antiquary VII, 1). Dr. P. L. Vaidya was, during the period under review, busy in arbitration over a dispute regarding the interpretation and application of an astronomical rule attributed to Umāsvāti. His award is now published both in Sanskrit and English and what interests us there are his observations about the several Jaina astronomical texts such as the *Sūryaprajñapti*, the *Candraprajñapti*, *Jyotiṣ Karaṇḍaka*, *Lokaprakāśa*, *Vidhimārgaprapā* of Jinaprabha Sūri (14th century) *Srāddha-vidhi-prakaraṇa* of Ratnaśekhara Sūri (16th century), *Tattva-taranginī* of Dharmasāgara Sūri (16th century) and above all the *Siddhānta ṭippaṇa* which is lost. (Palitana, 7-3-43). Prof. G. R. Jain has given us a volume on *Cosmology Old and New* in elucidation of the fifth chapter of Tattvārtha Sūtra of Umāsvāti (J. L. Jaini Trust Fund, 1942).

17. A few articles on Jaina Art are also noteworthy. Babu Jayabhagavan in his article on *Jaina Kalā aur uskā Mahatva* (Anekānta V, 4) has drawn attention to the characteristics of Jaina iconography and architecture and the symbolism associated with them. The *Manuscript Illustrations of the Uttarādhyayana Sūtra* have been reproduced and discussed by W. Norman Brown (Connecticut 1941). Mr. Kalipada Mitra has identified *an image from Pirpahar* in Monghyr district as that of the 1st Jaina Tīrthaṃkara Ṛṣabhadeva with chauri-bearers on either side, and has assigned the same to about the 11th century A.D., while Dr. V. S. Agrawal has given details of a *fragmentary sculpture of Neminātha*, the 22nd Tirthaṃkara, discovered from the Kankāli Tīlā at Mathura and has assigned it to the Gupta period. It has Baladeva serving him as one of his attendants (*JA*, VIII, 2).

18. Lastly, I have to bring to your notice a series of contributions on the most important subject of the history of Jainism. Muni Ratnaprabha Vijaya has compiled *Śramaṇa Bhagavān Mahāvīra* in four volumes in English (Ahmedabad, 1941-42). Vol. I is devoted to an account of the *Previous births of Lord Mahāvīra*; Vol. II presents us with text and interpretation of 116 *Sūtras of Kalpasūtra* giving us an account of the life and activities of Mahāvira. Vol. III treats of *Gaṇadhara Vāda*, and Vol. IV with *Sthavirāvalī* according to Śvetāmbara traditions. Pt. Kalyāṇa Vijayaji has given us *Śramaṇa Bhagavān* Mahāvīra in Hindi (Jalor, V.S. 1998) bringing together valuable material on the subject, though certain chapters such as the one on Jinakalpa and Sthavirakalpa could only be read with caution. Mr. Kamtaprasad in his *Jaina Chronology* has tabulated events of Jaina History covering the period between 573 B.C. and 321 B.C. (*JA* VIII, 1). Mr. Dhirendranath

Mookerjee in his *Candragupta and Bhadrabāhu* (*IHQ* XX, 3) has expounded the view that Candragupta who, according to a Jaina tradition, abdicated the throne and retired to the South as a follower of Bhadrabāhu, was the Gupta monarch Vikramāditya Candragupta and not the founder of the Mauryan empire, while the sage was Bhadrabāhu II and not the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu. Muni Puṇyavijayaji has written a note on *Bhadrabāhu* in *his Chedasūtrakāra ane Niryukti-kāra* (in the Sri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Rajata Mahotsava Grantha, Bombay, 1941, 5). Mr. Nanakchand in his article *Kyā Bhadrabāhu Śrutakevalī the* (Jaina Sandeśa VII, 30) has drawn attention to a statement in Dhavalā (Vol. I, p. 66) according to which the five Śrutakevalis, including Bhadrabāhu who was the last of them, did not possess knowledge of the whole Jaina Śruta, but only of the 11 Aṅgas and 14 Pūrvas, so that the other four sections of *Diṭṭhivāda*, namely, *Parikamma*, *Sutta*, *Paḍhamāṇuoga* and *Cūlikī* were already forgotten in their time. Dr. H. C. Seth in his article on *Khārav'la and Gardabhilla* (Nagpur University, No. 8) has suggested the identification of king Gardabhilla of the Kālakācarya story with king Khāravela of the Hāthigumphā cave inscription on no less than seven grounds. Pt. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Jainiyoṁ kī Dṛṣṭi meṁ Vikramāditya* (*JSB* X, 1) has briefly surveyed the Jaina traditions about king Vikrama. Mr. B. N. Puri has written an article on *Jaina religious orders in the Kushan Period* (Journal of the Indian History, Special number, April 1941). Dr. V. S. Agrawal in his article on *Jaina Sāhitya meṁ Prācīna Aitihāsika Sāmagrī* (Anekānta V, 12) has drawn attention to various Kāvyas, Prabandhas, Paṭṭāvalis, Praśastis, image-inscriptions, Vijñaptipatras, Tīrthamālās and Caritras that constitute a rich source of historical information. This article has been supplemented by Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā in his *Aitihāsika Sāmagrī para Viśeṣa Prakāśa* (Anekānta VI, 2). Pt. K. Bhujabali Shastri in his *Mandiroṁ evaṁ Mūrtiyoṁ kī Utpatti* has given the origin and development of the temples and images on the basis of Dr. P. K. Acarya's views (Prācīna Bhārata I, 8) and points out that though the history of temples and images is very old, the literature dealing with the installation ceremonies does not appear to go beyond the 11th or the 12th century A.D. as had been pointed out before by Pandit Udayalal Kaslival and Pandit Nathuram Premi (Jaina Heteṣī XII, 1). In my article on *Girinagara kī Candraguphā* (Anekānta V, 1-2) I have tried to identify the cave at Girnar which is said to have been the residence of Dharasenācārya, who inspired the composition of the Saṭkhaṇḍāgama Sūtras. Pandit Dipchand Pandya in an article on *Varadatta kī Nirvāṇa Bhūmi*

aur Varāṅga ke Nirvāṇa para Vicāra (Anekānta V, 1-2) has pointed out that the place mentioned in connection with Varadatta's salvation or departure to heaven was *Maṇimān* hill by the side of the river Sarasvatī and in the vicinity of Ānartapur. Dr. Banarasidas Jaina in his article on *Panjab meṁ Upalabdha kucha Jaina Lekha* (Anekānta V, 1-2) has brought to light 19 Jaina inscriptions from the Punjab, throwing light upon the organisation and other conditions of the Jaina monks in the locality during the period from the 13th to the 17th century. Mr. Kalipada Mitra in his *Historical References in Jaina Poems* (*IHQ*, June 1942) has pointed out various mentions of historical personages of the Mughal period from the Apabhraṁśa, old Rajsthānī and old Hindi poems collected in the Aitihāsika Jaina Kāvya Saṁgraha of Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā and Bhanwar Lal Nāhaṭā (Calcutta, V.S. 1994). Mr. Nāhaṭā in his article on *Dharkaṭa Vaṁśa* (Anekānta V, 12) has collected a large number of references to the mention of this family from V.S. 1143 to 1607 in image-inscriptions and manuscript praśastis. This family name particularly interests us because Dhanavāla the author of the Bhavisayattakahā belonged to it. Mr. Prabhu Lal Jain in his *Gwaliar meṁ Jaina Śāsana* (Anekānta VI, 1) makes mention of the fact that Jainism received patronage of the Gwaliar kings Vīrasiṁhadeva, Dungarasiṁha, Karṇasiṁha and Mānasiṁha from 1398 to 1528 A.D. during a period of 13 years. Muni Kāntisāgar in his *Madhyapradeśa aur Berar meṁ Jaina Purātattva* (Anekānta V, 3-4) has drawn attention to ten different localities where old Jaina architectural and sculptural remains could be found. In my article on *Rāṣṭrakūṭa Nareśa Amoghavarṣa kī Jaina Dīkṣā* (*JSB* IX, 1 : Anekānta V, 5) I have tried to interpret the introductory verses in the *Gaṇita-sāra-saṁgraha* of Mahāvīrācārya which seem to imply that the contemporary monarch Amoghavarṣa I became a Jaina monk towards the close of his career. Babu Kamtaprasad in his *Vijayanagar ke Jaina Śilālekha* (*JSB* X, 1) has reproduced two inscriptions in Sanskrit which throw light upon the progress of Jainism in that part of the country during the 14th century. Mr. B. V. Kṛṣṇarao has written an article on *Jainism in Andhradeśa* (Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, XIII, 3-4, 1942). Mr. R. S. Panchamukhi has in his article on *Jainism in Karnāṭaka and Bhāṭkal Finds* (Karnāṭaka Historical Review VI, 1-2) gives information about the discoveries made at Bhātkal Petha and its surroundings on the west coast of the Bombay Karnataka area, consisting of various objects of Jaina antiquity including bronze and stone images of the Jaina pantheon and lithic records, and on the basis of the same he gives an account of the state of Jainism in the area during

that period. B. Kamtaprasad Jaina in his *Śravaṇa Belgola ke Śilālekhom meṁ Bhaugolika Nāma* (*JSB* VIII-IX) has made an alphabetical list of the geographical names occurring in the inscriptions from Śravaṇa Belgola. while in his *Uttara Karṇāṭaka aur Kolhapura Rājya ke kucha Śilālekha* (*JSB* IX, 1) he has made mention of those inscriptions in Prof. K. G. Kundangar's book of inscriptions which have an association with Jainism. Mr. Agarchand Nāhaṭā in his *Jaina Jātiyoṁ ke Prācīna Itihāsa kī Samasyā* (Anekānta VI, 8-9) has shown that there is no trace of the modern castes and communities of the Jainas in their literature previous to the 11th century A.D.

19. This is, dear colleagues, a brief record of the work carried out in the field of Prakrits and Jainism during the period since we met last two years ago. The record is by no means complete. During the whole of this period we have remained practically cut off from our co-workers in other countries, and my sources of information have been limited owing to the very poor library facilities available to me. Inquiries in such cases, as we all know, are generally ignored. I therefore beg to be excused if any noteworthy contributions have not found mention in my brief survey. One welcome feature that would be noticed from this short review is that scholars of the old school, who used to abstain from critical studies and looked upon all research with an air of suspicion, are now taking a substantial part in all important literary as well as historical investigations. It is with a view to attract them more and more to this kind of activity that I have made mention here even of some contributions that may not be considered to satisfy the requirements of the present day standard of research. The work that has been thus carried out in our field is quite substantial, specially when we take into account the fact that the difficulties of getting supplies of paper and other printing materials have been enormous, and have put serious restrictions on the work of publication. The stress of war and the consequent diversion of the mind have also been instrumental in curtailing our explorative and contemplative activities. But let us all hope that these difficulties and hindrances will soon vanish and we shall emerge free to carry on those investigations of the mind and matter which have always characterised our spiritual life and social existence. In the words of our great poet Rabindranath Tagore,

Faith is the bird that feels the light
And sings when the dawn is dark.

My colleagues and friends, I have done. I thank you all for the patient hearing that you have given me.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: INDIAN HISTORY, GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOLOGY AND FOLKLORE

By

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Fellow Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My first duty is to express my sincere thanks to the Executive Council of the All-India Oriental Conference for the honour they have done me by electing me President of the History, Geography, Ethnology and Folklore section of this Conference this session. It is perhaps interesting to recall that exactly a quarter of a century ago I was encouraged by the late Sir Asutosh Mookerjee to join the newly-founded Post-Graduate Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture as a student. From that time onward I have followed the progress of this Conference with great interest and was one of the Assistant Secretaries of its Second Session held at Calcutta. I have attended most of the Sessions of the Conference mainly as a humble ordinary delegate and participated in its literary and academic activities. Sometimes I was privileged to have a peep into the administrative aspects of this All-India Conference. To-day I find myself President of one of its most important sections. I do not think that this honour is only due to the work I have done in the last twenty five years in the field covered by this section. Appreciation of this high honour does not make me blind to the fact that there are many amongst the devoted and loyal workers of this Conference, who could have borne the heavy responsibilities of my office far better than I. It is my firm conviction that my selection is largely due to the affection and friendship with which the delegates of this conference have always cherished me in spite of my many faults. I shall have to lean heavily on the friendly co-operation of my fellow-delegates and co-workers for the adequate discharge of my duties.

Emboldened by this kindly and sympathetic attitude of fellow-students, I now cordially welcome the many sincere and devoted scholars who are assembled here from every corner of this vast sub-continent of Bhāratavarṣa and of the island of Simhala. We meet today in Northern India in one of the

most sacred and historic cities of the *Āryāvarta*—a city besprinkled with the holy waters of the Gaṅgā, Varanā and Asi—the ancient city of Vārānasī, the capital of the Kāśīs. From the age of the Vedic Saṁhitās, for more than 3000 years, the area round this city has played an important role in the political and cultural history of India. Nearly half the population of the entire world, professing various forms of Vedic and Paurānic religions, Buddhism and Jainism and their numerous branches, regard this city, whose hospitality we enjoy today, as one of the holiest of their *Tīrthakṣetras*. It is no exaggeration to say that nowhere in the world has any city retained its intellectual and spiritual eminence for such a long period. The Bharatas, the Brahmadattas, Pārśva, Gautama Siddhārtha, the Saiśunāgas, the Nandas, the Guptas, the Śailas, the Pratihāras, the Candrātreyas, the Haihaya-Kalacuris, Vikramāditya Gāṅgeyadeva, the Yaminis, the Pālas, the Senas, the Gāhaḍavālas, the Ghurid Shansabanis, Sher Shah Sur, the Timurid Aurangzib, Chaitsingh and Warren Hastings have all left their mark on the history of this Eternal City. Politically, the princes of the *Viśveśvarakṣetra* had not only dreamt of becoming the lords of the whole of *Jambudvīpa*, but had actually dominated large areas of India extending from the Himalayas to the valley of the Godāvarī. In the age of the Jātakas, the city of the Kāśīs extending over 12 leagues, was regarded as the "chief city in all India". Its greatness and immense resources are alluded to in the Buddhist canons. More than a thousand and five hundred years later Vārānasī, with its thousands of magnificent temples is, described in Muslim chronicles as the "centre of Hind". In the 12th century A.D., for many years, its rulers had fought valiantly in defence of the priceless cultural heritage of India. In the intellectual field also the contributions of this city were not less remarkable. In the middle of the first millenium B.C. the court of the kings of Kāśī was thronged with the learned and the famous teachers of *Āryāvarta*, who took an active part in the philosophical and intellectual discussions of that age. The fact that the "sage of the Śākyas" came all the way from Magadha to Sarnath to expound his system of Dhamma shows that the land of the Kāśīs was an important centre of spiritual life in the 6th century B.C. But it would be a mistake to think that this city excelled only in religious learning. Muslim sources indicate that in the 9th century A.D. Arab scholars like Abū Ma'shar and others came from distant lands to study Mathematics and Astronomy at the feet of the Indian Professors of Vārānasī. Today after the lapse of more than two and a half milleniums this illustrious and sacred city of the Kāśīs, under the direction

and guidance of the *Ṛṣi-kalpa* Mālaviyaji and *Darśanāchārya* Radhakrishnan is on its way to becoming once more the hub of intellectual and spiritual India. It is the fond hope of all of us that the University of Benares, whose guests we are all today, will soon establish a veritable *Ṛṣipattana*, where a new Buddha will turn the wheel of a new "Law of life" establishing concord, peace and joy in a world distracted by "ways" of murder and violence, which bid fair to exceed the horrors of a Mihirakula or Chenghiz Khān.

Before proceeding further I must refer to the irreparable loss that Indology has suffered by the tragic deaths of Sir Aurel Stein, Prof. L. Lüders, Ernst Mackay, Prof. Formichi, Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda, Mrs. Rhys Davids, Mr. B. C. Majumdar, Rai Bahadur S. C. Ray, E. H. Johnston, Dr. Narayana Chandra Banerjee, Pandit Haradatt Sarma and, last of all of our beloved treasurer Dr. V. S. Sukthankar. Dr. Sukthankar by his monumental labour in connection with the Poona edition of the *Mahābhārata* had acquired the right to be regarded as the veritable Vyāsa of the Kali age (*Kalikāla-Vyāsa*). All of us will greatly miss the lovable and loving personalities of many of these scholars, who have for such a long time added zest and interest to the deliberation of this Conference. The services to Indology of Sir Aurel, Dr. Lüders and other European scholars mentioned above are too well-known to require any notice here. Their death will be universally regarded as an irreparable loss to Indian studies. We can only hope that India will soon produce scholars who would take up the interrupted work of exploration and excavation on the Indian border-land and in Central Asia, and also the objective analysis and synthesis of the many Sanskritic and archæological problems left unfinished by these foreign scholars. Let us follow in the footsteps of these illustrious dead and help to produce a school of Indology in India which by its industry, capacity to take pains and to confront dangers, by its detachment and penetrating analysis, and above all by its breadth of outlook will convert our claim to intellectual equality with the rest of the world from a mere slogan into a reality.

The school of Indology I have referred to above has been rapidly growing up in India since the last quarter of the last century. Since we last met at Hyderabad (Deccan), two years ago, a considerable amount of work has been done by Indian scholars in the various fields grouped together under this section, in spite of almost insuperable difficulties which hampered the normal activities of this school on account of the present emergency. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, Swami Sankarānanda,

Father Heras, Messrs. T. G. Aravamutham, A. D. Kusalkar and Kalyan Kumar Ganguly have discussed various aspects of the Indus valley civilisation of the Chalcolithic period. Drs. B. K. Ghosh and J. B. Chowdhary have discussed some interesting points of Indo-Aryan rituals and society. Messrs. D. R. Mankad and S. P. L. Narasihmaswami are engaged in the various problems of Paurāṇic and Epic chronology. The latter claims to have discovered and restored the *Purāṇasaṁhitā* of 4000 stanzas, divided into 4 *pādas* which he believes to have been "the nucleus of all genuine *Purāṇas* and the repository of the Ancient Indian Historical tradition." I understand that after a period of 30 years' hard work this text is now ready for publication. Another interesting work in the same field is "Some aspects of the Purāṇas" by Dr. R. C. Hazra. With reference to the post-Brāhmaṇa period up to the rise of the Mauryas Dr. B. C. Law has published a memoir on the Pañcālas and their capital Ahicchatra, while Dr. Shyam Behari Misra and Sukhadeva Bihari have jointly published in Hindi the results of their studies in pre-Buddhistic history (Buddhapūrvakā Bhāratīya Itihāsa). In connection with the same period Mr. Kamta Prasad Jain has discussed the Jaina chronology between c. 573 B.C. and 321 B.C., while Dr. V. Agarwala has tried to give us a picture of trade and commerce during the age of Pāṇini. In connection with the period of the First Magadhan Imperialism Prof. R. K. Mookerjee has recently published a book on the history and times of the first Maurya Emperor Candragupta. With reference to the Scytho-Sātavāhana period we have some articles on the Kuṣāṇas by Mr. B. N. Puri and also a fairly comprehensive bulletin by Mr. C. Sivaramamurti on the Amarāvati sculpture in the Madras Museum. Prof. A. S. Altekar has also made useful contributions on the coins and history of the Nāgas and the Mitra kings of this period. On the period of Second Magadhan Imperialism Mr. R. N. Saletore has published a detailed work with special reference to the political and the cultural life of the Gupta age, while Mr. K. M. Munshi has discussed the "Golden age of the Imperial Guptas". Prof. P. C. Sengupta has tried to fix more accurately the epoch of the Gupta era. Prof. Kunhan Raja has discussed the historical background of the works of Kālidāsa. B. V. Krishna Rao has written a book on the "History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa (200-625)." On the period of Kanauj Imperialism we have some interesting contributions from Dr. R. C. Majumdar and Prof. Altekar. The former has drawn our attention to two new records of the Gauḍa prince Saśānka while the latter has edited 6 new copper grants from Kāṭhiawar throwing fresh light on the history of

the Saindhavas. Also Mr. K. S. Vaidyanathan has tried to fix the date of the Cola conquest of the Bāna country while Dr. N. K. Bhattaśālī has re-edited with valuable notes the Rājābādi or the Bhāwāl plate of the Sena king Lakṣmaṇasena. On the period of the Imperialism of the Turks and the Afghans Dr. A. B. M. Habibulla has made contributions with reference to the organisation of the fighting forces of the Sultanate of Delhi, while Messrs. Ibrahim Siblih and S. M. Jaffar have discussed certain aspects of the Arab invasion and administration of Sindh. Messrs. S. K. Banerji, N. B. Roy and S. N. Haider Rizvi have written on the different aspects of the history of the line of Ghiyās-ud-dīn Tughluq. Sir. J. N. Sarkar has thrown some light on the correspondence of the Deccani Sultanates and Mīr Jumla with the court of Iran. Mr. Abdul Majed Khan has made some suggestions regarding the historicity of Ibn Batuta's account of the Bengal ruler Shams-ud-dīn Fīrūz Shāh. Mr. Venkataramanayya has recently published a book on "Early Muslim Expansion in South India", Dr. H. K. Sherwani has written a book on the "Early Muslim Political Thought and Administration" while Dr. Qureshi has written on the "Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi". On the period of the Imperialism of the house of Bābur, Mr. Anil Banerjee has made valuable contributions with special reference to the history of the Peshwa Madhav Rao I, Prof. H. K. Sharwani has brought out a volume on the great Bahamanī Wazir Mahmūd Gāwān, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar has published a work on 'the power in the South and Sahaji's contribution to the establishment of the Maratha empire', while Dr. S. K. Banerji has brought out the second volume of his work on "Humāyūn Bādshāh". Dr. A. P. Dasgupta in his "Studies in the history of the British in India" has collected various papers which he had published during the last ten years on the period 1757-1784 A.D., while Dr. P. Basu has written a very useful and critical work on the Relations of the East India Company with the Nawabs of Oudh (1785-1801). Mr. D. N. Banerjee has published the first volume of his work on the "Early administrative system of the East India Company in Bengal" (1756-1774) and Mr. Brojendra N. Mitra has written a book on "the Begams of Bengal" and Tej Singh has published a work on the 'Growth of Responsibility in Sikhism'. Prof. Sri Ram Sarma has made some interesting contributions on the administration of justice of the house of Bābur while Prof. R. K. Mukherjee has discussed the "Economic History of India from the 16th to the 18th century A.D.". Dr. R. C. Majumdar has recently discussed the life and history of Mahārājā Rājballabh, an interesting personality of the middle of the 18th century in Bengal.

Mr. S. C. Goswami has supplied some light on the religious policy of Aurangzīb by drawing our attention to an important grant of land to the Hindu temple of Umānanda by the emperor. Mr. Yashpal has discussed the causes which led to the Rajput war during the period 1679-81, while Mr. I. H. Baqui has written on some aspects of Tipu Sultan's relations with the British General Macleod. Lastly Mr. Brij Narain and Prof. Sri Ram Sharma have brought out some interesting data on the period extending from the reign of Humayun to that of Shah Jahan by translating an original Dutch record. On the period of the Imperialism of the British one of the most interesting publications is Mr. Anil Banerji's monograph on the "Eastern frontier of British India" based on hitherto unpublished materials in English, Assamese, Burmese and Bengali. Mr. N. B. Roy has written a book on 'Daulat Rao Sindhia's affairs (1804-9)'. Also Dr. N. K. Sinha has made some contributions on the North-west frontier tribes under Ranjit Singh's sway in 1837 and on the state of Education in Bengal in the first half of the 19th century.

In addition to this very brief and inadequate survey of the activities of the Indian School of History I must mention a few more works of a general character which came out during the last two years. Dr. R. S. Tripathi's "History of Ancient India" has been extremely useful to students at various Indian and foreign Universities. Its lucid style and excellent arrangement of the matter together with its comprehensive bibliography has made it invaluable to all lovers of Indian History. Two important works came out on the History of Bengal. One is by Dr. B. C. Sen; the other is edited by Dr. R. C. Majumdar. Dr. Sen's book is based on a very careful analysis of the inscriptions of Bengal, while the work edited by Dr. Majumdar is a comprehensive survey of the political and cultural history of Bengal written by various scholars. Both the works come down to the end of the 12th century A.D. Messrs H. D. Sankalia and K. L. Daftari have produced works on "Pre-vedic times to Vijayanagar" and "Astronomical method and its application to the chronology of Ancient India" respectively. Another book which will be useful to the students of the early history of India is the "Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilisation" by Dr. D. C. Sarkar. Another work which has recently come out and will be of use to the student of Indian History is B. V. Krishna Rao's "Successors of the Sātavahana." Lastly I should mention the valuable work by Dr. P. C. Chakravarti on the "Art of War in Ancient India". The author has gone through an enormous mass of materials and

has brought out a most interesting work bearing on the history of India. In conclusion I draw the attention of scholars to the Journal of Andhra History and Culture which has been recently published from Guntur.

Various groups in this rapidly growing school of Indian History are now trying to compile a critical and comprehensive history of India. But before this task can be adequately performed, the school must produce scholars who are properly equipped to tackle the problems of the Indus Valley Civilisation which appears to be so intimately connected with the cultures of the valleys of the Euphrates and of the Nile. Though the ancient history of the Near East forms a part of the syllabus of studies in some Indian Universities, the teaching and the study of this subject have been, so far, mainly from secondary publications. India has not yet produced any Egyptologists or Assyriologists of repute. Secondly we have very few scholars amongst us who can efficiently deal with the primary sources of Indian History and Culture which lie scattered and under the bowels of the earth in Central Asia, Tibet, China, Japan, Annam, Cambodia, Java, Sumatra, Thailand and the Malayan Peninsula. I am familiar with the work done by the "Greater Indian Society" and the record of the activities of Indian scholars like Drs. R. C. Majumdar, B. R. Chatterji, P. C. Bagchi, K. D. Nag, S. N. Sen (Nepal), U. N. Ghosal, N. R. Ray, Swami Sadananda and Prof. N. K. Sastri, but we must admit that we have made comparatively little progress in the study of this glorious chapter in the spread of Indian civilization in the various parts of Asia. Within India we must adopt a far more active policy of exploration and scientific excavation before we can solve many difficult problems of Indian History. Search for Mss. in India and in the various border lands should be organized on a regional basis and controlled by a central organization like the All-India Oriental Conference. The sudden discovery of a Ms. like that of the *Artha-śāstra* of Kauṭilya can make a big difference to our present knowledge of India's past. The creation of a sub-committee by the Hyderabad session of this Conference to collect Mss. and other materials for Historical, Ethnological and Art studies in Nepal was, I think, a move in the right direction. The work of revising and bringing up to date Aufrecht's *Catalogus Catalogorum* should be expedited. There should be much more co-operation between the Archæological Department of the Government of India and the various Indian States and the Indian Universities and other learned bodies in the field of History and Archæology. The relations which at present

exist between the University of Calcutta and the Archæological Survey of India mark a beginning in this direction. But I plead for a more forward policy of active co-operation on an all-India basis. The Archæological Department should try to train University men and other willing workers in scientific excavations and archæological work so that the search for the sources of Indian History might be carried on far more vigorously than is possible at present. The Archæological Department should also, with more assistants from the Universities and other learned bodies, try to place before the public Corpuses of inscriptions on regional and chronological basis. The work of the Archæological Department in this direction at present is much too slow. The absence of such corpuses of inscriptions and omnibus Catalogues of Mss. acts as a serious brake on the round of activities of the students of the history of this vast subcontinent.

Another problem which confronts the compilers of a critical history of India is the introduction of that objective outlook on the evaluation of the various sources which alone leads to the deduction of right conclusions from them. It is undoubtedly a fact that a proper Indian history is still a desideratum. Foreigners have often consciously or unconsciously drawn wrong conclusions from Indian historical data. I think we should be on our guard against the introduction of what is sometimes wrongly understood to be a "national outlook". This might lead us unconsciously to convert History into more propaganda. We cannot do better than constantly follow the ideal of the Kashmirian historian Kalhaṇa :

> "*Slāghyaḥ sa eva guṇavān rāgadveṣavahiṣkṛtā*
> *bhūtārthakathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvatī*".

In our approach to Indian historical problems we must be entirely free from love or hate. We must not be swayed even a fraction of an inch from truth by any bias of family, caste, colour, religion or nation. The success of our proposed history of India will largely depend upon the realization of this ideal. We must avoid in our writings all effusiveness of style and introduce a healthy note of caution. Our language should exactly convey an impression of the strength or weakness of the data on which our conclusions are based. All sentimental matter must be strictly eschewed.

Another problem which confronts the writer of a critical history of India is the division of Indian History into suitable periods. History from certain points of view is like the mighty river Ganges. The sources of this sacred river are lost in the

mysterious and impenetrable heights of the snow-capped Himalayas while it flows unceasingly into the "eternal seas". The beginnings of human history in India are also shrouded in myth and mystery while it flows continuously into the depths of *eternally receding tomorrows*. This dynamic character of history must be recognised in all our attempts to divide Indian history into well-marked divisions. Historical facts must constantly move forward in a chronological order. The usual division of Indian History into three communal compartments viz. (i) Hindu, (ii) Muslim, and (iii) Christian or British not only smacks of communalism but is also unscientific and goes against the above-mentioned fundamental characteristics of History. The "Hindu period" is often brought down to 1206 A.D. while the so-called "Muslim period" is said to have started from c. 711 A.D. and to have terminated in the 18th or the 19th century. The "Christian or the British period" is said to have begun from 1498 A.D. when Akbar had not yet ascended the throne ! Following European examples we have been also dividing Indian History into (i) Ancient, (ii) Mediaeval and (iii) Modern. But as in Europe, the attempt to divide Indian History on these lines has led to controversies. In Europe some would begin the modern period with the Renaissance or the discovery of America, or the Reformation, some with the French Revolution, while others might suggest the age of Lenin as really ushering in the modern epoch of European history. Similarly in Indian History some accept the death of Harṣa as the beginning of the mediaeval period in Indian history. Others think 711 A.D., the date of the conquest of the lower Indus valley by the Arabs, is the date which marks the beginning of medieaval age in India. A third group suggests that the mediaeval period begins with the rise of the Turks on the Indian frontier in the middle of the 10th century A.D. A better plan of division would be to accept a chronological scheme of division in which each period is marked by some outstanding cultural or political event. I suggest the following scheme of division for the contemplated critical history of India.

(i) *Introductory :* Geography : Peoples and Languages : Palæolithic, Neolithic, Chalcolithic and early Iron age (Pre-Dravidian, Dravidian & Indus Valley Civilization).

(ii) *Indo-Aryans and their civilization :* Early period—Age of the Ṛgveda (c. 2000 B. C. to 1500 B. C.) ; Later period—the Age of the Later *Samhitās* and the *Brāhmaṇas* (c. 1500-600 B.C.).

(iii) *Post-Brāhmaṇa period up to the rise of the Mauryas :* The age of the *Upaniṣads* and the *Vedāṅgas :*

Rise of the protestant Religions—Buddhism, Jainism, Ājivikism, etc., Rise of Magadha.

(iv) *Magadhan Imperialism* (c. 321 B.C. to 28 B.C.).

(v) *Scytho-Sātavāhana period* (c. 28 B.C. to 300 A.D.).

(vi) *Revival of Magadhan Imperialism* (c. 300 A.D. to 600 A.D.).

(vii) *Imperialism of Kanauj* (c. 600 to 1206 A.D.).

(viii) *Imperialism of Delhi under the Turks and Afghans* (c. 1206-1526).

(ix) *Imperialism of the House of Bābur* (c. 1526 to 1803 A.D.).

(x) *Imperialism of the British* (c. 1803-1945 A.D.).

An important branch of study which the Indian school of Indology has up till now failed to tackle properly is Historical Geography. As early as 1918 A.D. the University of Calcutta recognised its importance and introduced its teaching in the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture. But even after the lapse of 25 years a comprehensive work on Indian Historical Geography from the earliest times down to the modern age is still a desideratum. Such a work should note the fluctuations in the boundaries of the various areas indicated by geographical terms in different ages. Epigraphic materials should be utilized along with literary sources in the preparation of the work. By supplying maps on a chronological basis such a work will remove one of the chief difficulties of Indian historical studies. A comparison with the historical maps available for British, European and American history will at once convince us of the urgent need of a comprehensive work on this subject. During the last two years however some amount of work has been done by Indian scholars on Historical Geography. Dr. S. M. H. Nainar has produced a work on 'the Arab Geographers' knowledge of South India'. Dr. A. N. Bose has written on the "Oldest Indo-Aryan Cities" while Dr. D. C. Sircar has given an account of some 46 countries of India and also of the border lands. Dr. Bhattasali has supplied us with an interesting account of the "River Deltas of Bengal", while Dr. H. C. Raychoudhury has discussed identification and other kindred problems in connection with the river "Sarasvatī."

Much work has already been done on the social, administrative and economic history of India during the last 50 years and more. But a comprehensive survey of the whole of India from each and all of these aspects based on a thorough examination of archæological and literary sources has not yet

been undertaken by any scholar in India. It is needless to say that without such works on cultural history real India cannot be properly understood.

The intimate relationship of History and Ethnology has been grasped only in recent times. Many problems of history cannot be properly solved without the assistance of this science. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the University of Calcutta and some other Indian Universities should have made provision for the study of this important branch of knowledge. Dr. J. H. Hutton has supplied us in his Census Reports of 1931 with some very valuable ethnological data. But it is high time that the Government of India undertook a properly conducted scientific Ethnological survey of the peoples of India. The last survey of this nature was completed by Sir Herbert Risley in 1901.

During the last two years some important and interesting contributions have been made by Indian scholars on Indian Ethnological topics. Prof. H. C. Chakladar and Mr. N. K. Bose are carrying on investigations on the pre-historic conditions of Bengal and the Mayurbhanj State. Mr. T. Padmanabhachari has contributed an interesting article on the games, sports and pastimes of pre-historic India, while Mr. K. K. Sen has studied some aspects of the Megalithic monuments of the Cochin state. Messrs. A. K. Mitra and B. K. Chatterjee have studied the blood group distribution of the Bengalis and have compared them with those of other Indian races. Dr. P. C. Biswas has investigated the finger and the palm prints of the Bengalis while Dr. R. N. Bose has worked on the Anthropometry and the blood types of the Kāyasthas of Bengal. Mr. M. B. Bhaduri has made a survey of the aboriginal tribes of the Udaipur state. Mr. Sitapati has written on the religious rites, festivals and magical ceremonies of the Soras and has compared them with those of the Oraons, Birhors, Mundas and other tribes of the central belt of India. Dr. D. N. Majumdar and Mr. Sudhir Ranjan Das are making a special study of the Hos of Chotanagpur. Mr. K. P. Chattopadhaya has investigated Vedic kinship and Dharma worship in Bengal. Many valuable contributions on Indian Ethnology have also been made by Indian scholars in the volume of essays on Anthropology presented in 1942 to Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Ray.

The position of India in the domain of folklore is unique. Perhaps no country in the world is so rich in folklore. But unfortunately no attempt has been made to make a comprehensive survey of folklore in modern India, Some attempt,

I understand, is being made to organize a Folklore Society in India. A few articles have also been published by Indian students with reference to various aspects of Indian folklore. Mr. N. Chowdhury has made some comments on the Sun as a folk God. Mr. S. C. Mitra has given us some notes on ghost lore from the Jalpaiguri district of Bengal, and on the folk worship of the river Tista by the Nepalese. Folk songs from Andhra and Malwa have been collected by D. Satyarthi and Dr. G. Pradhan. The March (1943) issue of "Man in India" contains a valuable collection of materials on tribal folklore in India.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I now bring my remarks to a close. History, Geography, Ethnology and Folklore are extensive fields and they seem to be discrete. But they have one common aim—the pursuit of truth; they all severally and collectively supply us with keys with which we can unlock the domain of truth about India's past. But as the Vedic *Ṛṣi* Aghamarṣaṇa rightly says:

Ṛtaṁca satyaṁcābhīdhāttapaso' dhyajāyata.

[Truth (of thought) and truthfulness (of speech) were born of arduous austerity and penance].

Before we attain our goal we must all of us perform arduous *tapas*. Labourers in the fields and fellow-pilgrims as we all are, we must work together for the truthful reconstruction of the past history of our motherland forgetting all differences of caste and creed. Forgetting the things that separate us, let us press forward towards the goal. Let us take a leaf out of the book of an ancient Vedic singer who implores us in the following strain :—

"*Samānā va ākūtiḥ samānā hṛdayāni vaḥ*
Samānamastu vo mano yathā vaḥ susahāsati."

"Common be your intention; common be the wishes of your hearts; common be your thoughts, so that there may be thorough union among you." (Ṛgveda, X. 191. 4).

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: ANTHROPOLOGY AND ARCHÆOLOGY.

By

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Commenting on the pre-historic and proto-historic remains of India, Coggin Brown remarks that these primitive remains such as the dolmens, cromlechs, kistvæns and stone circles are of the same style as those found in Central Africa and parts of Western Asia, Europe, etc. This fact seems to establish the prevalence of a common culture and burial customs in India and the said countries. Though in the time of Bruce Foote and Brown no instances of primitive monuments common to India and the Far East were known, attention was drawn by me in about 1940 to the discovery in French Indo-China of the burial-urns of the character found in South India. This further fact seems to prove that a common culture prevailed both in India and the Far East at an early period. These common features are evidences of racial and cultural contacts between India and the neighbouring countries both in the East and the West. While such is the inference to be drawn from the Archæological remains, evidences are not wanting in literature and tradition to establish the fact of such contacts between India and the rest of the world.

A few of these evidences are noticed in the sequel and these go to prove the existence of Indo-Egyptian and Indo-Iranian contacts from very early times. Certain plants are supposed to have been introduced into Egypt from Asia in very early times. 'From Asia, Man has brought at different times wheat, barley, the olive, the apple, the white or pink almond, and twenty other species now acclamatised on the banks of the Nile. The plant tamarisk called in Egyptian 'asari' and 'asri' has the same name given to it in the Semitic languages, both ancient and modern. This would suggest the question whether the tamarisk did not originally come from Asia. In that case it must have been brought into Egypt in remote antiquity, for it figures in the Pyramid texts. Bricks of the Nile mud and the Memphitic and Theban tombs have yielded us twigs and even whole branches of the tamarisk'.

Professor Maspero says that the origin of the name of the river Nile is uncertain. He says that 'the least likely etymology is still that which derives Neilos from the Hebrew *nakr*, a river, or Nakhal a torrent.' He also notices Groff's derivation of the word from Ne-ialu, the branches of the Nile in the delta. The professor does not appear to have considered the possibility of the intimate connection that exists between the name 'Nile' and its significance to the ancient Egyptians and the Greeks. Lempriere in his *Classical Dictionary* states that the river got the name from Nilus, the ancient king of Thebos, who gave the name to the river which had been previously called Aegyptus. Professor Rawlinson says that the word Nile in Egyptian means 'deep-blue.' The true origin of the name seems to be in the Sanskrit word 'Nīla' which must have been pronounced and understood in Egyptian as in Samskrit. We also know that the river is in a part of its course called by the redundant name 'Blue Nile'. This must have been the characteristic name of the whole river.

This is not the sole example of Sanskritic origin being traceable for Egyptian names. The names 'Aegyptus' by which the Nile was originally called and 'Aegyptu' the name of the inhabitants of Egypt evidently appear to have come from the Sanskrit word 'aja' which means a 'goat.' The word is traceable as the nucleus of several classical names. Jupiter was denoted by the surname 'Aegiochus' because he was brought up by a 'goat', called Amalthea, and used goatskin as his shield in the war of the Titans. Pan, the classical god of shepherds who resided in Arcadia, was also known by the name 'Aegypran' because he had goat's feet. It is interesting to recall here the Puranic name Ajaikapād. The town on the Corinthian coast where Jupiter is said to have been fed by a goat was called 'Aegium.' The name of the Thracian town 'Aegos Potamus' means 'the goat's river.' The name Macedonia is derived from two words which mean 'the valley of the goat.' This word is probably a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Meshadrona.' The classical town of Aedessa was given the surname 'Aegeas' by the Macedonian king Caranus who took it by following goats. The modern Archipelago, that part of the Mediterranean which divides Greece from Asia Minor, was called 'Aegium Mare' in classical geography from the number of islands which it contains, which appear above the sea like goats (aiges). In the expression 'Cucupha-headed sceptre', which is applied to the staff of the Egyptian Pharaoh and which is considered a misnomer, we find the Sanskrit word 'kukkubha' which denotes a kind of bird. Maspero notes that 'from

ancient evidence we know that *cucupha* was a bird, perhaps the hoopoe.'

The ancient Egyptians refer to a mysterious fluid called 'Sa', which was circulated throughout the members of the gods of Egypt and carried with it health, vigour and life. They were not all equally charged with it; some had more others had less, their energies being proportionate to the amount which they contained. This 'sa' very probably corresponds to the Amṛita of the Hindu Devas. In Sanskrit also the word 'sa' signifies the 'amṛita' (ambrosia).

The Hindu Puranic idea is that the earliest Hindu monarchs of the Sūryavaṁśa were descendants of the Sun. This has a parallel in Egyptian mythology and tradition that the Pharaohs were blood-relations of the Sun-god (Ra), through the father and others through the mother. In Hindu mythology we have the kings of the Somavaṁśa who descended from Soma and his son Budha and who were blood-relations of Sūrya on their mother's side, for Budha married Ilā, the daughter of Manu Vaivasvata, who was the son of Vivasvān, the Sun. Again the Egyptian name 'Ra' applied to the Sun is etymologically derived from the root 'ra' which means 'to give'. It is worth observing that in Samskrit the root 'rā' means 'to give.' In Egyptian mythology the Sun is considered to be the Divine face, i.e., God Horus while the Moon was believed to be the left eye of the God. We should compare this belief with the Hindu belief embodied in the saying '*Candra-Sūryau cha netre.*' A stele or seal reproduced on page 1 of Maspero's '*Dawn of Civilisation*' represents a bearded old-looking person lying in a half-reclined posture with the trunk of his body resting on his left arm. He reclines on the body of a crocodile. He wears only an under-garment which looks very much like the Hindu *dhoti*. From near his waist (perhaps from his navel) rises up a wavy creeper and at the top of it is a human figure in a seated posture. Does this not suggest a strong and close parallel, despite its variations, to the figure of Nārāyaṇa reclining on a serpent with Brahmā shown seated on a lotus emerging from his navel? As regards the dress of the main figure in the stele, let me draw attention to the figure of Zeus (Jupiter), reproduced in *Classic Myth and Legend*, whose dress is typical of the Hindu orthodox *dhoti*. This suggests strong cultural and possibly racial affinity between the ancient Hindus and the Greeks.

Among the Pharaohs of the Fifth dynasty of Ancient Egypt is mentioned one by name Usirniri Anu whose reign is

placed between the years 3900 and 3875 B.C. This name shows a remarkable correspondence to the name of the Purāṇic king Uśīnara of the family of Anu. Anu is probably the ancestor of a branch of the Somavaṁśa to which Uśīnara belonged. The descendants of the Egyptian king Usirniri Anu claimed for their previous generations matrimonial alliances with the daughters of the Solar race. The Purāṇas inform us that the Somavaṁśa kings were the descendants of Budha and his wife Ilā, a princess of the Vaivasvata (Solar) line. The names of three other Egyptian Pharaohs, viz., Usirtasen I, Usirtasen II and Uristasen III, strongly remind us of the Purāṇic Ārshṭiṣeṇa who is referred to as a *rājarṣhi*. From Maspero we learn that the Egyptian king Usirtasen III was ranked among the Pharaohs that had civilised the country and so had received divine honours even during his life-time. He was placed 'in triads' and temples were raised to him.

The Egyptian king Usirtasen III is stated to have humbled the Kush and conquered the tribes of Alaka and Turasu among others. Professor Maspero thinks these names outlandish from the standpoint of ancient Egyptian geography and finds it hard to locate them. It may be suggested here on this very ground that the names are outlandish, that Alaka may be identified with the Himalayan town Alakā, the capital of Kubera and Turāsu must be the same as the Puranic Turvasu line.

The Purāṇas mention among the several early tribes, the Garuḍas in expressions like Yaksha-Garuḍo-Varga, etc. We are apt to take the Garuḍas as some imaginary tribe not having tangible entity or existence on this globe. This is an entirely mistaken idea since we have definite archæological evidence to establish the existence of an early community which we can safely identify with the Garuḍas. At Jebelet El Beda in Mesopotamia are the oldest monumental stone images in the world wearing flounced skirts and bearing bird-beak faces. These faces exhibit analogies to the most archaic Sumerian sculptures. The latter are, however, only small representations on cylinders or in small statuettes. But the Jebelet El Beda figures are amazingly gigantic images. Their bird-beak faces are exactly the same as in the terracotta statuettes discovered by Sir Leonard Woolley in the lowest stratum beneath the Sumerian level (*Ill. Lond. News.*, March 1, 1930). This type of face was therefore native to Southern Mesopotamia—a feature of the very oldest original stratum and not a characteristic of the Sumerian. Baron Max Von Oppenheim who observes these features opines that the enormous noses of the Sub-Aryan Hittite people correspond more to these faces than

to the Sumerian ones. This fact confirms the Hindu tradition assigning these and other early Puranic tribes to the same Sub-Deva category; (Cf. *Amarakoṣa;* Piśācho Guhyakas-Siddho Bhutomī Deva-yonayaḥ). Oppenheim ascribes the Jebelet images to the fourth millennium before Christ (*Ill. Lond. News.*, 1931, May 16). We can very well therefore recognise not only the historicity but also the great antiquity of the Sub-Deva communities mentioned in the Purāṇas.

Coming to Archæology in India it must be observed that until recent years discoveries of importance were mostly matters of chance. The surveys carried out by General Cunningham and his colleagues and successors in the North and by Burgess and his colleagues and successors in the South, though well organised, were productive only of chance important discoveries. But recently it has been possible in the South to suggest and discover and explore pre-historic and proto-historic sites and remains on the strength of place-names and other data. Well-planned exploration could locate such remains definitely and with a fair amount of certitude. The indications in place-names are really varied and several and they could very profitably be utilised by an intelligent archæologist. It was evidently on this account that experienced antiquarians and archæologists in Europe and especially in Great Britain have instituted a scheme for the collection of data relating to place-names from all over the country. No detail is to be missed in recording the details as furnished by folk-lore and tradition. The data are to cover the hills, lakes, mounds, forts, valleys, etc. Such a scheme is a very great desideratum for India and we should plan to have an exhaustive record of this nature for our vast sub-continent. The Government departments, local bodies and learned societies must all co-operate in the compilation of this record, which would be a useful guide to the contemporary and future antiquarian and archæologist.

In the Himalayan regions we have places called Dakhtol, Rakhastol, etc. The first of these must evidently be connected with the Puranic Dakṣa, one of the Prjāpatis. Rakhastol is suggestive of Rākshasa associations. The exploration of these places and similar ones must bring to light some very early remains. Similarly in the South, especially in the Telugu country, we have remains called Rākshasa-guḷḷu, Rākshasa-gūḷḷu, Rākāśi-guṭṭalu, applied to dolmens, cromlechs, cairns, etc. and to hillocks containing pre-historic remains. An exhaustive list of these would be useful in determining the traditional tract of the Rākshasa tribes and exploration of these remains should yield data regarding these and other primitive communities.

So too the exploration of sites connected with the name of the Pāṇḍavas must yield some remains to justify their association with their name. Here lies a vast and fruitful field for co-operative research and study by the anthropologist and the archæologist. The excavations of the latter must provide material for the study of the former.

I shall now go on to the other category of pre-historic sites in South India connected with name 'Vāli'. This is a very fascinating and suggestive name for the exploration of early sites in the Tamil country. Forests containing prehistoric burial sites are known as Vāliyan-kāḍu, the dolmens are called Vāliyan-vīḍu, Vāliyan-kūṇḍu, Vāliyan-kuḻi, etc. Besides these, wherever you find the Vālīśvara temples; you are sure to find primitive urn-burials in their vicinity. And I am glad to announce here my very recent discovery of a Vālīśvara temple in Mylapore (San Thome), a suburb of Madras. The temple is not of any pretentious architectural style, but the surroundings and the huge tank in its front suggest an important and prosperous past for it. I am almost certain that in the vicinity of the temple we are sure to find urn-burials and other primitive vestiges, if a careful exploration is made. It is moreover significant that the temple is within the limits of Mylapore, which is very famous in early Tamil literature under the name 'Mailārpil'.

From my explorations in the Tamil country I am now in a position to postulate the existence of such remains in association with all Vālīśvara temples. From out of this class of Vālīśvara temples floats up a unique and solitary instance of a Sugrīveśvara temple at Sarcar-Periyapalem in the Coimbatore district. Enquiries show that in the neighbourhood of this village urn-burials were dug up some years back. The temple as it now stands is medieval in style and architecture, but the name of the god is given in its inscriptions as 'Kurakku-taḷi-Nāyanār,' i.e., the Lord of the temple of the monkey (*kurakku*). This traditional origin of the temple is illustrated in relief sculpture on the main beam of the Mahāmanḍapa of the temple showing a Śivalinga under a sacred tree and a monkey going down on its fours in front of the *linga* in an attitude of adoration. It must be noted in this connection that several primitive burial sites in the Pudukkottai region are known as 'Kurakkup-paḍai' and 'Kurakku-paṭṭaḍai', i.e., 'the lying-place of the monkeys'. In addition to these examples we have interesting instances of place-names connected with the monkey in the Tamil country. Villages like Kuranganimuṭṭam, Vānara-muṭṭi, etc., have necessarily to be connected with the settlements

of monkey-like aborginal tribes. We seem to have had, ethnically speaking, a Vānara period in the social evolution of South India, especially, the Tamil land. Attention may now be drawn to the instance of a *Vānara-datti* mentioned in an inscription at Nadendla in the Guntur District. The Village Nonchinipāḍu is herein referred to as an original Vānara-datti. While on this topic I have to bring in the several categories of *dattis* finding mention in South Indian inscriptions. Mostly these occur in the epigraphs of the Kannaḍa and Telugu countries and are variously termed as 'Hariśchandra-datti'. 'Rāma-datti', 'Lakshmaṇa-datti', 'Janamejaya-datti', etc., so far as Puranic associations go, and some as 'Chālukya-Chakreśvara-datti' for historical times. For the antiquarians these *dattis* are of value for purposes of exploration as the terms suggest very early antiquity for these places. The appellation occurs in connection with the terms Agrahāra, Mahāgrahāra, Anādy-agrahāra, etc.

There is another indication of the existence of primitive relics in the place-names of the Tamil country. Villages bearing the prefix 'kḻī' (meaning east or low) in their names are always found to posses early remains. A still another class of village-names suggesting early and pre-historic associations in the Andhra, Tamil and Kannada countries is those containing the prefixes, 'Ara', 'Āra', 'Ari', 'Aru', etc. I venture to call the above categories as my axioms for the archæological exploration of the South. And by close study I think it will be possible to evolve a scheme or formula for tracing the early sites of North India also. If Sir John Marshall has left us a *Conservation Manual* we must try to compile an *Exploration Manual* for the country. The task will be of great interest and is well worth an intelligent attempt on our part.

THE CALL OF THE HILLS.

Hills and hillocks have had a special appeal to the religious recluse from early times. Almost all the early cave-temples in India, whether Buddhist, Jaina or Brahmanical, testify to the existence of this sentiment from time immemorial. But I must draw attention to a peculiar feature in South India and to my knowledge not observed in the North. This relates to the class of natural caverns turned into permanent habitations or temporary resorts for religious purposes. Buddhist and Jaina monks repaired to these places for purposes of abstract meditation and pious devotees made these caverns habitable by fashioning beds with pillow lofts, smoothened out in the surface-rock of the caverns and securing the interior of the caverns from the trickling rain water by cutting a drip-line

in the facade of the cavern. These are accompanied in several cases by inscriptions recording the names of the donors but sometimes not. The epigraphs are mostly in the Brāhmī characters of the Mauryan period. Till very recent years such caverns were known and believed to exist only in the Tamil country. But in the year 1937 I discovered such a cavern in the heart of the Telugu country, i.e., at Mālekoṇḍa *alias* Mālyādri in the Kandukur taluk of the Nellore District. This is so far the unique instance of a cavern with the drip-line and a Brāhmī inscription in Mauryan characters, in the Telugu land and its discovery has tempted us to look for links between the caverns of the Tamil country and this of the Telugu country. Luckily our recent explorations have brought to light caverns with beds but no inscriptions near Nagari in the Chittoor District.

Another group of such caverns with drip-line but no epigraphs was also discovered by me in 1937 in the hill called Siddhulakoṇḍa near Saidapuram, a village in the Rapur taluk of the Nellore District. As the crow flies this hill is about seventy miles from the Mālyādri hill on the south and the geological formation of the hill-rock in both cases is so identical that they may be called sister-hills. The Siddhulakoṇḍa caverns are definitely Jaina in character as is established by the early Jaina images installed in them and even now worshipped ignorantly under some Śaivite name by Jangamadevas.

From my observations in the Tamil country the sequence of religious and social settlements in this region was as follows :—

1. The period of pre-historic urn-burials, dolmens, cromlechs, etc.,
2. the period of natural caverns overlapping No. 1,
3. the period of rock-cut temples with deities installed in them, and
4. the period of structural temples.

The above-mentioned sequence has been established by the remains and monuments of Vīraśikhāmaṇi in the Ramnad District, Tirupparankunram in the Madura District, Trichinopoly in the Trichinopoly District, Kuḍumiyamalai and Ammāchtram in the Pudukkottai State and Māmandūr near Conjeeveram in the Chingleput District. It is not unlikely that early caverns may yet be found in the vicinity of the rock-cut temples at Pallāvaram, and Tirukkaḷukkunram in the Chingleput District and similar other centres in the Madras Presidency. There is a very great scope for intelligent exploration in this respect in the Tamil and Telugu districts. Hills bearing names with

prefixes such as Deva, Siddha, Brahma. etc. in the fastnesses of the Kurnool and Chittoor districts should yield primitive remains. So too hills and hillocks connected with name of Añjanā (the mother of the monkey-god Hanumān) in Coorg Province and the Kannada and Konkan countries call for thorough exploration for pre-historic remains. In connection with the name of Mālyādri of the Nellore District referred to above I must draw attention to the existence of a hill called Mālyavanta in the Anantapur district near which are found several dolmens, cromlechs and other primitive remains. Again Maski, the site of an Asokan edict, has recently been explored by Mr. Yazdani and has yielded several pre-historic remains. So too Maskanhal in the Bijapur district, which boasts of a pre-historic site called 'Morimaṭṭinahaṇi' and connected with Moriyas (Mauryas) in local tradition must yield interesting primitive relics. It is a matter for regret that even though the site was discovered and reported on by me nearly fourteen years back, the Archæological Department has not yet given any attention to this promising and interesting site. Another site in the South which deserves further exploration is Adichchanallūr in the Tinnevelly District. Sir Leonard Woolley who inspected the site in the year 1939 thought that there were two distinct areas here, viz., one to the south of the road leading to Tiruchchendur from Tinnevelly and the other to the north of the same road abutting on the Tāmraparṇī river. The latter contains a temple of Pāṇḍyarāja at the top of the hillock and Sir Leonard thought that the area was the Early Iron Age Settlement, to which the area on the south served as a cemetery. After his inspection, at his special request, I explored the northern site and found that contrary to his expectation this site also was a vast cemetery. Even on the surface I noticed burial-urns of the type found already in the Adchchanallur area. It therefore remains for us to explore and locate the Iron Age Settlement referred to by Woolley.

The Great Desideratum of the South

So far back as 1908 the late Rai Bahadur Venkayya suggested the revision of Robert Sewell's *List of Antiquarian Remains of the Madras Presidency*. But owing to his sudden demise in 1911 the task was never taken up and still remains unfulfilled. Since the publication of Sewell's *Lists* a full Jupiter's cycle of sixty years has rolled by. It therefore behoves us to undertake this task and see to its completion. The intervening period, has been fruitful in the yield of interesting remains both in Archæology and Epigraphy.

Archæology in India, is, in my opinion. still in its infancy and calls for a great effort with sympathetic interest, to nurture and foster it. Before closing I call for this benediction on Indian Archæology in the words of the Vedic Ṛshi :—

'Śāntir-astu Tuṣṭir-astu Puṣṭir-astu Avighnam-astu'.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: LINGUISTIC SECTION

By

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To preside over the section of Philology and Indian Linguisitcs is an honour which I fully appreciate: but you will pardon me if I say that the choice in this case is neither happy nor wise. The Chair has been occupied before me by far renowned scholars who have, by their specialised knowledge and eminent contribution, attained well deserved reputation, and it would be futile for me to emulate them. For some years I have been occupied with other branches of study, which left me little leisure for any real work in the difficult and exacting sphere of purely linguisitc research; but I must say that my deep interest in philological studies has never flagged, and I believe I can make a modest claim that my own specialised studies, particularly those connected with the Mahābhārata work, was never entirely divorced from linguistics. Most of you have, however, devoted long years of patient labour exclusively to philological work, and I can hardly pretend that I can tell you anything further than what you know so well; on the contrary, I hope to learn a great deal from you. At the same time, I feel that as an onlooker in this great field, as one who stands a little outside the narrow group of specialists, I possess a certain advantage. I can bring to it a somewhat detached mind, and perhaps offer to you some personal observations, which may be of common interest, on the subject of Linguistics in general and Indian Linguistics in particular.

But before I proceed, I have to refer to a melancholy incident which is undoubtedly a matter of sorrow to all of us. It is exceedingly sad to miss here today the kindly and dignified figure of Vishnu Sitaram Sukthankar, whose brilliant scholarly career was suddenly cut off by the hand of cruel death at a time when he had attained the maturity of his powers. Quiet and unassuming, he was a man of versatile gifts and charming manners. He was not only our Pathikṛt in the tangled complexities of Mahābhāratá studies, but he was also a great scholar who vindicated, by a high standard of workmanship, the prestige of Indian scholarship in the eyes of the world. We all know what genuine interest he took in linguistic studies. He was twice elected President of this section, once at Mysore in 193

and again at Tirupati in 1940, a rare distinction which not many scholars have enjoyed. As a pupil of Professor Lüders of Berlin, he was trained in the severest school of scholarship; and his work, though left unfinished, will stand as a marvel of gigantic toil and philological accuracy. I had the privilege of knowing him intimately since 1926, and of working with him in close collaboration for five years, every day of which enhanced my appreciation of his many-sided scholarship and genial personality. That the way of research is not exactly the way of roses would have been clear to any one who had seen this silent scholar working, day after day, cheerfully through seventeen long years, with strenuous application, patient devotedness and enthusiastic singleness of purpose, from which nothing could ever divert him.

In the volume on the *Progress of Indic Studies 1917-1942*, published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute only last year in January 1942, on the occasion of its Silver Jubilee celebration, my friend Suniti Kumar Chatterji gave an able and authoritative review of notable work in Indian Linguistics during the last twenty-five years. He has thereby lightened the task of review customarily imposed upon the Section President on this occasion. It is also not necessary for me to trace in detail the history or trend of linguistic studies in India and abroad for the last seventy years since its first start in 1872; for I find that some of my predecessors have, more or less, dealt with this aspect of the subject. But I may be permitted to note and emphasise certain outstanding features in the development of linguistic research in India, and dwell upon some of its deficiencies, needs and handicaps.

In 1872 there appeared simultaneously three pioneer works, namely, Beames' *Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan Languages* (second and third volumes in 1875 and 1879), Trumpp's *Sindhi Grammar* and Platts' *Grammar of the Hindustani or Urdu Language*, which, as you know, made the first start in India of the study of the forms of individual New Indo-Aryan Languages. Then came a generation of brilliant scholars, Caldwell and Kittel, Vinson and Skrefsrud, in whose works the study of the languages of the Dravidian and Kol-Muṇḍā families became broad-based; and it led on to a more systematic and comprehensive examination of Indian linguistic questions in the hands of Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, A. Rudolf Höernle, S. H. Kellog and George Abraham Grierson. But while these scholars were busy applying the principles of the newly developed science of Philology to stages and aspects of Indian languages, the school of Brugmann and the Jung-

grammatikar and that of Meillet in France were establishing a new line of research in the comparative grammar of the greater Indo-European family of languages.

Thus, the foundation of linguistic studies in India was truly and firmly laid, but the progress was slow and recognition still slower. It was not until 1912 that Philology was given an independent place in the programme of University education, and not until 1914 that a Professor of Comparative Philology was appointed in India. The credit of doing all these for the first time goes to the University of Calcutta. But with the exception of stray works, papers and monographs on some special lexical and morphological aspects of Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, nothing serious was achieved for some time by Indian scholars. In the meantime, Pischel and Geiger were studying the Middle Indo-Aryan Prakrit and Pali, and Wackernagel had begun his elaborate work on Old Indo-Aryan grammar, while in India the short-lived Italian scholar, L. P. Tessitori, was writing his brilliant notes on Old Western Rajsthani and Grierson was carrying on his vast scheme of a linguistic survey of India. Then came Jules Bloch of Paris with his study of the formation of Marathi and Ralph Lilley Turner with his studies in modern Indian languages, especially Nepali. It is not necessary to go in detail into this old history, which is undoubtedly familiar to you ; but I refer to it to show the original trend, as well as the variety of interests, which marked linguistic research in India, and to indicate that the work was determined and guided by these great scholars, who had been our pathfinders and who had been, directly or indirectly, the Gurus of the present generation of Indian philologists.

But it is significant that from the beginning hardly any great contribution came from Indian scholars in the field of Indo-European linguistics, as distinguished from Indo-Aryan. Perhaps the circumstances peculiar to India made this quite natural, and almost inevitable. For intensive work in this much wider sphere, the Indian scholar lacked equipment, training, tradition, opportunity and inducement, in fact, everything which makes real research possible. An intimate and comprehensive acquaintance with the ancient Indo-European languages and their history was difficult, and systematic training unavailable, while a working knowledge of German and French, in which most of the researches done in this field, is enshrined, was also a necessity. The original initiative to linguistic studies in this country did not also incline towards this direction, and the urge was not felt deeply. In spite of these handicaps, however, there have been just a few workers in Indo-European

in recent times, like Batakrishna Ghosh of Calcutta who had the best of philological training in Germany and France as well as in India, and C. R. Sankāran, some of whose articles on Indo-European problems deserve notice. In one direction, however, even in this non-Indian sphere, a section of Indian scholars have taken interest, namely, in the earlier phases of Iranian, in Pahlavi and Avestan, in which Parsi scholars like Dhalla, Unvala, Tavadia and Taraporewala have signalised themselves. But it is a matter of regret that outside the Parsi group, there has been only solitary and scattered interest in Iranian studies taken by Indian workers in general, although Iranian studies can by no means be ignored by the student of Old Indo-Aryan.

Perhaps the amount of general research in Middle Indo-Aryan, especially the Prakrits, has been much greater, although one would regret that specialised or scientific studies are still not much in evidence. While Pali studies, even if not side-tracked, have not yet progressed much in India, the pre-eminence of Gujarat and Maharastra in some aspects of Prakrit studies has been due to the living presence of Jainism; but one should not be deemed hypercritical when one feels the lack of strict application of philological methods. The Prakrits have indeed been deeply studied with reference to the grammatical schools of Vararuci, Hemacandra, Caṇḍa and others, but here again the historical and comparative work of L. Nitti Dolci on the Prakrit grammarians is far outstanding. It has, however, been made quite plausible by Hillebrandt and Manomohan Ghosh that too great reliance on the grammarians to the exclusion of the direct testimony of authentic manuscripts would not give us a correct estimate of the Middle Indo-Aryan forms as such. With the exception of the very valuable work done by P. L. Vaidya, Hiralal Jain, A. N. Upadhye and others, it cannot be said that there is no scarcity of reliable editions of Prakrit and Apabhraṁśa texts. Notwithstanding the example and inspiration of European critical edition of texts, textual criticism as such is little understood in India and less applied; and the tendency has been either to amend, or to select what is called the *best* readings, and not the *most authentic* readings. The time is still distant when it would be possible either to check and supplement Pischel's *Grammatik* or to think of compiling a complete scientific dictionary of Prakrit; but then, even in the sphere of Sanskrit where there is no dearth of works or workers, Böhtlingk and Roth's *Wörterbuch* has not yet been brought up to date since the publication of its last volume in 1875!

There are inherent difficulties also for research work in the Tibeto-Burman or the Indian Kol-Muṇḍā languages of the Austric family, and nothing serious appears to have been achieved by Indian workers in these subjects. It is a pity to think that we have little room or even encouragement for these studies in India, although there is plenty of materials in these almost unexplored fields. Although there is a long tradition of the study of Arabic in this country, it is sad to reflect that the work of Indian scholars in this sphere has not yet come up to the exacting scientific standard from the linguistic point of view. But what is more distressing to realise is that there appears to exist as much lack of interest in Semetic studies on the part of Hindus as there is on the part of Muslims in India for Sanskritic studies. The same is partially true of Iranian and Persian studies; but the attitude is perhaps more apparent in the case of the great Dravidian family of languages. Although the Dravidian speakers of the South, through the common medium of Sanskrit, perhaps take some interest in the Indo-Aryan languages of the North, they have no means nor inducement for proper study; and it is regrettable to realise that we in Northern India have similarly no proper facilities to know the Southern Dravidian speeches. The exclusiveness is perhaps a creation of circumstances, and not intentional; but Research Societies, as well as Universities, should devise means to remove the handicaps which lead to such reciprocal lack of interest.

It is not surprising, therefore, from what I have indicated that the present generation of Indian philologists, like their predecessors in India, have concentrated themselves chiefly on the New Indo-Aryan, on an intensive study of the modern languages of the North, as well as partially on the current Dravidian languages of the South. Grierson's monumental *Linguistic Survey* digests and classifies a mass of materials, clarifies the main problems and lays down bare and broad outlines, but it suffers from the defects common to all Government compilations made according to time-honoured routine; and it certainly does not exhaust the possibilities of specialised investigation of individual languages and dialects of the four great families of languages in India. Here is perhaps the proper field for Indian scholarship, and here it has certainly local advantages peculiar to itself. The modern Indian languages have found rather tardy recognition in the Universities, but outside the Universities, the ever growing national consciousness has brought into existence learned societies to foster them, such as the Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā, the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pari-

sad, the Gujarat Vernacular Society, the Tamil Sangham and similar other institutions. The need for a scientific investition has been more deeply and intimately felt, and the opportunity of applying the newly acquired methods and principles of linguistic study and observation has been realised. The result has been a systematic attempt to examine the main Indian languages and their dialects in their descriptive, comparative or historical perspective, and to effect a real advance upon the pioneer efforts of Trumpp, Bhandarkar and Tessitori, Caldwell, Kittel and Gundert.

It would be worth while, therefore, if we pause for a while and take stock of our net achievement in this direction for the last two decades. Such a review would show that even if the amount of work is not extensive, it is certainly not discouraging. Apart from isolated individual workers, we have now different centres of research crystallising themselves in different parts of the country. At Calcutta, for instances, mainly under the enthusiastic and inspiring guidance of S. K. Chatterji, his pupils and associates are establishing a tradition of sound philological work, which has already resulted in the publication of several remarkable books and monographs. Apart from the continuous and systematic works of Sukumar Sen on Indo-Aryan Syntax, on Iranian and Sanskrit, on Bengali language and literature, we have highly interesting studies on Prakrit and an edition of the *Karpūramañjarī* by Manomohan Ghosh ; on Noakhali Bengali by Gopal Haldar ; on the Mymensing dialect of Bengali by Krishnapada Goswami ; on Bhojpuri by Udaya Narayan Tiwari ; on Maithili by Subhadra Jha ; on the Phonetics and Phonology of Kumaoni by Hari Sankar Joshi ; and on Assamese by Banikanta Kakati ; while at Dacca, besides some work on English and Sanskrit Philology, Muhammad Shahidullah has published studies on the text of the proto-Bengali Buddhist Caryāpadas, in which connexion the contribution of Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of Calcutta on the same subject should also be mentioned. At Lahore, the passing away of A. C. Woolner perhaps brought a set back in philological studies, but we have a series of works on Nirukta by Lakshman Sarup ; on Vedic studies by Visvabandhu Sastri and his associates ; on Punjabi by Banarsi Das Jain ; on ancient Indian Phonetics, Lahndi and Kashmiri speeches (including the enigmatic Burushaski) by Siddheswar Varma ; as well as a variety of interesting work by Gauri Sankar, Suryakanta, Paramanda Bahl, Tej Ram Khajuria, and the versatile and indefatigable Raghu Vira. In South India, we have two chief centres at Mysore and at Madras. The first journal of Phonetics

was published by the Mysore University; and one must mention the Linguistic Survey of Mysore, the work on Old Kanarese Inscriptions by A. N. Narasimhia of the Mysore University and the Vedic Studies of Venkata Subbia. Under the inspiration of Mark Collins, Madras has been for a long time the centre of research in Dravidian linguistics; and in this connexion one should mention the three parts of Madras University Dravidic Studies, as well as the works on Tamil-Telugu Linguistics and Dravidian culture generally by K. Ramakrishnayya, K. Amrita Rao, Nilkantha Sastri, Ramachandra Dikshitar and others. Among individual workers in the South, one must not omit mentioning the work of L. V. Ramaswami Ayyar of Ernaculam (Cochin) on Malayālam and S. Mohiuddin Quadri of Hyderabad-Deccan on Dakni Hindustani.

At Allahabad, we have the works of Baburam Saksena on Awadhi and of Dhirendra Varma on Brajbhākhā; and let us hope that the newly started Ganganatha Jha Research Institute, the first issue of whose journal is just published, will supply the needed impetus for organised work at this centre. In Orissa, a start had been made some time ago in the right direction; and it is a matter of congratulation that Gopal Chandra Praharaj of Cuttack has now been able to complete his quadrilingual Oḍiyā dictionary in seven big volumes. One must regret, however, that the Government of Orissa did not think it fit to grant a literary pension in recognition of his twenty years' devoted service for his mother tongue. At Poona, where linguistic studies have always found favour, the foundation of the Deccan College Research Institute, under the able and resourceful directorship of Sumitra Mangesh Katre, promises to make systematic and organised attempt at purely linguistic work regarding the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages of India, and to include in its scope phonetic recording, preparation of grammar, intensive study of vocabulary, dialectology, and even the making of dialect atlases. Apart from Katre's own contribution on the Konkani dialect, the several volumes of its Bulletin and monographs already published, especially E. D. Kulkarni's painstaking study of the verbs of movement in the Adi-parvan of the Mahābhārata and M. A. Mehendale's grammar of the Prakrit Inscriptions, are indeed noteworthy contributions, which raise high expectations regarding this new Institute.

With limited knowledge and limited time at my disposal, I have not been able to make anything more than bare, and perhaps imperfect, recital; but even this rapid and cursory survey will show that it is not a bad record of the linguistic

work of some two decades. It is true that India offers very rich and diversified linguistic materials, and perhaps one would expect greater and more substantial contribution from Indian workers; but it should not be forgotten that to produce mature and enduring results in the field of linguistics often takes long years of patient and devoted toil, and it would be foolish to force marches with scholarship. At the same time, one must frankly confess that, compared with the achievement of Modern India in, say, Mathematics or Physics, its linguistic achievement, in extent, importance, duration, and persistence of effort, and also in the standard of workmanship, falls far lower in the scale. It is not entirely the fault of the workers that this is so; for even today the study has to make its headway against enormous odds, known only to workers in the field. It is sad indeed to reflect that earnest workers are so few when the field is so vast and rich. Not that every one is fitted or possesses the special aptitude, but it is remarkable that only a very inconsiderable fraction of the students who pass out of the Indian Universities every year ever think seriously of linguistic research. Those who frame University courses of study do not yet realise that the science of language forms the firm basis of the study of the various languages, English, Sanskrit, Prakrit, Pali, Arabic, Persian or the modern Indian speeches, which they seek to teach; and it is astonishing that the large majority of Indian Universities do not make adequate provision for it. It is not understood that the mere knowledge of a language or the cramming of grammars and lexicons alone will not enable one to apprehend and appreciate its inner mechanism, its history and development, its fundamental principles of expression. In order that the linguistic science may come within the orbit of wider popular understanding, and not be confined to a small group of learned men and specialists, one would suggest, not vulgarisation, but popularisation of the study, along with the continuation of specialised technical research.

In this connexion attention should be drawn to one small point of practical importance. Those who teach the subject always feel the need of standard text-books or books of an introductory character, written in English and adapted to the needs of our students in India. The works of Gune and Taraporewala had, until they were out of print, partly met this demand, but there is still room for more comprehensive treatises. While teaching the subject, for instance, I have myself often noticed the almost entire lack of knowledge of our students about general questions relating to Indo-European, for the

authoritative German and French works on the subject are either inaccessible to them, or too extensive and abstruse. Coming to particular aspects of Indo-Aryan, we find that suitable text-books in English are also needed. Batakrishna Ghosh has recently given us an authorised and excellent translation of Gieger's well known work on Pali ; but I have always felt that Wackernagel's *Altindische Grammatik*, or even Pischel's *Prakrit Grammatik*, though now somewhat out of date but still valuable for its rich mass of material, should have been translated into English for the benefit of Indian students. Katre suggests the preparation of a series of grammatical manuals of the major Modern Indian Languages on the lines of the *Indo-Germanische Bibliothek*, and his scheme for organised effort in this direction is certainly worth serious consideration.

It is well known to you that regarding serious research work, there are many lines of investigation, large and small, which have not yet been properly taken upon by Indian scholars. I cannot dwell here upon detailed or specialised problems, but I can briefly touch upon certain broad and general questions, for which there are facilities for work in India. The Vedic and Iranian studies, especially on the linguistic side, have been mainly the gift of European scholars, but here, as also in Pali and Prakrit studies, much yet remains to be accomplished. Critical editions, according to modern standards of textual criticism and philological principles, form another essential desideratum. Another important line of work is suggested by the problem of Comparative Indo-Aryan and Dravidian linguistics, started by Kittel and Gundert, as well as by the question of Indo-Aryan and Austric linguistic and cultural contacts, on which Jean Przyluski has already published some brilliant studies. R. L. Turner has given us a list of nearly five hundred "Indo-European Reconstructions" in relation to words of uncertain or obscure, and presumably non-Indo-European, origin ; but few Indian scholars have yet taken upon this problem for serious consideration ; and until all this is accomplished, the Indian linguistic problems cannot be finally and satisfactorily solved.

Even with regard to Modern Indian languages as such, only preliminary and tentative work appears to have been so far done. The learned volumes, for instance, of Jules Bloch or Suniti Chatterji do not say the last word on Marathi or Bengali ; and this is amply shown by the detailed work on the Konkani dialect by Katre and on the various Bengali dialects by Chatterji's own pupils. The vast wealth of dialectological materials still remains unexplored, and Bloch himself referred

to this fact fifteen years ago in his Furlong Lectures. But investigation in dialectology requires special training and strenuous field-work, while the tendency generally has been to become comfortable arm-chair philologists. For practical work, a proper training in practical Phonetics is also essential as an equipment; but facilities for such training are meagre in India. Lahore first started the study of Experimental Phonetics, and now Mysore and Poona appear to have taken it up; let us hope that ampler provision will now be made to meet adequately the needs of a vast country like India. For a modern language or dialect, Grammar, Etymology or Lexicography, which are aids to Linguistic Science, can never be completely studied until the rich dialectological material is also utilised. For older classical languages, I need only draw your attention to the method outlined by Katre in his suggestive paper on a Thesaurus. Linguae Sanscritae.

Let me not be misunderstood when I say that our efforts so far, under great difficulties, have been quite laudable, but they are not yet adequate, nor do they permit indulgence in complacement optimism. You may legitimately say that it is all very well to criticise, and suggest that this or that thing should be done, but it is quite another case when one comes to the actual working out of a practical scheme. I humbly admit this, and only request this learned body of experts to devise adequate ways and means. I have one or two suggestions in this connexion which may not be out of place. The first is to make every effort to turn the Linguistic Society of India into a more live and active body. It was established at Lahore in 1928, and its headquarters were transferred to Calcutta in 1937; but since its membership is limited and resources small, it had been holding its meeting once in two years under the wings of this Conference, and had been rather languishing for want of wider support. In spite of its chequered and difficult existence, one notes with pleasure that it has succeeded in completing seven volumes of its Bulletin. But the Society, as Katre justly remarks, has not yet been able to formulate any definite practicable scheme, nor boldly tackled the question of organised effort, in which our Universities and Research Institutes might be induced to participate, and which should aim at co-ordinating isolated and scattered efforts of individual workers. I certainly appreciate the difficulties in a country like India, but at the same time I believe that it is the only body of experts who can effectively take the initiative. Some of the Universities, no doubt, have their own modest plans and efforts which have in most cases been successful,

but these necessarily limited attempts can never serve the larger purpose of more extensive and comprehensive schemes. On the other hand, an established institution like the Deccan College Research Institute which, though in its infancy, has funds, resources and enthusiasm of its young Director at its disposal, and which takes Linguistics as one of its prime interests, can perhaps lend its active support towards the successful working out of such schemes. It is also up to this Oriental Conference to do what it can ; for it has, ever since its inception in 1919, recognised Philology and Indian Linguistics as one or more of their sections and has provided a common meeting ground for workers in Indian languages and linguistics. The Conference has not yet taken upon itself responsibilities of such a character in all its implications, but if this is not possible, it can certainly supply an impetus and lend its weight of authority.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS: TECHNICAL SCIENCES

By

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GENTLEMEN,

To the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad (Deccan) in December, 1941, I offer my best thanks for having done me a great honour by electing me President of the Technical Sciences Section of the Twelfth All-India Oriental Conference. It is with a mixed feeling of pleasure and apprehension that I have accepted the situation—pleasure at the idea of a possible meeting of other researchers in my own field of work as also those brilliant men who have won great renown by their researches in other branches of Oriental Learning--and apprehension at the idea of my own limitations both physical and intellectual. There are indeed many branches of Technical Sciences in Oriental Learning and a modern Varāhamihira alone with encyclopædic education could do full justice to the responsibilities of the situation which I have been elected to occupy. In these days even in Orientalia, encyclopædic research is possible, if at all, for but few gifted persons. I shall accordingly confine my address only to the special branches of Hindu Mathematics, Hindu Astronomy and a new science which I should like to call Ancient Indian chronology treated astronomically.

HINDU MATHEMATICS

In Hindu Mathematics, the earliest researcher was Colebrooke whose work is now regarded as a classic in this subject. This work presented to the European scholars the whole content of Hindu Mathematics as contained in Bhāskara II's works, the *Līlāvatī* and the *Bījaganita* and the mathematical chapters of the *Brāhma-Sphuṭa Siddhānta*. Dr. Kern brought out his edition of the *Āryabhaṭīya* in 1874. Rodet translated and published one section, the *Gaṇita* of this work into French under the name "*Calcul du Āryabhaṭa*." Dr. Bühler published his work, *Indian Paleography* in the latter half of the last century. In this work he established from Subandhu's work dated about the sixth century A.D., the use of a symbol for a vacant notational place, viz., the cypher which was a dot in the poet's time

as evidenced by the expression, शून्यबिन्दवः or the *dots* to which the stars in the sky are compared. In the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.), the notational places are found mentioned as स्थान which means none else than "*place*." In this work are found the Indian rules for finding the square and cube roots of numbers, which show unmistakable use of notational places. The late Mr. Kaye, in his translation of the *Gaṇita* section of the *Āryabhaṭīya* used the word "Order" in place of Āryabhaṭa's word "*sthāna*", and he created quite a diversion by asserting that the Decimal System of Notation was not an invention of the Indian Mathematicians but had a foreign origin derived from the practice of writing from the right to the left which obtained there. This view of Kaye has been successfully combated by the researchers Dr. B. B. Dutt, Dr. A. N. Singh and late Prof. Sarada Kanta Ganguly.

From the field of Orientalia, the Decimal System of Notation is the greatest gift of the Hindu Mathematicians to humanity. After the conquest of Sind by Mohamad Ibn Kasim, it travelled to the old centre of Mohamadan culture at Baghdad and with the rise and spread of Mohamadan power over the world it spread over Europe. It has immensely simplified the art of calculation all over the world. In India this system was confined to the learned circles alone for some centuries even after the time of Āryabhaṭa I, till it found a place also in Indian Epigraphy. Dr. B. B. Dutt published his *Science of Sulva* in 1932, in which we find that the beginnings of many topics in the later Hindu Mathematics, had been made in the *Sulva* period, i.e., about 600 B.C. In the solution of Indeterminate Equations of the first and second degrees, the achievements of the Hindu mathematicians is also very remarkable. The method employed in solving Indeterminate Equations of the first degree is called "*Kuṭṭaka*" or pulveriser. This method in the complete form is found in the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.), while in Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.) we have a full treatment of all classes of Indeterminate Equations of the first degree. The lemma of Brahmagupta (628 A.D.), called by him *Vajrabadha* was rediscovered by Euler (1707-1783) and this method is used by Brahmagupta in solving Indeterminate Equations of the second degree, also by the later Hindu Mathematicians in solving comparatively easier problems. The Indian method of चक्रवाल or the "cyclic method" for the general solution of all Indeterminate Equations of the second degree follows as a corollary[1]

[1] P. C. Sengupta "Origin of the Indian Cyclic Method for the solution of $Nx^2+1=y^2$" in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, 1918.

to the lemma of Brahmagupta. To whom the credit of its invention which is purely Indian, is to be ascribed has yet remained a riddle to many. The rules are found in Bhāskara II's work the *Bījagaṇita*, but the author lays no claim to originality, when he says चक्रवालमिदं जगुः "this has been sung (by others) as the cyclic rule." Thus far it can be said that the rules have not yet been found in any hitherto known previous authors. I hope that further researches may show that this achievement is to be ascribed to Padmanābha, if his work be ever brought to light. It is now a matter for research if it was also the Hindus who first used a symbolical notation in Algebra.

In Trigonometry, the Hindu mathematicians and astronomers used generally the functions of "sine", "cosine" and "versed sine" in analysis. The tabular differences of 24 "sines" in a quadrant are first found given in the *Āryabhaṭīya* (499 A.D.) calculated by the most elementary methods. The most accurate Hindu Value of π is also found in the same work as given $=\frac{104\times 8+62000}{20000}=3.1416$. The Hindus by their methods, though very elementary, could solve both plane and spherical triangles,[1] right angled and of other classes. Further in Hindu Mathematics we find the beginnings made of the Infinitesimal calculus. The researchers in this field have been Bāpudeva in *J.A.S.B.* 1858 and Sir B. N. Seal in his "*Positive Sciences of the Hindus.*" I have also contributed a paper in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XXII, 1931, styled "Infinitesimal Calculus in Indian Mathematics and Astronomy." The idea of Differentiation developed from an attempt of the Hindu astronomers to find the instantaneous daily motion of planets, and the idea of Integration, to find the surface and volume of a sphere, etc. So far as we can see, in Differentiation the idea of limits was recognised by all authors from Brahmagupta (628 A.D.) to Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.). The idea of the real Differential Calculus thus seems to have originated in India. We have in Bhāskara II an equation which is equivalent to—

$$d(\sin\theta)=\cos\theta d\theta$$

While engaged in translating Brahmagupta's *Khanda-khādyaka*, the *Alarkand* or *Khanḍakaṭaka* of the Arab astronomers, I came across a passage which properly interpreted, makes it clear that Brahmagupta recommends the use of the Second Difference in Interpolation. On this topic a paper was published by me in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathe-*

[1] P. C. Sengupta, "Greek and Hindu Methods in Spherical Astronomy" in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XXI, 1931.

matical Society, vol. XXIII, 3, 1931. It will be clear from my paper under reference that of the Calculus of Finite Differences also, the first step was taken by the Hindu Mathematicians.

Drs. Dutt and Singh have undertaken to publish a complete anthology of Hindu Mathematics, of which up to now the first two volumes have been published, and the third volume will be published, I trust, when the times are more favourable. These volumes, it is expected, will give the reader a complete history of Hindu Mathematics and all researches thereon up-to-date. If such a private venture is to prove successful, liberal help from the public or a university is perhaps essential. From the very nature of such publications, the venture cannot be remunerative.

In this connection we should not forget to mention the name of Prof. Rangacharya, M.A. of Madras, the translator and publisher of the *Gaṇita-Sāra-Saṁgraha* of Mahāvīra. The work has thrown much light on Jaina Mathematics and has been of much help in the study of the history of Hindu Mathematics. The researches of Prof. A. A. Krishnaswami Ayyangar, M.A., of the Maharaja's College, Mysore, also deserve mention. I now pass on to the progress made in the study of the history of

Hindu Astronomy.

In this branch of Orientalia, the earliest writers were Bailly in his *Astronomie Indienne* and Delambre in his classical work *Astronomie Ancienne*. Next in point of time was probably Bentley whose work, "A Historical view of Hindu Astronomy", is well known. Then came the edition of the *Sūrya Siddhānta* by Bāpudeva and Wilkinson. Warren's *Kāla Saṁkalita* was perhaps next to appear in this field of research. In 1860 was published Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, in the *JAOS*. A more important work from the view point of the history of Hindu astronomy next appeared in the publication by Thibaut and Dvivedi of Varāha's *Panca-Siddhāntikā*, which threw much more light on the history of the *Siddhāntic* or scientific Hindu astronomy. About the end of the last century appeared the *Ganaka Taraṁginī* (1892) of Dvivedi in Sanskrit, Dīkṣita's *Bhāratīya Jyotiḥ-śāstra* (1896) in Marāṭhī and *Āmāder Jyotiṣa o Jyotiṣī* in Bengali by Prof. J. C. Ray, M.A., late of the Cuttack College, being mainly based on the works of Dvivedi and Dīkṣita. These works should all have been written either in Sanskrit or English and not in any of the provincial vernaculars.

In the year 1918, Ancient Indian History and Culture was accepted as a subject for the M.A. degree of the Calcutta University at the instance of the late Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee, and Indian Astronomy and Mathematics was formed into a group for special study for this final degree of the University. From this date both teaching and research were provided for in the Calcutta University. In 1925 appeared an edition by Pandit Babuaji Miśra of the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* of Brahmagupta with Āmarāja's Commentary. This publication led me to get at the clear position of Āryabhaṭa I as the real maker of the Indian scientific astronomy in a publication of mine, "Āryabhaṭa the Father of Indian Epicyclic Astronomy", published in the Calcutta University *Journal of Letters*, vol. XVIII, 1928. The other publications by me have been the papers :—

(*a*) A Translation of the *Āryabhāṭīya* in the Calcutta Univ. *Journal of Letters*, vol. XVI, 1927 ; (*b*) *Āryabhaṭa's* method of determining the mean motions of planets, in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, vol. XII, 3 ; (*c*) Time by Altitude in Hindu Astronomy and (*d*) Hindu Luni-solar Astronomy, also in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society* in vols. XVIII & XXIV respectively. The Introduction to the Calcutta University reprint of Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, published in 1935, has been my last published contribution to the History of Hindu Astronomy.

As to the Hindu *Siddhāntic* astronomy, foreign influence is unquestionable as may be seen from the brief and meagre account of Greek Luni-solar Astronomy under the name *Romaka Siddhānta*, given in the *Panca-Siddhāntikā* of Varāhamihira. The *Vaśiṣṭha* and the *Pauliśa Siddhāntas*, of which a summary is given in the same work of Varāhamihira, also point to a foreign origin which may be Greek or Babylonian. Even the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* has in it the unmistakable influence of Babylonian astronomy in its conception of the gods of *Manda*, *Śighra* and *Pāta*, as producers of planetary inequalities. Further, the tradition that it bears is, that it was of *Asura* or Babylonian origin.

In spite of all these foreign influences *Āryabhaṭa* I (499 A.D.) the real maker of the Indian Scientific Astronomy shows great originality in a thorough revision of all the astronomical constants as they came from the foreign sources. These have been set forth in my paper "Hindu Luni-solar Astronomy" and in my Introduction to the Calcutta Univ. reprint of Burgess' Translation of the *Sūrya Siddhānta*. The chief improvements made by Āryabhaṭa are given in the following tabular form :—

Astronomical constants	Aryabhata 499 A.D.	Ptolemy 150 A.D.	Moderns 500 A.D.	Aryabhata's Error	Difference from Ptolemy
Longitude of Sun's Apogee	78°	65°30′	77°19′	+0°41′	+ 12°30
Sun's maximum .Equation of Apsis	2°9	2°30	1°59	+0°10′	— 0°18
Sid· per. of Moon's Node	6794.7495 da.	6796.4558 da.	6793.3911 da.	1.3584 da.	— 1.7063 da.
Long. of the Aphelia of					
(a) Saturn	236°	224°10	243°40	— 7°40′	+ 11°50
(b) Jupiter	180°	152°9	170°22	+ 9°38′	+ 27°51
(c) Mars	118°	106°40	128°28	—10°28′	+ 11°20
Long. of Nodes of					
(a) Saturn	100°	90°	100°32	— 0°32′	+ 10°
(b) Jupiter	80°	70°	85°13	— 5°13′	+ 10°
(c) Mars	40°	30°	37°49	+ 2°21′	+ 10°
(d) Venus	60°	55°	63°16	— 3°16′	+ 50°
(e) Mercury	20°	10°	30°35	—10°35′	+ 10°
Max. Equation of Apsis					
(a) Saturn	7°53	6°30	6°57	+ 1°4′	+ 1°23
(b) Jupiter	5°24	5°14	5°16	+ 0°8′	+ 0°10
(c) Mars	11°28	11°19	10°33	+ 0°55′	+ 0°9

Here the differences between the constants of Āryabhaṭa I and Ptolemy cannot be explained by the precession rate of Ptolemy of 1° per 100 years in the cases of the longitudes of aphelia and nodes of planets, while in the remaining cases independent determination by Āryabhaṭa I must be conceded. These facts ought to be enough proof of the claim for Āryabhaṭa I being held as the greatest of all the ancient Indian astronomers, as the real maker of the Indian *Siddhāntic* Astronomy, and not a mere borrower from any foreign system of astronomy.

Again the teaching in Hindu Astronomy that at starting point of the *Kali*-reckoning, the "mean planets" were at the very beginning of the Hindu sphere and that the longitudes of the moon's apogee and node were respectively 90° and 180° of the same sphere, is also to be ascribed to Āryabhaṭa I. The epoch of *Kali*-reckoning, viz., Feb. 17-18, 3102 B.C., Ujjayini Mean Time, 0 hr. or 6 A.M. of Feb. 18, was most likely arrived at by him by an Indeterminate Analysis. Although at this epoch the "mean planets" did not exactly coincide with the

1st point of the Hindu sphere (the mean vernal equinox of 21st March, 499 A.D.) and the lunar apogee and the node did not have the longitudes 90° and 180° of it, there was something approaching a general agreement with the hypothesis with which Āryabhaṭa I had started. This is borne out by the researches of Bailly, Bentley, Burgess and also by those of myself. It is thus seen that the *Kali*-reckoning was an astronomical fiction invented by Āryabhaṭa I to simplify his rules for stating his astronomical constants at this epoch. *It is also clear from the facts stated above that this epoch of 3102 B.C. cannot have any chronological significance.*

But as we come down by 3600 years from this Kali epoch to Āryabhaṭa's time using his constants, to the date, March 21, 499 A.D. Ujjayinī Mean Midday, (J.D. = 1903397), we have :—

Planet	Aryabhata's Mean Long. Audayika	Mean Trop. Longitudes Moderns	Error in Aryabhata's Mean longs.	Aryabhata's True Longitude	Moderns True Longitudes	Error in Aryabhata's True Places
Sun	0°0′ 0	359°42 5	+17′55″—	2°6′ 6″	1°37′ 48″	+0°28′ 18″
Moon	280°48 0	280°24 52	+23′ 8″—	— — —	— — —	— — —
Moon's Apogee	35°42 0	35°24 38	+17′22″—	—	— — —	— —
Moon's Node	352°12 0	352° 2 26	+ 9′34″—	— —	— —	— — —
Mercury	186° 0 0*	183° 9 51	+ 2°50″ 9*	352° 4′	349° 4′	+3°0′ [1]
Venus	356°24 0	356° 7 51	+ 0°16′ 9″	359°43′	359°18′	+0°25′
Mars	7°12 0	6°52 45	+0°19′ 15″	10°50	10°23′	+0°27′
Jupiter	187°12 0	187°10 47	+0° 1′ 13″	185°57′	186°40′	−0°47′
Saturn	49°12 0	48°21 13	+0°50′ 47″	40° 5′	40°56′	−0°51′

The above figures show to some extent how far Āryabhaṭa I was accurate as an observer.

Again Āryabhaṭa's year = 365da. 6hrs. 12min. 30secs.
and True Sid. year = 365da. 6hrs. 9min. 10secs.

His year was thus in error by about + 3min. 20secs. But the *Pauliśa Siddhānta* year $= \frac{43831}{120}$ days = 365da. 6hrs. 12min., which was more accurate but still Āryabhaṭa I perhaps did not find it to have been so. He did not accept any astronomical element transmitted from a foreign source as correct until and unless it was verified by his own observation or observation records accessible to him.

[1] Maximum error in Āryabhaṭa.

As to the discovery of lunar inequalities, Āryabhaṭa I (499 A.D.), Brahmagupta (628 A.D.) and Lalla (748 A.D.), recognised only one. But on coming down to the time of Muñjāla (932 A.D.) we find that this astronomer first discovered the second inequality of the Moon[1] and Bhāskara II (1150 A.D.) the third inequality. The Hindu form of the "evection" equation is much better than that of Ptolemy and stands on par with that of Copernicus (1473-1543).

The other details of Hindu astronomy chiefly concerned with the Hindu astronomical methods of calculation, were improved upon and corrected by Brahmagupta and Bhāskara II. Periodical corrections to planetary positions as derived from the *Siddhāntas*, have been made by Lalla, Śrīpati, Bhāskara II, Ganeśa Satānanda and Makaranda and in Bengal by Raghavānanda. They have also derived simpler methods of calculation according to the *Siddhāntas*. The outstanding fact from all researches up to date is that the first Hindu scientific *Siddhānta The Āryabhaṭīya*, was started from the year 499 A.D. and by Āryabhaṭa I.

From the view point of the history of Hindu astronomy, there is a great gap from about 1400 B.C. to 499 A.D., which remains yet to be explored—I mean the period of transition from the astronomy of the *Vedāṁgas* to the age of the *Siddhāntas*. In this period lived the astronomers Garga, Kaśyapa, and others whose names and extracts from whose works are quoted by Bhaṭṭotpala (966 A.D.) in his commentary on the *Bṛhat Saṁhitā* of Varāhamihira. There are works like the *Vṛddha Garga Saṁhitā* still extant, which should be rescued from the total oblivion into which they are fast sinking. These astronomers described *cāras* or courses of planets of which we get some idea from the *Panca-Siddhāntikā*, chapter XVII and also from the *Arthaśāstra* of Kautilya. It is a very important point for research how far these *cāras* described in these earlier works, could have influenced the first formation of the scientific Hindu Astronomy by Āryabhaṭa I. I now pass on to another branch of study which has been lately encouraged by the Calcutta University—I mean the subject of

ANCIENT INDIAN CHRONOLOGY

This is a science the development of which would be most helpful in a clear understanding of all the branches of Oriental

[1] On this topic two papers have been published in the *Bulletin of the Calcutta Mathematical Society*, one in vol. XXII, 2 and 3 by Mr. Dhirendra Nath Mukhopadhyaya, and the other in vol. XXIV, 1, by me named "Hindu Luni-Solar Astronomy".

Learning. It would attempt at providing land-marks of dates in the unwritten Ancient Indian History which is yet to be explored and should be illuminated by astronomy and other sciences. The sequence of the works in the whole of Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature can only be ascertained by an intensive research carried on by the methods of chronology which have emerged from the basis of Astronomy specially. Those of us who possess some knowledge of Astronomy necessary for research in this line, would naturally base their findings on this science, which is the oldest as developed by man and is the most perfect of all the sciences. The astronomical constants ascertained up to date, are almost final, and may be taken as correct for all times past, present or future.

In spite of the high degree of perfection that this science of Astronomy has attained now, the handicaps are many to a researcher using the methods of this science. There may be (*a*) want of astronomical data, (*b*) injudicious selection of data and (*c*) no absolute fixing of the date even in the case of a most careful selection of data—the accurate date only possible when the anchorage of a correct tradition is reached, and finally (*d*) in some cases we may get, in our research, statements or time-references in a work which are more or less traditional and not quite true for the time deduced, when the work came into existence. In the midst of all these handicaps we may have another anchorage in a peculiar solar (or lunar) eclipse mentioned in a work which is being chronologically surveyed.

The pioneers in this study of astronomical chronology as applicable to Vedic literature, were our illustrious countryman the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and late Prof. H. Jacobi of Germany. Their works and the results arrived at by them are known to all. The followers of Linguistic methods of study disbelieved their findings. The study received a set back, but it is time that this should be revived.

It was in 1929, that I first published in the Calcutta Univ. *Journal of Letters*, vol. XIX, a paper named "Date of Composition of the Modern *Rāmāyaṇa*" in which it was shown that the present recension must be dated about the middle of the 5th Century A.D. I then published another paper on the "Date of Kalidāsa" in the Bengali Journal, the *Sāhitya Pariṣat Patrikā* in the Bengali year 1341 or 1934 A.D., in which my finding came out that the great Sanskrit poet flourished about the middle of the 6th century A.D.; this has been corroborated by my further researches. I next took up about the year 1932, the problem of finding the year of the

Bhārata Battle and in the year 1936 could arrive at the result that it was fought in 2449 B.C. My research was published in 1938, in a paper named "Some Astronomical References from the *Mahābhārata* and their Significance" in the *JRAS*, Bengal, Letters, vol. III, 1937. In 1939 were published in the same journal, vol. IV, 1938, by me the four following papers:

(1) *Bhārata* Battle Traditions,

(2) Solstice Days in *Vedic* Literature,

(3) *Madhu Vidyā* or Science of Spring,

(4) When Indra Became *Maghavan*.

These papers were noticed in "*Nature*" in its issue of Jan. 6, 1940. In the first of these four papers I established that, of the three traditions as to the Date of the Bhārata Battle, viz., (i) Āryabhaṭa tradition that it was fought in 3102 B.C., (ii) the Vṛddhagarga tradition that it was fought in —2526 of the Śaka era or 2449 B.C., and (iii) the Purāṇic tradition that the interval between the birth of Parīkṣit and the accession of Mahāpadma Nanda, was either 1015, 1115, 1050 or even 1500 years, both the traditions (i) & (iii) are incorrect and (ii) alone appears to be correct being corroborated by the *Mahābhārata* incidental references. The *Kali-yuga* of which the *Mahābhārata* speaks, was started truly from Jan. 10, 2454 B.C.—the *Māgha*-full-moon day which was the winter solstice day of the year. In the next paper I showed that the Vedic Hindus knew of a method for accurately finding the solstice day of either description, and from the statements of days of the winter solstice in the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā* (first quoted by Tilak in his *Orion*), I could arrive at the dates 3517 B.C., 2934 B.C. and 2378 B.C. Some other dates which I could find from other statements in the *Brāhmaṇas* and *Srauta Sūtras*, I have had to give up when I took them up for closer scrutiny later on: these I shall detail presently. From the third of these papers, I could arrive at the Vedic antiquity of 4000 B.C., and from the fourth I got the same antiquity at 4170 B.C. These two dates are practically the same.

I was much encouraged in my researches by Professor Dr. M. N. Saha, D.SC., F.R.S., and I applied to the Calcutta University for assistance in research work in ancient Indian chronology, out of the Trust Fund created by the late Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandi of Cossimbazar, for researches in Indian Astronomy and Mathematics. Our university chiefly through the influence of Dr. Syamaprasad Mookerjee, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., M.L.A., Bar-at-Law, President of the Councils of Post Graduate Teaching in Arts and Sciences, granted me

the facilities for research prayed for in my application. I had already retired from Govt. service in Jan. 1934, and could thus pay undivided attention to research work in this field. I published three papers more in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Letters, and one paper in "*Indian Culture*", viz.:

(1) "The Solar Eclipse in the *Ṛgveda* and the Date of Atri,"—*JRASBL*, VII, 1941

(2) "Time Indications in the *Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra*", *JRASBL*, VII, 1941.

(3) "Gupta Era" *JRASBL*, Vol. VIII, 1942

(4) "Kaniṣka's Era" in '*Indian Culture*', 1941.

The first of these papers was reviewed in "*Sky and Telescope*" vol. I, 5, March, 1942: Harvard College Observatory, Cambridge, Mass., under the caption "Eclipse of July 26, 3928 B.C." In this paper I showed that the eclipse spoken of in the *Ṛgveda*, which was seen by Atri, happened on a summer solstice day (in the period from 4000 B.C. to 2400 B.C.) and was finished in the fourth part of the day—observed from near a cave either in the Himalayas or the Karakoram range. The solar eclipse of July 26, 3928 B.C. was the unique solution of the problem. This gave me the third confirmation of the Vedic antiquity of about 4000 B.C. In the next paper, I examined the days for starting the *Rajasūya*, *Nakṣatreṣṭi* and the *Pancaśāradīya* sacrifices as given in the *Baudhāyana Srauta Sūtra*. Here the mean date came out as about the year 887-86 B.C. In the third paper on "Gupta Era", I verified from a set of eleven inscriptions using this era, that the Zero-year of this era was 319 A.D., and in times later than that of Āryabhaṭa I, in some of the above eleven inscriptions we have to take the zero year as 319-20 A.D. showing a change of the year beginning from the *Pauṣa Śuklādi* reckoning to that of the *Caitra Śuklādi* reckoning of Āryabhaṭa I. In the paper on "Kaniṣka's Era" my finding is that the regnal years of the king started most likely from 80 A.D., and that his real accession took place in 78 A.D., when king Kadaphisas II died.

By the middle of the year 1941, a complete work on Ancient Indian Chronology embodying my researches done at the instance of our university and all of my previous researches was submitted for publication, but owing to the war conditions which have produced a great shortage of paper, its publication is being delayed. I had no other alternative left to me but to announce the results only, of my researches on Vedic Antiquity and *Brāhmana* Chronology in the Bengali research journal

"*Srībhāratī*", as this came very handy. It would have been of course, far better, if I did this in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal.

The sum total of my findings as to the Vedic antiquity may be thus briefly stated. The superior limit which I got in my published papers, viz., of 4000 B.C., has received further confirmation from (1) my ascertaining the date about which Yama's two dogs, *Canis majoris* and *Canis minoris*, had equality in right ascension as interpreted and inferred from the Vedic references, (2) Our traditional day of Indra's victory over the *Asuras* or clouds, on which it was usual to hoist Indra's flag (*Indradhvaja*), the mean date for the festival being the 15th September, 1929 of our time, which was the summer solstice day at this superior age limit of the Vedic antiquity, and (3) the statement in the *Atharva Veda*, that the winter solstitial colure passed through *Aja Ekapāt* or α *Pegasi*, all of which were true for 4000 B.C. In the *Atharva Veda* and the *Ṛgveda* I found other three references which respectively led to the dates of (*a*) 3385 B.C. from the phenomenon of the heliacal rising of λ and ν *Scorpionis* (*Vicṛtau nāma tarake*) spoken of in the *Atharva Veda* and (*b*) 3250 B.C. from the legend of *Prajāpati* and *Rohiṇī* in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, while (*c*) the rising from the annual sleep of the Ṛbhus, twelve days after the beginning of the rains, on the first heliacal visibility of the star *Canis majoris* led me to the date 2760 B.C. The inferior limit to the Vedic antiquity I have accepted as the time of the *Pāṇḍavas*, is 2449 B.C., which is traditional, and is also supported by the Ṛgvedic references of a non-astronomical nature.

In the chronology of the *Brāhmaṇas* if it be permissible to include the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*, its date according to my finding is as stated already is a little later than that of the Pāṇḍavas, viz., about 2378 B.C. All the *Brāhmanas* and the *Śrauta Sūtras* do not give us time indications. The *Tāṇḍya* and the *Jiaminīya Brāhmaṇas*, have a time reference true for about 1600 B.C. The *Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa* is to be dated about 1000 B.C. The *Taittirīya* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇas*, the *Kātyāyana* and the *Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtras*, all say that spring begins with the Phalguni full-moon day. From such a statement the superior limit to the date when this was true is about 600 B.C. In the case of these two *Brāhmaṇas* the superior limit may be raised to about 900 B.C. but it is doubtful if this can be maintained. Finally the *Brāhmaṇas* which teach that the two "wings" of the year are equal and that 31 lunations $=2\frac{1}{2}$ years must be dated between 1500 to 1000 B.C.; about

1000 B.C. the sun's passage from the winter solstitice to the summer solstitice, took 185 days. $\{366 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ da. $= (365 \times 2 + 185)$ da.$\} = 915$ days$\}$.

In this field of ancient Indian chronology has appeared another book very lately by Dr. K. L. Daftari, D.Litt., of Nagpur of which the method and contents will, I hope, be discussed at this session of the All India Oriental Conference. Though published in 1942, the author seems to have been unaware of my publications in the *JRASB* Letters, before that date and bearing on the same topics.

As researchers we are all truth-seekers (*Satyadharma*) and I conclude with *Upanisadic* prayer :

हिरण्मयेन पात्रेण सत्यस्यापिहितं मुखम् ।
तत्त्वं पुषन्नपावृणु सत्यधर्माय दृष्टये ॥

"The face of Truth is hidden by a golden plate, O Puṣan, do thou remove that for the vision of us who are worshippers of Truth."

अध्यक्षीय भाषण

हिन्दी विभाग

रायबहादुर डॉक्टर श्यामसुन्दर दास, बनारस

सज्जनो,

यह बड़े आनन्द और संतोष की बात है कि कई वर्षों के अनंतर प्राच्य-विद्या सम्मेलन के काशी के अधिवेशन में हिन्दी विभाग का भी संघटन किया गया है। पहले पहल इस विभाग की स्थापना प्रयाग के द्वितीय अधिवेशन में हुई थी। उस समय इस विभाग के अध्यक्ष स्वर्गीय बाबू जगन्नाथ दास रत्नाकर थे। आज वह सुयोग फिर काशी को प्राप्त हो रहा है कि इस विभाग का आयोजन किया गया है। मैं आप लोगों का अत्यंत अनुगृहीत हूं कि आपने मुझे इसका अध्यक्ष चुन कर सम्मानित किया है। मेरा विचार कोई लंबी चौड़ी वक्तृता देने का नहीं है। मैं थोड़े में दो चार मुख्य मुख्य बातें उपस्थित करना चाहता हूँ।

हिन्दी साहित्य में इधर आशातीत उन्नति हुई है। एक समय वह था जब हिन्दी साहित्य बंगला, मराठी आदि उन्नत भाषाओं के साहित्य को अपना आदर्श मानकर उनका अनुकरण मात्र करने में यत्नशील था, पर आज ऐसी अवस्था है कि इसने स्वतंत्र मार्गपर चल कर अपने लिये वह सम्मानित स्थान प्राप्त कर लिया है जो इसके लिये उचित था। सब विषयों के ग्रंथ प्रचुर संख्या में निरंतर निकलते जा रहे हैं। हिन्दी का प्राचीन साहित्य इतना संपन्न और महत्वपूर्ण है कि किसी अन्य आधुनिक आर्यभाषा से उसकी समता नहीं की जा सकती। इस साहित्य का प्रचार तथा प्रसार केवल मध्य देश में ही नहीं रहा है, वरन आसाम, बंगाल, महाराष्ट्र और गुजरात तक में उसका पुराना भांडार मिलता है। इसके लिये हम विशेष ऋणी उन महात्मा भक्तजनों के हैं जिन्होंने अपने शान्त शीतल भक्ति भावोंको देश की इस व्यापक भाषा द्वारा प्रचुर परिमाण में प्रगट किया है। सच बात तो यह है कि प्राचीन काल में जैसे शौरसेनी प्राकृत और शौरसेनी अपभ्रंश की व्यापकता थी उसी प्रकार ब्रजभाषा भी समय पाकर देश भर में फैल गई और एक प्रकार से सर्वमान्य हुई।

आधुनिक काल में हमारे साहित्य निर्माताओं नें अपनी साहित्यिक कृतियों से हिन्दी साहित्य के भांडार को भरा और भर रहे हैं। पर खेद का विषय है कि इन विद्वानों ने अपनी भाषा के रहस्यों के उद्घाटन और उसके विकास की प्राचीन वास्तविक अवस्थाओं का पता लगाने की ओर अपेक्षाकृत बहुत कम ध्यान दिया है। भिन्न भिन्न विश्वविद्यालयों से डॉक्टरी की उपाधि के लिये विद्यार्थी जो विषय चुनते हैं वे भी प्रायः साहित्यिक ही होते हैं। मेरा कहने का यह तात्पर्य नहीं है कि साहित्यिक विषयों की उपेक्षा करनी चाहिए अथवा हिन्दी की इतनी अधिक छानबीन हो चुकी है कि अब आगे कुछ करने को नहीं रह गया है। साहित्य का संबंध उन भावों और विचारों से है जो भिन्न भिन्न समयों में देश में व्याप्त थे और जिनका प्रतिरुप तत्काल के साहित्य में मिलता है, पर भाषा का संबंध उन भावों और विचारों के प्रकट करने के ढंग से है। जैसे भाव और विचार सदा एक से नहीं रहते, उनमें समय समय पर काल की प्रकृति के अनुसार अनेक कारणों के संयोग से परिवर्तन होता रहता है, उसी प्रकार भावप्रकाशन के ढंग में भी साथ ही साथ, पर कुछ अन्तर के साथ, परिवर्तन होता रहता है। अतएव हमारा कर्तव्य होना चाहिए कि भिन्न-भिन्न कालों में भावों और विचारों के तथ्यों की जहाँ छानबीन करें वहाँ साथ ही भाषा सम्बन्धी तथ्यों की ओर भी ध्यान दें।

दूसरी बात जिस पर मैं आप लोगों का ध्यान विशेष रूप से आकर्षित करना चाहता हूँ वह यह है कि हमारे प्राचीन साहित्य की अब तक पूरी पूरी खोज नहीं हो पाई है। जिस प्रकार संवत् १८६८ में लाहोर के पंडित राधाकृष्ण के अनुरोध पर संस्कृत पुस्तकों की खोज का कार्य आरम्भ हुआ उसी प्रकार काशी नागरीप्रचारिणी सभा के तत्वाधीन हिन्दी पुस्तकों की खोज का आरम्भ सन् १९०० में ही हुआ था। इस कार्य में जितनी सफलता अब तक प्राप्त हुई है उससे यह अनुमान करना कदाचित् अनुचित न होगा कि इस प्रान्त के साथ अन्य प्रान्तों में भी, विशेष कर राजपूताने में पूरी पूरी खोज की जाय तो बहुत से प्राचीन ग्रन्थों, उनके रचयिताओं तथा ऐतिहासिक घटनाओं के बहुत कुछ वास्तविक तत्व का पता लग जायगा। राजपूताने के प्रायः प्रत्येक दरबार में हस्त-लिखित पुस्तकों का संग्रहालय है। इनके अतिरिक्त अनेक स्थानों में जैन संग्रहालय भी हैं जिनमें अमूल्य ग्रन्थों के होने की बहुत कुछ संभावना है। क्या यह खेद की बात नहीं है कि जिसको हम हिन्दी का आदि कवि मानते चले आते हैं उसकी रचना, 'पृथ्वीराज रासो', का प्रमाणिक रूप कैसा था इसका अब तक निश्चित रूप से पता न लगे। क्या वह उसी भाषा में लिखा गया जिसमें उसका प्रकाशन हुआ है, अथवा अपभ्रंश मिश्रित डिंगल के प्राचीन रूप में उसका निर्माण हुआ। यदि राजपूताने में खोज का काम चलाया जाता और सम्यक् रूप से पुस्तकों की जाँच की जाती तो इसका पता लग जाना कोई कठिन बात न होती। क्या आप कृपा कर विचार करेंगे कि इस सम्बन्ध में इस सम्मेलन का कुछ कर्तव्य है या नहीं। यदि प्राच्य विद्या सम्मेलन का काम प्राचीन शोध करना है तो उसे इस ओर भी अवश्य ध्यान देना चाहिए।

तीसरी बात जिसपर मैं आपका ध्यान दिलाना चाहता हूँ वह देवनागरी लिपि के संबंध में है। यह लिपि निर्विवाद रूप से संसार की सब लिपियों से उत्कृष्ट है। इसकी सबसे बड़ी विशेषता यह है कि इसकी ध्वनियों के सांकेतिक चिह्नों के नाम भी वही है जो उनकी सूचक ध्वनियों के। यह गुण संसार की किसी लिपि में नहीं है। फिर इनकी ध्वनियों का क्रम भी ऐसे वैज्ञानिक आधार पर निश्चित किया हुआ है कि वह आश्चर्य जनक रूप से भाषा विज्ञान के आधुनिक सिद्धांतो के सबसे निकट पहुँचता है। पर यह परिवर्तन का युग है और इस युग में परिवर्तन का ही बोलबाला है। परिवर्तन के आगे लोग इस बात पर कुछ भी विचार नहीं करते कि इस परिवर्तन से हमारे पूर्वजों द्वारा संचित अखिल निधि की कहाँ तक सुरक्षा और सुव्यवस्था होती है और कहाँ तक उसके क्रमशः नाश का सूत्रपात होता है। संसार की प्रायः समस्त भाषाओं में तीन मूल स्वर माने गए हैं वे अ, इ और उ हैं। हमारे वैयाकरणों ने भी यह माना है कि व्यंजनों के साथ जब स्वरों का संयोग होता है तब उनके सूचक संकेतों का भी निर्माण अथवा क्रमशः विकास होता है। पर परिवर्तनशीलता के अंधभक्तों नें हमारी स्वरसंकेत योजना में अद्भुत आविष्कार करने का उद्योग किया है। अ पूर्ण स्वर है, इस पर इ का या उ का सांकेतिक चिह्न लगा कर इ अि अथवा उ अु लिखने की प्रणाली का उपाहासास्पद प्रयास किया गया है। व्याकरण के अनुसार तो अ के साथ इ का संयोग होने से ए का उच्चारण होता है। फिर अ के साथ इ का संकेत जोड़ कर ह्रस्व इ बनाना क्या व्याकरण के सिद्धांतों पर अकारण कुठाराघात करना नहीं है। इसके अतिरिक्त यह भी सोचने की बात है कि मुद्रणयंत्र का आविष्कार हमारी आवश्यकताओं की पूर्ति के लिये हुआ है और उसमें हमारी आवश्यकताओं के अनुसार सुधार होना चाहिए, या यंत्र की सुविधा के लिए हम अपनी लिपि प्रणाली को ही हवन करने को उद्यत हो जाय। अवश्य मैं यह मानने के लिये तैयार हूँ कि कुछ व्यंजनों के रूप लिखने में संदिग्ध हो जाते हैं जैसे ख और र व, ण, घ और ध, म और भ लिखने में। ऐसी त्रुटियों को दूर करने का अवश्य विचार करना चाहिए और इस पर इस समिति को अवश्य अपना सिद्धांत स्थिर करके मार्ग प्रदर्शन का कार्य करना चाहिए।

इसी संबंध में यह भी विचारणीय है कि हमारी देशी भाषाओं के लिए रोमन लिपि कहाँ तक उपयुक्त होगी। कुछ विद्वान् इसका समर्थन भी करते पाये जाते हैं। मेरी समझ

में यह नहीं आता कि अपनी सर्वांगपूर्ण सुन्दर वैज्ञानिक लिपि के होते हुए क्यों दोषपूर्ण विदेशीय लिपि को स्वीकार करनेके लिए ये लोग उत्सुक हैं। देवनागरी लिपि में ४९ अक्षर है और रोमन में २६। २६ चिह्नों से ४९ भारतीय चिह्नों का उपयोग करना कहाँ तक सुविधाजनक हो सकता है। एक ही अक्षर को भिन्न भिन्न भारतीय उच्चारणों को सूचित करने योग्य बनाने में कुछ अतिरिक्त चिह्नों का प्रयोग करना आवश्यक होगा। जैसे ट के लिए टी का प्रयोग करने पर उससे त को सूचित करने के लिए टी पर कोई चिह्न लगा कर ही त और ट का भेद स्पष्ट किया जा सकेगा। मेरी समझ में यह उद्योग निरर्थक है। इससे लाभ की अपेक्षा हानि की ही अधिक संभावना जान पड़ती है। रोमन लिपि को ग्रहण करने में तुर्की जैसे उन्नत देशों का उदाहरण उपस्थित करना भी उचित नहीं, क्योंकि यदि तुर्की की अपनी लिपि देवनागरी की भांति संपूर्ण अथवा रोमन के समकक्ष भी होती तो वह देश रोमन लिपि को कदाचित् ही ग्रहण करता। रोमन लिपि देश में साक्षरता के प्रचार में भी नागरी से अधिक सुविधाजनक नहीं हो सकती। इसके अतिरिक्त जिन लिपियों में हमारे देश की शताब्दियों से संचित सांस्कृतिक निधि सुरक्षित है उससे हमारा कुछ आत्मीयता का भी संबंध है। क्या रोमन लिपि को बिना किसी प्रयोजन के स्वीकार कर, हम अपनी शताब्दियों की निधि को केवल संग्रहालय की वस्तु बना दें। इस पर विचार करना आपका कर्तव्य है।

चौथी बात का संबंध हिन्दी भाषा के स्वरूप और शैली से है। हिन्दी गद्य और पद्य दोनों में आज खड़ी बोली का मुक्त रूप से व्यवहार हो रहा है। कुछ दिन पहले एक आध हिन्दी विद्वानों का भी यह मत था उर्दू में से अरबी फारसी के शब्दों को निकाल कर उनके बदले संस्कृत शब्दों का प्रयोग करके आधुनिक खड़ी बोली का निर्माण हुआ। पर ऐसा विचार अब केवल भ्रांतिपूर्ण ही कहा जायगा। खड़ी बोली गद्य और पद्य की पुरानी रचनाओं से अब यह भली भाँति सिद्ध हो चुका है कि आज हिन्दी भाषा जिस विकसित अवस्था को प्राप्त हुई है वह उसके कई शताब्दियों के स्वाभाविक विकास का ही फल है। इसके विपरीत यह जानने के लिये हम उर्दू लेखकों के ही कृतज्ञ हैं कि हिन्दी में से भारतीय शब्दों को निकाल कर फारसी आदि विदेशीय शब्दों के बाहुल्य से उर्दू तैयार की गई। फिर भी, जैसा कि आप लोगों को विदित है, हिन्दी की स्वाभाविक प्रगति तथा लोक की प्रवृत्ति के प्रतिकूल हिन्दी और उर्दू के विचित्र मेल से गढी हुई एक भाषा को प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयत्न लगभग सं० १९१४ के बाद से ही होता आ रहा है। जिन दिनों सर सैयद अहमद खां हिंदी के स्थान पर उर्दू को ही प्रतिष्ठित करने का प्रयत्न कर रहे थे उस समय हिन्दी की किसी तरह रक्षा करने के निमित्त ही कदाचित् राजा शिवप्रसाद ने आमफ़हम भाषा की आड़ ली थी, पर उनकी आमफ़हम भाषा जनता की भाषा न बन सकी, राजा लक्ष्मणसिंह और बाबू हरिश्चंद्र हिन्दी के प्रकृत स्वरूप पर डटे रहे, और वे जनता की भाषा का प्रतिनिधित्व कर रहे थे। इसका प्रमाण आज की हिन्दी है। सन् १८६६ ई० में बीम्स और ग्राउज़ ने भी हिन्दी उर्दू के इस झगड़े में भाग लिया था। बीम्स उर्दू के पक्षपाती थे और ग्राउज हिन्दी के तब से अब तक हिन्दी उर्दू के मेल से नई भाषा गढ़ने का प्रयत्न सदा विफल ही हुआ है और भविष्य में भी ऐसा ही होगा। इसका कारण प्रधानतः यही है कि यह प्रयत्न अस्वाभाविक है। मैं यह मानता हूँ कि साहित्यिक हिन्दी और बोलचाल की हिन्दी में थोड़ा अंतर अवश्य है। पर ऐसा अंतर सभी भाषाओं में पाया जाता है, और उनमें बोल चाल की भाषा के लिये न अलग नामकरण की आवश्यकता पड़ती, न उच्चकोटि के साहित्य में उसके प्रयोग का असंभव उद्योग ही किया जाता। जिस हिंदुस्तानी का प्रचार किया जाता है वह न केवल साहित्य रचना के ही अयोग्य है, वरन् साधारण व्यवहार के लिये भी अनुपयुक्त है, क्योंकि वह कृत्रिम है। शैली का प्रश्न भाषा के स्वरूप के प्रश्न से कुछ भिन्न है। लेखकों के व्यक्तित्व की विशेषता और विषय की विविधता एवं गहनता के अनुसार भिन्न भिन्न शैलियाँ होना स्वाभाविक हैं, पर उस भिन्नता में भाषा का स्वरूप नहीं बदल जाता, वह एक ही रहता है। शैली की विशेषता एक ही प्रकृति के शब्दों और वाक्यों की विशेष प्रकार की योजना में

रहती है, बेमेल शब्दों और रूपों के समुच्चय में नहीं। अतः हिंदुस्तानी के जो नमुने उपस्थित किए जाते हैं उन्हें हिन्दी की एक शैली कहना भी ठीक नहीं।

भारतीय आर्य भाषाओं की परंपरा में होने के कारण हिन्दी में स्वभावतः संस्कृत प्राकृत के शब्द अधिक हैं, पर इसी लिये वह हमारे साहित्य की उपयुक्त भाषा होने के साथ साथ भारत की राष्ट्रभाषा होने का गौरव भी प्राप्त कर रही है। अतः अपनी भाषा के वर्तमान स्वरूप के विषय में चिंतित होने की कोई आवश्यकता नहीं। इतना अवश्य कहूँगा कि प्रयत्नपूर्वक भाषा को संस्कृत शब्दों के बोझ से दबाने की प्रवृत्ति प्रशंसनीय नहीं है।

अंत में मैं यह कह देना चाहता हूँ कि उर्दू से मेरा न कभी विरोध रहा, न है। उर्दू जिस क्रम से उन्नति कर रही है, करती रहे। उसमें हमें कोई आपत्ति नहीं हो सकती, पर हिन्दी उर्दू के ऐक्य के लिये हिन्दी के स्वरूप को नष्ट होने देने की सम्मति में नहीं दे सकता। अपनी भाषा में नए नए शब्दों को आवश्यकतानुसार हम उर्दू क्या किसी भी भाषा से ले सकते हैं, सिद्धांततः मेरा इससे कोई विरोध नहीं। पर इसमें तीन बातों का ध्यान रखना आवश्यक है: एक तो अपनी भाषा में उपयुक्त शब्द न मिलने पर ही अन्य भाषाओं की ओर देखना चाहिए, दूसरे उसका क्रम यह हो कि पहले देश भाषाएँ, फिर संस्कृत, फिर फ़ारसी, और इन सब से काम न चलने पर अंग्रेजी आदि भाषाओं से शब्द लेने चाहिए, तीसरे नए लिए जाने वाले शब्द अपनी भाषाके व्याकरण और ध्वनि नियमों के अनुकूल रूपों में ढल कर ही हमारी भाषा में आएं। ये ही कुछ बाते हैं जिनपर मैं आपका ध्यान विशेष रूप से दिलाना आवश्यक समझता हूँ। आशा है आप इन पर विचार करेंगे।

॥ श्रीः ॥

अखिलभारतवर्षीयपण्डितपरिषदः सभापतेः

म० म० श्रीगिरिधरशर्मणश्चतुर्वेदस्याभिभाषणम् ।

सिन्दूरपूरारुणिताखिलाङ्गो यज्ञोपवीतीकृतनागराजः ।
उद्दामविघ्नौघविघातदक्षः पायादपायादनिशं गणेशः ॥१॥

सर्वात्मभूतः सकलार्थविद्भिर्मुनीन्द्रवृन्दैर्बहुधाभिगीतः ।
आम्नायवेद्यो वचसामगम्यः स मे शरण्यः पुरुषः पुराणः ॥२॥

शान्ते निःसीमधाम्नि स्वरचितमखिलं स्वान्तराधाय सुप्ते,
सीमानं कल्पयन्ती कलितगुणकला या प्रबोधं दधाति ।
ब्रह्माणं विष्णुमीशं सुरपतिमपि या स्वस्वकार्ये नियुङ्क्ते,
साद्या मायाभिधाना प्रदिशतु भविकं नित्यशक्तिः परा नः ॥३॥

यदीयकरुणाप्लुतस्फुटकटाक्षलक्ष्मीलवं
जनः सुखमुपाश्रितस्त्रिविधमेव तापं तरेत् ।
अशेषभुवनोद्भवस्थितिलयाश्च यल्लीलया,
वृतं कमलया मुदा कुवलयाक्षमीडे हरिम् ॥४॥

शान्तात्मभिरासेव्यं शीतकराकलितशेखरं शमिनम् ।
शङ्करमाश्रितसुखदं शैलसुताप्रणयिनं वन्दे ॥५॥

सकलदर्शनदर्शनलालसापरवशेन पदाब्जयुगं गुरोः ।
सुचिरमाश्रितमस्त्ववलम्बनं किमपि साहसमद्य चिकीर्षतः ॥६॥

नानागमोल्लसितभास्वरदिव्यमूर्त्तिर्मुक्ताभिरामबुधहंससुसेवनीया ।
वीणाविनोदनिरताऽखिलबोधदात्री, काशीपुरी विजयते खलु भारतीव ॥७॥

गङ्गातरङ्गविमला ज्ञानमयी भूतिभासुरा शिवदा ।
अधिवाराणसि विदुषां परिषदियं शाम्भवो मूर्त्तिः ॥८॥

माननीयाः ! सर्वशास्त्रविचक्षणाः ! विद्वत्प्रवराः ! सर्वस्यापि भारतस्य संस्कृतशिक्षायाः प्रधानकेन्द्रे श्रीविश्वनाथक्रीडाभवनेऽस्मिन् काशीक्षेत्रे समवेतामिमामभूतपूर्वां विविधशास्त्रपारङ्गतपण्डिततल्लजविभूषितां परिषदं पश्यतो हर्षोद्वेलमिवोल्लसति मम मानसम्, परमीदृशे विद्वत्समाजे प्रधानपदं भवद्भिः प्रसादीक्रियमाणमधिष्ठातुमत्यर्थमनर्हं बिभ्यत् संकुचति । श्रद्धेयमहाभागाः ! वाराणसीमधिवसतां करतलामलकीकृतशास्त्ररहस्यानां पण्डितप्रवराणां चरणसेवार्थमेव विदेशीया इहागत्यान्ते वसन्ति । तदत्र महत्यां सभायां विद्वन्मूर्धन्यानां चरणेषूपवेशनसौभाग्यं चेदहमलप्स्ये, नूनं कृतार्थतयात्मानमभ्यनन्दिष्यम्, सीमातिगं च कमपि प्रमोदमाप्स्यम् । परं करुणापूर्णान्तरङ्गैः श्रीमद्भिरुच्चस्थाने समारोप्यमाणोऽनधिकारचेष्टयाऽपत्रपे । यथा सर्वविरहात्मको बिन्दुर्वर्णानां शिरसि धार्यते, नूनमनवरतं तदभ्यासशीलैः श्रीमद्भिरयमपि जनः सर्वगुणविरहितोऽपि निवेशित उच्चतमे स्थाने । परं स तु तत्र निवेशितः स्वरमनुस्वनति मधुरम्, नासिकां च विस्फारयति, अत्र तु साप्याशा न पूर्त्तिमभिगच्छेत् । केवलं 'वसन्ति हि प्रेम्णि गुणा न वस्तुषु' इति महाकवेर्वच एवाद्य पण्डितपरिषदि चरितार्थीक्रियमाणं

दृश्यते । विद्वज्जनवात्सल्यभाजनतयैव चात्मानमहमपि कृतार्थं मन्ये । यदीदृशपदोचितगुणगणावली वस्तुतो मामम‍ण्डयिष्यत्, नूनं परतरं मे सौभाग्यमुदलसिष्यत् । परं विद्वत्प्रवरैरारोप्यमाणा अपि गुणाः कमपि महिमानमादधत एवेति संतुष्यन् सौभाग्यमेवात्मनो मन्ये । 'अश्मापि याति देवत्वं महद्भिः सुप्रतिष्ठितः' इति हि नीतिकाराः स्मरन्ति । महतां निदेशातिक्रमणं च महत्पातकमिति मनसिकृत्य मयाप्याज्ञा शिरसि धार्यते । येन वात्सल्येन पूरितान्तरङ्गाः श्रीमन्तो मामनर्हमप्युच्चैः स्थापयन्ति, तदेव मे त्रुटीरपि पिधास्यति, कार्यनिर्वहणे चावलम्बं मे प्रदास्यतीति विश्वसन्निर्भीको भवामि । अनया च श्रीमतां कृपया आशैशवं सेविताया मातुः सुरभारत्या वार्धकेऽपि सेवावसरो दत्त इति कृतज्ञतां वहन्ननन्तान् धन्यवादान् श्रीमत्सेवायामुपहरामि । भूयो भूयश्च धाष्टर्यं क्षमापयन् स्वाभिप्रायं निवेदयितुमारभे ।

मान्या महाभागाः ! सर्वस्मिन् जगतीतले सर्वभाषाणामादिभूतेयमस्माकमाराध्या गीर्वाणवाणी कमपि महिमानं स्वतो बिभर्तीत्यत्र नास्ति स्तोकोऽपि संशयः । अनन्तशब्दकोशा, अपारग्रन्थसैन्यराशिः, महोन्नतव्याकृतिदुर्गा, सर्वजगत्यां शिष्टजनैः शिरसि क्रियमाणशासना, पाणिनिगौतमादिसर्वजनवन्द्यविशुद्धामात्या, पुरुषार्थचतुष्टये मैत्रीमादधती, सर्वनीतिनिधानं बलिष्ठसर्वप्रकृतिरियं सर्वासां भाषाणां साम्राज्यं श्रयत इत्यत्र को नाम विप्रतिपद्येत विचक्षणः ।

'स्वाम्यमात्या जनो दुर्गं कोशो दण्डस्तथैव च ।
मित्राण्येताः प्रकृतयो राज्यं सप्ताङ्गमुच्यते' ॥

इति महर्षियाज्ञवल्क्योक्ताः सप्तापि प्रकृतयो यस्याः सर्वातिशायिन्यो विराजन्ते, तस्याः साम्राज्ये कः संशयीत ।

इयं हि पुरा न केवलं सर्वस्य भारतस्य, अपि तु सर्वस्यापि जगत एकैव भाषासीदित्यास्माकीनो विश्वासः । परम्–इतिहासगवेषकाः यूरोपीयभ्रातरः केचिदत्र विप्रतिपद्यन्ते । ते हि–पुरासीत् काचिद्भाषा, या संस्कृतप्राकृतयोर्जननी, वेदभाषाऽपि तस्या एव रूपान्तरम् । इयं संस्कृतभाषा तु कदापि व्यावहारिकी नासीत्, पण्डितानामेव परिष्कृतभाषेयमिति आतिष्ठन्ते । परं का सा भाषा ? कियत्यंशे च तस्याः संस्कृतात्, प्राकृतात्, छन्दसो वा वैलक्षण्यम् ? कियत्यंशे वा साम्यमिति न केनाप्यद्यावधि निर्णीतम् । हन्त ! 'दृष्टं वरमदृष्टात्' इति सर्वजनादृतं सिद्धान्तं विस्मृत्यैव हठात्ते विप्रवदन्ते । इयं तु ननु तादृश्येव कथा, यथा मनुष्याणां पूर्वजा आसीत् काचन वानरसदृशी जातिः, सा त्वद्यत्वे विलुप्तेति केषांचन पाश्चात्यानामेव घण्टाघोषः ।

दृष्टं तिरस्कृत्यादृष्टानुधावनं ननु तेषां स्वभाव एव । मनुष्येषु मनुष्यपूर्वजत्वं न सह्यते, अदृष्टापरिचिता तु काचन जातिः पूर्वजत्वाय कल्प्यते । तथैवात्रापि व्यवह्रियमाणा भाषा सर्वभाषाजननीत्वेन नानुमन्यते, अपरिचिता तु काचिज्जननन्यन्विष्यते । मान्याः ! मन्मतौ तु सर्वमिदं कल्पनामात्रम्, इयमेवास्माकमाराध्या देवभारती सर्वभाषाणां जननीत्येव युक्तिमद्वचः । 'एकस्यैव गोशब्दस्य गावी, गोणी, गोता, गोपोतलिकेत्यादयोऽपभ्रंशाः ।' 'सर्वे देशान्तरे-सर्वे चेमे शब्दा देशान्तरेषु प्रयुज्यन्ते । शवतिर्गतिकर्मा कम्बोजेष्वेव भाष्यते, विकार एनमार्या भाषन्ते शव इति" इत्यादीनि भगवतः पतञ्जलेर्वचनानि अस्या एव संस्कृताया वाचः सर्वादिभूततां सुस्पष्टं ध्वनयन्ति । पितृ, पिदर, फादर । मातृ, मादर, मदर । दुहितृ, दुखतर, डाटर । सूनु, सन् इत्यादिषु बहुतमेषु संबन्धिशब्देषु आङ्गलादिभाषाणां संस्कृतप्रतिबिम्बतां प्रदर्शयन्तः पाश्चात्यविद्वांसोऽपि नूनमस्मत्सिद्धान्तपोषणे साहाय्यमेवाचरन्ति । देशकृतः कालकृतः पात्रकृतश्च कियाँश्चिद्भेदो भाषासु भवतीत्यनुमन्यामहे, परमीदृशेनावान्तरभेदप्रयोजकेन वैलक्षण्येन भाषाया जातिभेदं न कथमपि सहामहे । कादम्बरीसदृशं गद्यं कदाचित् सर्वसाधारणे व्यवह्रियमाणमासीदिति न वयं ब्रूमः । पामरभाषातः शिष्टभाषायां वैलक्षण्यम्, ततोऽपि विद्वज्जनभाषायाम्, उच्यमानभाषापेक्षया च लेखभाषायां वैलक्षण्यम्, कालकृतं वक्तृबोद्धव्यप्रकृतिवैचित्र्यजनितं च वैलक्षण्यमित्यनेकविधं वैलक्षण्यं संभाव्यत एव, परं यद् व्यवह्रियमाणमासीत्तत् कादम्बर्यादिसजातीयमित्यत्र नास्ति स्तोकोऽप्यस्माकं संशयः । भाषान्तरेष्वपि ईदृशं वैलक्षण्यं भवत्येव । नहि पञ्चाशतो वर्षेभ्यः प्राग्

व्यवहृता, अद्यत्वे व्यवह्रियमाणा च आङ्गलभाषा हिन्दीभाषा वैकविधा, नाप्यद्यत्वे सर्वेषु देशेषु व्यवह्रियमाणयोरनयोर्भाषयोर्न वैलक्षण्यम्। सत्यपि तादृशे वैलक्षण्ये यदि तत्तद्भाषाणामैक्यमभिमन्यते, तर्हि सर्वादिभूताया भाषाया अस्याः संस्कृतभाषायाश्च कुत ऐक्यं नाभ्युपपत्तव्यम्।

ननु संस्कृतमिति शब्द एवास्या अव्यवहार्यतां बोधयति, प्राकृतमेव सर्वजनभाषा, प्रकृतिसिद्धत्वात्, संस्कृतं तु कृतसंस्कारा अत एव कृत्रिमा केवलं विदुषां भाषेति, सोऽयमपि तेषां भ्रम एव। यतो हि प्राक्तने सूत्रादिवाङ्मये संस्कृतमिति भाषाया नाम प्रायेण नोपलभ्यत एव, भगवान् पाणिनिर्निरुक्तकृद्भगवान् यास्कश्च भाषाशब्देनैवेमां तत्र तत्र व्यवहरतः स्म—'भाषायां संदवसश्रुवः'' सख्यशिश्वीति भाषायाम्' 'नेति प्रतिषेधार्थीयो भाषायाम्, उभयमन्वध्यायम्' इत्यादिना। भवतु वा संस्कृतपदम्, तावताप्यव्यवहार्यता न सिद्धयति। अनेकधा हि संस्कारो भवति, पश्वाद्यव्यक्तशब्दापेक्षया सर्वापि मानुषी वाक् संस्कृता, सोऽयं संस्कारोऽर्थव्यक्तिप्रयोजकज्ञानशक्तेरधिष्ठात्रा भगवता इन्द्रेण कृतः। तदुक्तं श्रुतौ "वाग् वै पराच्यव्याकृतावदत्, तद्देवा इन्द्रमब्रुवन् 'इमां नो वाचं व्याकुरु' इति। सोऽब्रवीत् 'वरं वृणै' मह्यं चैवैष वायवे च सह गृह्याता इति, तस्मादैन्द्रवायवः सह गृह्यते। तामिन्द्रो मध्यतोऽवक्रम्य व्याकरोत्, तस्मादियं व्याकृता वागुद्यते"। इति। अयमत्राशयः 'वायुः खात्, शब्दस्तत्' इति भगवत्कात्यायनोक्तदिशा वायुनैव वागभिव्यज्यते, तत्रार्थबोधानुकूलः पदवाक्यविभागः प्रकृति-प्रत्ययादिविभागश्च ज्ञानशक्त्यधिष्ठात्रा इन्द्रेण भगवता कृतः, अनेनैव संस्कारेण वाचोऽर्थप्रत्यायकत्वमागतम्। अत एवास्माकं संप्रदाये इन्द्र एव प्रथमो व्याकरणकर्त्ता स्मर्यते। वाल्मीकीये च रामायणे मनुष्यवाचः साधारण्येन संस्कृतत्वमाख्यायते—भगवतो हनूमत उक्तौ सुन्दरकाण्डे—'वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम्' इति। अनेन संस्कारेण भाषा रूपान्तरमापादिता, भाषापदव्यवहार्यतां नीतेति वा वक्तव्यम्। अथ यथाजातानामशिक्षितानां भाषापेक्षया शिष्टभाषायां यद्वैलक्षण्यं मयोक्तपूर्वम्, सोऽयमपरः संस्कारः शिक्षाकृतः। अयमप्युदाहृतः पूर्वोक्तादनन्तरमेव वाल्मीकीये रामायणे—'यदि वाचं प्रदास्यामि द्विजातिरिव संस्कृताम्' इति। एतेन द्विजातीनां शिष्टानां भाषा यथाजातपुरुषापेक्षया विलक्षणा भवतीत्येव सूचितम्। परमयं संस्कारो न भाषाणां जातिभेदप्रयोजकः क्वापि दृष्टः, न हि सैनिकानां 'गोरे'पदवाच्यानां सुशिक्षितानां चाङ्गलानां भाषा भिन्नजातीयेति कोऽप्यभ्युपगच्छति। आङ्गलभाषापदेनैव तु उभे व्यवह्रियेते। तथैव द्विजातिभिर्व्यवह्रियमाणा यथाजातैरुच्यमाना च संस्कृता वागप्येकैवेति नात्र विप्रतिपत्त्यवसरः। तदनु विशृङ्खलभाषापेक्षया हारलतावत्सूत्रानुस्यूतशब्दमौक्तिकगुम्फिता सुस्थानरचितप्रकृतिप्रत्ययाव्ययनिपातादिविन्यासा अनन्यादृशसौष्ठवभाजनं वाग् भवति पुनरपि संस्कृता। सोऽयमपरः संस्कारो वैयाकरणमूर्धन्यभगवत्पाणिन्यादिकृतः। अनेन संस्कृता वाग् बहुमूल्यवस्त्राभरणाद्यलङ्कृता सुन्दरीव भवत्यन्यादृशीव, परं वस्तुतो नान्येति न विस्मरणीयम। तदित्थं वैदिकी भाषा, लौकिकं संस्कृतं चेत्यपि न भाषाद्वयम्, जातिभेदविरहात्। एकस्यामेव भाषायामवान्तरमिदं वैलक्षण्यम्, न त्वेव भाषाभेदप्रयोजकं भवति, भाषास्वरूपसंपादकानां शब्दानां बाहुल्येन प्रत्यभिज्ञायमानत्वात्। अत एव भगवता पाणिनिना लोकवेदसाधारणमेकमेव व्याकरणं निबद्धम्, अवान्तरभेदमात्रं तु 'छन्दसि' इति 'भाषायाम्' इति च प्रस्फुटीकृतम्। आसन्नचतुःसहस्रेषु पाणिनीयेषु सूत्रेषु त्रिषष्ट्यधिकद्विशतसूत्राणि केवलच्छान्दसकार्यबोधकानि, श्रीमता भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन वैदिकप्रक्रियायां संगृहीतानि। केवलं षट्सु सूत्रेषु च भाषायामिति पदं दृश्यते, शिष्टानि तु उभयसाधारणानि। तावता केवलं पञ्चदशांशवैलक्षण्यम् सिद्धयति। अर्थतः प्रतिशतं त्रिनवत्यंशेषु साम्यम्, प्रतिशतं सप्तस्वंशेषु तु वैलक्षण्यम्। एतावति साम्ये जाग्रति कस्तावदनुन्मत्तो भाषाजातिभेदं ब्रवीतु। 'एकदेशविकृतमनन्यवदिति' सर्वलोकसिद्धो न्यायश्च कुत्र चारितार्थ्यमेतु। तस्मादियमेवास्माकममरभारती जगति सर्वादिभूता भाषा, अस्या एव विकृतयोऽन्या भाषाः, अस्यामेव च प्रतिष्ठिता अस्माकं सर्वस्वभूता वेदा इति निष्प्रत्यूहमेतत्सिद्धयति।

तथैवामरभारत्या अस्या मृतत्वमाचक्षाणाः केचिदाधुनिका अपि नूनं जात्यन्धेष्वेव परिगणनीयाः। नेयमद्यत्वे कुत्रापि देशे भाष्यत इत्येव मृतत्वसाधनयुक्तिः। परमेतत्तैर्न

दृश्यते-यद्भारतस्य विभिन्नेषु प्रान्तेषु अस्या दुहितरो या भाषा अद्यत्वे प्रचरन्ति, ताभ्य इयमद्यापि पयः पाययति, अस्या एव शब्दसमूहमुपजीवन्त्यस्ता जीवन्ति । यदि तु देशकालकृतेन किञ्चिद्वैलक्षण्येन भाषाभेदो भवद्भिरभिमन्यते, तर्हि निःशङ्कं वयं वक्तुं शक्नुमो यदियममरभारती अद्यापि नवनवा भाषा उत्पादयति। तदित्थं स्तन्येन बालानां पोषणशक्तिः, प्रसवशक्तिश्च यस्यां जागर्ति, सा मृता, वृद्धा, युवतिर्वेति दरमुकुलितनेत्रं मनसि निध्यायद्भिस्तैर्मनागधोमुखैर्भाव्यम् । ये तु हिन्दयादिभाषाणां प्रभवं भाषान्तरमेवाभिमन्यन्ते, ते मया *हिन्दीनिबन्ध एव सम्यक् पराकृता इति विस्तरभयान्नात्र ता युक्तीराम्रेडयितुमिच्छामि । एतावद् अतिसंक्षेपेण निदर्शयामि–यद्यपि प्राकृतापभ्रंशक्रमेण हिन्दयादिभाषाः संस्कृतादुत्पन्नाः सन्ति, परमद्यत्वे प्रचलितासु तासु भाषासु अर्द्धाधिकानि नामपदानि शुद्धसंस्कृतरूप एव व्यवह्रियन्ते । ये चाभिनवान् विषयान् प्रचलितासु भाषासु निबध्नन्ति, ते संस्कृतादेव शब्दान् संगृह्णन्ति । प्रत्युत प्राकृतापभ्रंशक्रमेणागतान शब्दान् ग्राम्यतया शिष्टाः सुलेखका नाद्रियन्ते, शुद्धानि संस्कृतरूपाणि तु बलादाकृष्टा इवोपयुञ्जते । वङ्गमहाराष्ट्रादिदेशभाषाणां संस्कृतशब्दप्राचुर्यं सुप्रसिद्धमेव, अतोऽस्माकं हिन्दीभाषाया एव कतिचिन्निदर्शनानि उपहरामि। शय्याशब्दः प्राकृते 'सेज्जा' भूतो हिन्दीभाषायां 'सेज' इति रूपं प्राप्तः, परं सोऽयं 'सेज' शब्दः प्रायेणाशिक्षितानां स्त्रीणां वा भाषायामद्यत्वे व्यवह्रियते, शिष्टास्तु शय्याशब्दमेव प्रयुञ्जते । वृक्षः, रुक्ख, रूंख इति विकृतिक्रमः, परं रूंख शब्दोऽयमद्यत्वे ग्राम्यभाषायामेव क्वचित् प्रयुज्यते । शिक्षिता वृक्षशब्दमेव व्यवहरन्ति । विद्याशब्दः प्राकृते 'विज्जा' रूपं गतोऽपि हिन्दयामद्य विद्येत्येव सर्वैर्भाष्यते । तथैव लक्ष्मीशब्दस्य प्राकृतं रूपं 'लच्छी'ति, तत्तु ग्राम्यमेव गण्यते, लक्ष्मीत्येव प्रयुञ्जतेऽद्य शिष्टाः । तीर्थं तेहं तूहं वा नाद्य कोऽपि वदति, तीर्थेत्येव प्रचलितासु भाषासु सर्वत्र दृश्यते । वृषभशब्दः प्राकृतक्रमेण 'वसह' रूपमापन्नः सर्वथा ग्राम्य एवाभवत्, वृषभस्त्वद्यापि रोरवीति । अतिप्रचुराण्येवंविधानि निदर्शनानि, दिङमात्रं तूदाहृतम् ।

मान्याः ! पश्यन्तु भवन्तः सुरभारत्या अलौकिकं महिमानम् , यदस्याः शब्देभ्य उत्पन्ना अर्वाञ्चोऽपि शब्दा जीर्णतां ग्राम्यतां वा गच्छन्ति, इयन्तु सर्वादिभूताप्यद्यापि तरुणायते । न ग्राम्यत्वादिदोषा एनां स्प्रष्टुमपि समर्थयन्ते । अहो ! संस्कृतादुत्पन्नं प्राकृतं ततोऽप्युत्पन्ना चापभ्रंशभाषाप्यद्यत्वेऽत्यन्तं दुर्बोधे, संस्कृतं त्वद्यापि सुबोधम् । यदि कश्चित् परिश्रम्य प्राकृतमपभ्रंशं वा वदेत्, तर्हि तद्बोद्धारो दशापि तेन न लप्स्यन्ते, संस्कृतबोद्धारस्तु प्रतिनगरमद्यापि परः शताः प्राप्यन्ते। तस्मान्नेयं जरसाभिभूयते, नापि सर्वकलनात्मकः काल एनां स्पृशतीति प्रत्यक्षमनुभूयते। तत एवेयममरभारतीत्यनुगतार्थेन नाम्ना सर्वत्र सुप्रसिद्धयति, इति कृतं प्रपञ्चेन ।

सोऽयं भाषास्वरूपगतो महिमा मनागनुवर्णितः। तथैव विषयगतोऽपि महिमाऽस्याः सुरभारत्याः परिच्छेदातीत एव। सर्वेऽपि विषया अस्याः क्रोडेऽसंबाधं क्रीडन्ति । नास्ति कोऽपि विषयोऽद्यावधि कुत्रापि केनापि आविष्कृतो यो नास्यां समुपलभ्येत । आध्यात्मिके तु विषये पाश्चात्त्या अप्येतस्या गौरवमुररीकुर्वन्त्येव । यथाविधानि दर्शनानि सुरभारत्याम् न तथाऽन्यासु भाषासु इति निष्पक्षपातिभिर्बहुभिः स्वीकृतम् । यत्रान्येषां दर्शनानि समाप्यन्ते, तत आर्याणां दर्शनानि प्रारभ्यन्ते, इत्यपि बहुभिरुद्घुष्टम् । केचित्तु अर्वाञ्च आर्यदर्शनानां मिथो विरोधमुद्भावयन्तस्तान्याक्षिपन्ति 'एकस्यापरेण खण्डयमानत्वाच्चालिनीन्यायेन नास्त्येषु कस्मिन्नपि सत्यम्' 'यदि प्राक्तना ऋषयः सर्वमज्ञास्यन्त, कुतस्तर्हि विरुद्धमभ्यधास्यन्त', इत्यादि चोद्घोषयन्ति । परमेतदप्यविचारितरमणीयमेव तेषामभिधानम् । विनेयबुद्धयपेक्षया हि सोपानारोहणक्रमेण दर्शनानि महर्षिभिः प्रतिपादितानि, न तु वास्तविकस्तत्र कोऽपि विरोध उल्लसति ।

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* 'वर्तमान हिन्दीमें संस्कृतशब्दोंका ग्रहण' इति शीर्षके हिन्दी-साहित्यसंमेलनस्य द्वादशनिबन्धावल्याम् , नागरीप्रचारिण्याः सभायाः कोषसमाप्तिसंग्रहग्रन्थे च प्रकाशिते निबन्धे ।

अत्रापि निदर्शनरूपेण किंचिदुदाहरामि । आत्मा तावत् सर्वेषां दर्शनानां मुख्यो विचार्यविषय इति निर्विवादम् । तस्य यन्मुख्यं रूपं सत्तामात्रं निर्विशेषं गुणातीतम्, तत्तु न केनापि शक्यं निरूपयितुम् ।

'यस्यामतं तस्य मतं मतं यस्य न वेद सः ।
अविज्ञातं विजानतां विज्ञातमविजानताम् ॥'

'यतो वाचो निवर्त्तन्ते अप्राप्य मनसा सह' । 'अस्तीत्येवोपलब्धव्यस्तत्त्वभावेन चोभयोः ॥' इत्याद्येव तद्विषये श्रावयति भगवती श्रुतिः । तथा च सर्वैरपि परिग्रह (उपाधि) विशिष्टमेवात्मस्वरूपं निरूपणीयम् । परिग्रहश्चात्मनः षोढा—माया १ कला २ गुणः ३ विकारः ४ आवरणम् ५ अञ्जनम् ६ चेति । रसरूपो हि दिग्देशकालाऽनवच्छिन्न आत्मा, तत्रोद्भूतं तदात्मभूतमिव यद्बलं तत् स्वयं परिच्छिन्नत्वात् आत्मन्यपि परिच्छेदमादधातीव, सोऽयं प्रथमः परिग्रहो मितिसाधनत्वान्मायेत्युच्यते । मितिरियं न वास्तविकी, अमितस्य मितत्वानुपपत्तेः । अथाऽपि बले वर्तमाना मितिरात्मन्यपि प्रतिभासते, लहरीणां क्षोभपरिच्छेदौ जल इव, घटादीनां परिच्छेदश्च नभसीव इति प्रातिभासिकमेव मायारूपं वदन्ति शास्त्रज्ञाः । सत्यान्तु मितौ परिच्छेदात्पार्थक्यमपि प्रतिभासत एव, लहरीकलापकृतं जल इव पार्थक्यम्, तच्चेदं पार्थक्यं तत्रावयवबुद्धिमादधातीति द्वितीयोऽयं परिग्रहः 'कला' इत्युच्यते । सावयवत्व-बुद्धिमयं द्वितीयः परिग्रहः प्रयोजयति । सति हि परिच्छेदे दुर्वारा तावदनेकताबुद्धिः ।

परिच्छिन्ने चाशनायाबलोदयादपरं स्वात्मन्याधातुमुत्थितिः, परस्परं संघर्षश्चेति सर्वमपीदमुत्तुङ्गतरङ्गमालाकुलिते जल इव प्रवर्त्तते, ततश्च क्षोभजानां सत्त्वरजस्तमसां रूपरसादीनां च गुणानामभिव्यक्तिर्भवतीति सोऽयं तृतीयः परिग्रहो गुणो नाम । 'मात्रास्पर्शास्तु कौन्तेय-शीतोष्णसुखदुःखदाः' । इति श्रीमद्भगवद्गीतादिवचनेषु रूपरसादीनां संयोगजत्वं व्यक्तमेव, इन्द्रियार्थसूर्यरश्मिसम्बन्धाद्रूपोत्पत्तिरित्याधुनिका वैज्ञानिका अपि तेषां संघर्षजत्वमनुमन्यन्त एव । क्षोभ एव गुणाः, क्षोभजा गुणाः, गुणानां क्षोभ इति भाषाभेदमात्रमिदम्, अन्योन्यतादात्म्येनैवानयोः स्वरूपाधानात् । क्रियैव धारावाहिकतां गता स्थिरेव प्रतीयमाना गुणरूपतां गच्छति, गुणसमष्टिरेव च द्रव्यमित्यन्योन्यतादात्म्येऽभियुक्तेऽपि द्रव्यगुणक्रियाणामाधाराधेयभावस्य व्यवहारे सुप्रतिपन्नत्वात् । बहु खल्वत्र वक्तव्यम्, समयाल्पता तु संक्षेपायानुरुन्धे । भवतु नाम, 'चलं हि गुणवृत्तम्' 'प्रतिक्षणपरिणामिनो हि गुणा न क्षणमप्यपरिणम्य तिष्ठन्ति' इत्यादिदार्शनिकमूर्धन्योक्तदिशा अभिव्यक्तेषु गुणेषु अन्यथाप्रथारूपो विकारोऽपि दुर्निवारः, जलक्षोभात्फेनबुद्बुदादिवत्; सोऽथ विकाररूपश्चतुर्थः परिग्रहः । सत्यां च विकृतिपरम्परायां वस्तुस्वरूपयाथार्थ्यं न प्रथते, तिर इव भवति फेनाद्यावृतस्य जलस्य रूपवत्, इति आवरणं नाम पञ्चमः परिग्रहः । आव्रियमाणं स्वरूपेणाप्रथमानं च मुख्यं वस्तु विकाररूपतामिवापद्य विकारात्मकमेव प्रथते, जलमिव फेनबुद्बुदादिरूपतयेति अञ्जनं नाम षष्ठः परिग्रहः । षड्भिरेभिः परिग्रहैः, शब्दान्तरेण षड्भिराभिरवस्थाभिरात्मा जगद्रूपतां गत इव प्रतीयते, इति आर्यदार्शनिकाः पश्यन्ति । तत्रैकैकपरिग्रहस्यावापोद्वापाभ्यां षडेवाध्वानो दर्शनस्य जायन्त इति तानीमानि षड् दर्शनानीत्युच्यन्ते । न दर्शनैः सप्तभिः शक्यते भवितुम्, न वा पञ्चभिरिति सुसूक्ष्ममिदमालोच्यतां विद्वत्प्रवरैः ।

तथा हि—अञ्जनपर्यन्तसर्वपरिग्रहविशिष्टमत एव स्थूलतममात्मानं लोकायतः प्रतिपेदे । दृश्यमानं स्थूलं शरीरमेवात्मा, दृश्यं जगदेव चेश्वर इति तेनाभ्युपगम्यमानत्वात् । तदनु द्वितीयो दार्शनिकः सर्वान्तिममञ्जनाख्यं परिग्रहं परित्यज्य पञ्चपरिग्रहविशिष्टमात्मानं मुख्यात्मतया आतिष्ठते । स्थूलं जगन्नात्मा, किन्तु तत्रानुस्यूतं सूक्ष्ममात्मतत्त्वमित्युपगम्य स्थौल्यं स आत्मनः पृथक् कुरुते । आवरणं तु तस्यात्मस्वरूपानुप्रविष्टमेवेति आवरणस्यान्तःकरणस्य बुद्धिप्रधानस्यात्मत्वं तन्मते भासते, न त्वावृतं मुख्यमात्मतत्त्वं प्रकाशते । सोऽयं बुद्धिमात्मतयाभ्युपगच्छन् बौद्ध इत्याख्यायते । बुद्धेः प्रतिक्षणपरिणामितया क्षणिक एव तस्यात्मा । तदनु तृतीय 'आर्हतः' आवरणमप्यात्मस्वरूपात् पृथक् कुरुते इति निरावरणस्य दिगम्बरतां गतस्य तस्यावरणाभावादा-

त्मतत्त्वं कथंचित्प्रकाशते। परं विकारपर्यन्तं परिग्रहमात्मस्वरूपेऽन्तर्भावयन्तो विकारविशिष्ट एवात्मेति मुख्यात्मधर्मा विकारधर्माश्चोभयेऽपि तस्यात्मनि भासन्ते। ततश्च स स्यान्नित्यः, स्यादनित्यः, स्यादेकः स्यादनेक इत्युभयविधमात्मानं व्यवहरति। विकारानुविधायि च शरीरपरिच्छिन्नं स विक्रियमाणमेवात्मतत्त्वमभ्युपगच्छति। तत उपरि वैशेषिको विकारजातमप्यात्मनः पृथक् करोति, गुणपर्यन्तं तु परिग्रहमात्मस्वरूपेऽनुप्रवेशयत्येवेति सगुणोऽनेकश्च तस्यात्मा। ततोऽप्युपरितनकक्षायां सांख्येन गुणा अप्यात्मनः पृथक् कृताः, निर्गुणं तस्यात्मतत्त्वम्, गुणास्तु प्रकृतिनाम्ना पृथगेव परिगणिताः। परं कलारूपः परिग्रहोऽत्राप्यात्मस्वरूपानुप्रविष्ट इति पुरुषबहुत्वं तेनाप्युररीकृतम्। परिच्छेदादेव च प्रकृतिपुरुषयोर्द्वैतं रक्षितम्। षष्ठमन्तिमं वेदान्तदर्शनं तु परिग्रहपञ्चकं परित्यज्य केवलं मायाविशिष्टमेवात्मानं निरूपयति। मायोपहितन्तु वाङ्मनसातीतमुपलक्षयति—इति निरूपणधारा तत्र समाप्यते। वेद्यस्यान्तस्तत्र भवति, न ततः परं किमपि ज्ञातव्यमत्रशिष्यते। एष्वाद्यास्त्रयः श्रुतिप्रमाणं नोपगच्छन्ति, विकारपक्षपातितया प्रत्यक्षस्यैव प्रमाणस्य तत्र भूयसादृतत्वात्। निर्विकारस्त्वात्मा श्रुत्येकगम्य इति परे त्रयः श्रुतिप्रमाणोपासकाः। तत एव तु श्रुतौ श्रुतान् विभुत्वादीन् विशिष्टेऽप्यात्मनि कथंचिदिमे योजयन्ति। आद्या हि त्रयः परिग्रहा आत्मनः स्वरूपपोषका एवेत्यात्मस्वरूपं नात्राद्रियते। त्रय एवाद्या ईश्वरेण परिगृह्यन्ते, विकारावरणाञ्जनानि तु ईश्वरे न सन्त्येवेति तत्पक्षपातिनां लोकायतबौद्धार्हतानां निरीश्वरवादः, परे त्वीश्वरमभ्युपयन्त्येव। सांख्यस्येश्वरप्रतिषेधस्तु कारणान्तरादिति नेह प्रतन्यते। भवतु नाम, अनया दिशा एकमेव तत्त्वं स्थूलारुन्धतीन्यायेन क्रमेण सर्वाणि दर्शनानि उपदर्शयन्ति, न तु अन्योन्यविरुद्धं किमप्यभिनवमालपन्तीति विजानन्ति विद्वांसः। स्थूणानिखननन्यायेन पूर्वपक्षदाढर्याय तत्र तत्रेतरपक्षनिराकरणमिति न तत्राभिनिवेष्टव्यम्।

तथैव वेदान्तदर्शने योऽयं मायारूपः परिग्रहो निरूपणीयतानिर्वाहायावशेषितः, तस्य वस्तुगत्या जगति तथाविधसम्बन्धस्य बुद्धचनारूढत्वादनिर्वचनीय एवात्मना संबन्धः, बुद्धचुपारोहायांशतस्तन्निर्वचनप्रवृत्त्या तु दृष्टिभेदेनैव तत्राऽपि विशिष्टाद्वैत–शुद्धाद्वैत, द्वैताद्वैतादिभेदाः प्रवर्तन्ते। पृथक्त्वेऽपि नित्यसम्बद्धताख्यापनाय शरीर रूपेण मायातत्त्वस्य चिख्यापयिषायां विशिष्टाद्वैतवादः, शक्तिरूपतयाऽभ्युपगमे शक्तिशक्तिमतोश्च सर्वात्मनैक्याऽभ्युपगमे शुद्धाद्वैतवादः, शक्तिशक्तिमतोः सर्वात्मना भेददृष्ट्या द्वैतवादः, कथंचिद्भेदाभेदक्रोडीकारे तु द्वैताद्वैतवाद इति दृष्टिभेदेनैव सर्वेषां वादानामुपपत्तिसम्भवात्। शक्तिः शक्तिमतो भिन्ना, विद्यमानेऽपि शक्तिमति शक्तिविलयदर्शनात्। न भिन्ना, पृथक्त्वेन कदाऽप्यनुपलब्धेः, एककार्यदर्शनाच्च। पृथङ नोपलभ्यते, सम्बद्धा तु कदाचिदुपलभ्यत एव इति भिन्नाभिन्ना। सत्यपि तु भेदे पृथगुपलब्धिर्नसम्भवतीति विशिष्टमेवैकं तत्त्वम्।

भेदाभेदयोः परस्परं विरोधेन सहैकत्र वक्तुमशक्यतया, एकस्य च कस्यचिदुपपादयितुमशक्यतया अनिर्वचनीयमिदमिति च पञ्चैव प्रकाराः शक्तिशक्तिमतोः संबन्धनिरूपणे सम्भवन्ति, त इमे यथाभिरुचि विनेयानामधिकारानुरूपं परिग्रहणायाचार्यैः परिष्कृत्योपपादिताः, नेतः परः शक्तिशक्तिमतोः सम्बन्धे कोऽपि प्रकारः संभवति। स्वस्वपक्षदाढर्याय चेतरनिराकरणं तत्र तत्रोपलभ्यते, स च प्रकारो विनेयानां व्युत्पत्तिवर्धने परं साहाय्यमादधातीति सफलोऽयमाचार्याणां प्रयत्नः। तथैव सगुणनिर्गुणवादेऽपि 'वाचारम्भणमेव' भेदो विरोधो वा। प्राकृतगुणरहितोऽप्राकृतानन्तकल्याणगुणगणो भगवानिति श्रीरामानुजादयो वैष्णवाः प्रतिपेदिरे। अस्माकं तु खलु व्यवहारे प्राकृतगुणा एव गुणपदेन परिचिता इति तादृशगुणानां भगवत्यभावादस्मद्दृष्ट्या निर्गुण एव भगवान् श्रीशंकराचार्यादिभिरुपगम्यते। सर्वथा गुणानामभावे कीर्तनस्मरणादिकं न भवतीति उपासनासिद्धये अप्राकृतकल्याणगुणगणस्वीकार आवश्यकः, ज्ञानाङ्गं निदिध्यासनं तु अभावबुद्धिसन्तत्यापि निर्वहतीति तादृशकल्पनाया नास्ति तत्र विशेषेणोपयोग इत्येव लक्ष्यभेदोऽत्र विचारभेदे हेतुर्भवति। तदेवं विषयाणामेवंविधानामतिगहनानां कात्स्न्र्येन साधकबाधकयुक्तिभिरंशतोऽप्यपरिहाणेन प्रतिपादनं नूनं सुरभारत्या महानुत्कर्षः। न ह्येवंविधा विषया एवं कात्स्न्र्येन क्वचिन्निरूपिता दृश्यन्ते, नापि शक्यन्ते निरूपयितुम्। एवंविधसूक्ष्मतमतत्त्वनिरूपणे सुरभारत्या एव शक्तिर्नान्यस्याः कस्या अपि भाषायाः।

याश्च विद्या अतिमहत्त्वास्पदतयाद्यत्वे ख्याप्यन्ते, ताः सर्वाङ्गपूर्णाः संस्कृतवाङ्मये समुपलभ्यन्त एव। कासांचिद्विस्तरेण प्रतिपादका ग्रन्था विलुप्ता इति सूत्ररूपेण संक्षिप्तं तासां स्वरूपमुपलभ्यते, काश्चित्तु विस्तरेण समुपलभ्यन्ते। परं संक्षेपेऽपि यावतामङ्गानामस्माकं वाङ्मये परिचयः, तावतामद्यत्वे परिचयोऽपि नास्ति। तथा हि–प्राणिशास्त्रस्याद्यत्वे विशिष्य विस्तरः, किन्तु चतुर्दशविधो भूतसर्गः सांख्ये उक्तः, पुराणेषु चोपबृंहितः, तत्र केवलं पशुमृगपक्षिसरीसृपस्थावराख्याः पञ्च तिर्यञ्चः, मनुष्यश्चेति षडेव विधा अद्य यावदस्याधुनिकविज्ञानस्य परिचिताः, अष्टविकल्पो देवसर्गस्तु नैषां परिचितः, इति चतुर्दशसु षण्णामेव परिचयादर्द्धपर्यन्तमप्यस्यां विद्यायां न गतिराधुनिकानाम्। एवं भूस्तरविद्याया (जियोलाजी) अप्याधुनिके विज्ञाने गौरवपूर्णो विस्तरः, परमस्माकं पुराणेषु अतलवितलादिनाम्ना सप्त स्तरा निरूपिताः। आधुनिकैस्तु त्रिचतुरा एव स्तरा अद्यावधि विज्ञाता इत्यत्रापि अर्द्धाधिका गतिर्नास्ति। मनोविज्ञानमाधुनिकं योगशास्त्रस्य भारतीयस्य कलामात्रमपि न स्पृशति, वनस्पतिविज्ञानं विततमायुर्वेदे, रासायनिकं विज्ञानं तन्त्रेषु वैशद्येन निरूपितम्। भौतिकं विज्ञानं च श्रुतौ दर्शनेषु च सुदूरपर्यन्तमालोचितम्। इतिहासशास्त्रमद्यत्वेऽत्यर्थं रुचिकरं विदुषाम्। परमेषामितिहासकालः सार्धसहस्रद्वयात्संवत्सराणां परतो न गच्छति, अस्माकं पुराणोपपुराणानि तु सृष्ट्यारम्भादितिहासं बोधयितुं कृतसन्नाहानि। प्रक्रियाऽवश्यं भिद्यते, परमेतावत्सुदीर्घकालेतिहासनिरूपणे सैव प्रक्रियोपयुज्यते, न तु तिथिनिर्देशप्रक्रिया तत्र संभवतीति विद्वद्भिरेव विचार्यम्। ये नन्वद्यत्वे प्रत्यहं भवन्ति नवनवा आविष्काराः, तेषां सर्वेषां जनन्यस्माकं न्यायविद्या। 'प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितमनुमानम्' इति हि न्यायो लक्षितो भाष्यकृता भगवता वात्स्यायनेन। यच्च नवनवं वस्तुजातमाविष्क्रियते वैज्ञानिकैः, तत्सर्वं प्रत्यक्षागमाश्रितानुमानसाध्यमेव। सर्वतो निरुद्धस्याग्नावधिश्रितस्य पात्रस्योत्पतनं प्रत्यक्षीकृत्य तेन वाष्पस्य महतीं शक्तिमनुमाय वाष्पयानं रेलशकटीत्याख्यमाविष्कृतं फ्रान्सदेशीयेन विदुषेति जानन्ति विद्वांसः। एवमेव दृष्ट्वा श्रुत्वा वा सर्वेऽप्याविष्काराः प्रवृत्ताः, प्रवर्तन्ते वा। 'एकोनामिक्स' पदेन या विद्या बहुतरमान्दोल्यते, साऽस्माकं वार्त्ताशास्त्रम्। अस्या वृत्त्युपायबोधिकायाः सुमहान् विस्तर आसीदिति पुराणवचनेभ्योऽनुमीयते, परं हन्त! ग्रन्था अद्यास्माभिर्नोपलभ्यन्ते, केवलं भग्नावशेषमात्रं कौटिलीयार्थशास्त्रादिषु प्राप्यते। राजनीतिशास्त्रं तु अद्यापि तादृशं यदाधुनिकान् युरोपीयविदुषोऽपि चकितयति। अस्माकं शास्त्रेषु विस्तृतान् व्यवहारनियमान् (कानून) आधुनिका विद्वांसः परिवर्तयितुं विचेष्टन्ते। परं हन्त! न ते विचारयन्ति–यदेभिर्नियमैरीश्वराज्ञानुविधायिभिः परोलक्षाणि वर्षाणि समाजस्य शृङ्खला सुरक्षिता, मनुष्यबुद्धिप्रसूतास्तु अद्यतना नियमाः शताब्दीपर्यन्तमपि न चलिष्यन्ति। पुत्रवद् दुहितरोऽपि पितुर्दायं गृह्णन्तु—इति आपाततो रम्या विभाति व्यवस्था। परं चतस्रः पञ्च सप्त वा दुहितरः सम्पत्तिमंशैर्विभज्य विभिन्नेषु देशेषु यदा नेष्यन्ति, तदा कोट्यधीशान्यपि कुलानि दारिद्र्यमल्पेन कालेन यास्यन्ति, भूस्वामिनामेकपुरुषानन्तरमेव भूविक्रयो भविष्यति, अभ्रंलिहप्रासादनिर्मातॄणां सुताः कुटुम्बस्थितय आवासमात्रमपि न लप्स्यन्ते, इति कियती विशृङ्खला समाजे निपतिष्यतीति बत पश्यन्तोऽपि बुद्धिमन्त आविष्टा इव न पश्यन्ति। पुराणमित्येव हेयमिति तेषां मनीषा। किं च दायं गृह्णतीभिर्दुहितृभिर्ऋणमपि पैतृकं देयं नवेति पृच्छामः। यदि न देयं तर्हि पुत्राणां कृते महानयमन्यायः, साम्यवादभङ्गश्च। यदि तु देयम्—तर्हि निर्धनानां कुटुम्बिनां कन्या ऋणभीत्या कोऽपि न ग्रहीष्यतीति कन्यानां पक्षपातं कर्तुमुद्यतैर्वैपरीत्येन विपद्गिरिस्तच्छिरसि पात्यते। भ्रातॄणां समये समये पारस्परिकः कलह आपतति, भ्रातृभगिन्योस्तु सौहार्दमस्माकं समाजे आदर्शभूतं गण्यते, तदप्यनेन नवेन व्यवहारनियमेनोच्छिद्येत। परस्परं दानप्रतिदानचिन्ता चानयोः प्रवर्त्तेत। तथैव विवाहनियमपरिवर्तने भारतीयोऽयं समाजो युरोपीयतां नीयेतेति जातेरेव विनाशप्रसङ्गः।

मान्या महाभागाः! भारतीयानां सामाजिकेषु नियमेषु धर्मशास्त्रेष्वपि च यदित्थमनधिकारिणो मल्लायन्ते, तत्रास्माकं सुरभारतीसेवकानां संघटनाऽभावोऽपि मुख्यो हेतुः। सर्वगुणसंपन्नापि भगवती गीर्वाणभारती माता सुतानामस्माकमुपेक्षया देशकालानुकूलाचरणाभावेन च कदर्थनामनुभवतीति किं नेदमस्माकं लज्जाकरम्। कियतीं दुर्दशामेतर्नीं वर्णयामः प्राच्यभाषानाम्ना संस्कृतस्यैव या परिषत् महतायोजनेन संपाद्यते, तस्या अपि सर्वं

कार्यं वैदेशिक्या आङ्गलभाषया प्रचलति । संस्कृतस्य महान्तः पण्डिताः संस्कृतपरिषदो दूरे तिष्ठन्ति । प्रकारान्तरेण शाखारूपेण कथंचित्सभां संपाद्याश्रूणि प्रोञ्छन्ति । ये तु संस्कृतां वाचं वक्तुं लेखितुं वा नांशतोऽपि समर्था लज्जमाना इव तद्भाषणं लेखनं वा दूरतस्त्यजन्ति, ते संस्कृतपरिषदां कार्यपरिचालकाः ! अनेकेषु विश्वविद्यालयेषु त एव संस्कृतपाठ्यक्रमव्यवस्थापकाः, ये संस्कृते दश पङ्क्तीरपि न लेखितुं प्रभवन्ति । हन्त ! अपरिचितानां हस्ते भाग्यविधातृत्वमस्मन्मातुः पतितम् । विशिष्टसंस्कृतविद्यालयव्यवस्थापका अप्याङ्गलभाषाविद एवाद्यत्वेऽन्विष्यन्ते, अवरकक्षाकाङ्गलविद्यालयाध्यक्षहस्ते संस्कृतविद्यालयप्रबन्धः समर्प्यते । संस्कृतज्ञेषु नास्ति प्रबन्धशक्तिरिति नूनं सर्वतन्त्रसिद्धान्ततया स्थिरीभूतम् । अहो ! यस्या एव प्रभावेण चाणक्यादिभिरापाटलिपुत्रमापुरुषपुरं (पेशावर) च सर्वमपि भारतं स्वशासने रक्षितम्, येषां च शासनव्यवस्था चीनादिदेशेभ्य आगतैर्विशिष्टपुरुषैरप्यादर्शतयाभिगीता, तस्या एव सुरभारत्या उपासका अद्य लघुतमविद्यालयस्यापि प्रबन्धे असमर्था गण्यन्ते !! यद्धि भारतं जगद्गुरुतया मनुना समुद्घुष्टम्, तस्य च्छात्रा अद्यत्वे संस्कृतभाषामप्यध्येतुं भारताद्बहिर्युरोपादिदेशान् गच्छन्ति । अस्माकं वेदाङ्गानि निरुक्तादीनि च तत्र गत्वाधीयते, उच्चतमाश्च पी. एच. डी. डी. लिट्, इत्याद्या. पदवीस्तत्रगतैरेव लभ्यन्ते । अस्मद्देशे महत्सु लघुषु च विद्यालयेषु संस्कृताध्यापका अप्याङ्गलभाषाविद एव ग्राह्या इति क्रमेण सर्वत्रैव स्थिरीभूतम् । संस्कृतस्य श्लोकमपि व्याख्यातुं न शक्नुवन्तु नाम । परं प्राप्ताङ्गलपदवीका इत्येव संस्कृताध्यापने नियुज्यन्ते । धर्मसंबन्धेऽपि प्राच्यदर्शनसंबन्धेऽपि आङ्गलभाषाभिज्ञो विद्वान् यद् ब्रवीति, तत्समाजे प्रमाणतयाभिमन्यते । ज्ञातसारैर्मार्मिकैः सस्कृतपण्डितैर्यदुच्यते, तत्तु अस्माकमेव समाजे उपेक्षणीयं भवति। सर्वस्यास्य व्यतिक्रमस्य मुख्यं कारणमस्माकं संघटनशक्तेरभाव एव। 'संघे शक्तिः कलौ युगे' इति हि भगवता व्यासेनोपदिष्टम्, स च संघोऽस्माकं न सम्पद्यत एव। संस्कृतसाहित्यसम्मेलनं प्रतिष्ठाप्य चिरं तद्भारमुद्वहता जनेनानेन बहुतरं संस्कृतज्ञानां संघशक्तिसम्पादनाय प्रयतितम् । परं हन्त, नासाद्यत यथेप्सितं साफल्यम् । चत्वारः पञ्च वा पण्डिता एकत्र विना कलहं स्थातुं न शक्नुवन्ति—इति अस्मद्विद्वेषिणां प्रसिद्ध्यति प्रवादः । संघशक्तिमन्तरेण च नाद्यत्वे कोऽपि अस्मद्वाचं शृणोति । शिक्षाक्रमश्चाप्यस्माकं तादृशो येन न वयं लोकानुकूलान् संघटननियमान् परिचिनुमः, नापि देशकालानुकूलं व्यवहर्त्तुं प्रभवामः । मान्या महाभागाः ! क्षम्यतां ममैतद्धार्ष्ट्यम्, निरुद्देश्येयं युगेऽस्मिन्नस्माकं शिक्षाप्रणाली । न किमपि लौकिकं पारलौकिकं वा उद्देश्यं लक्ष्यीकृत्येयं प्रवर्तते । वाद (शास्त्रार्थ) युगीयां पद्धतिमद्य परीक्षायुगाङ्गतायां बलादाकृष्य वयं प्रवर्तामहे ।

बहु खलु मयास्मिन् विषये समये समये जल्पितमिति न विस्तरेण समयं श्रीमतामपहर्तुमिच्छामि, परं यद्याकाङ्क्ष्यते वन्दनीयाया मातुः सुरभारत्याः प्रतिष्ठामयं जीवनम्, यदि चाभिलष्यते समाजे संस्कृतपण्डितानां शिक्षितेषु गणना, तर्हि सर्वमपि कार्यजातं विस्मृत्य आग्रहग्रहिलतां च दूरीकृत्य सुरभारतीसेवकैः संघीभूय देशकालानुकूलं परिष्क्रियतां संस्कृतशिक्षाप्रणालीति विद्वदग्रेसराणामग्रे सबाहूत्क्षेपमुच्चैः क्रन्दामि । यदि न श्रोष्यते वृद्धस्यास्य वचोऽद्यापि, तर्हि पश्चातापमात्रमवशिष्येताचिरादित्यपि भाव्यतां भावुकैः । शिक्षाप्रणालीपरिवर्तनेन न ममायमभिप्रायःस्वप्नेऽपि संभावनीयो यद्वयमाङ्गलभाषाविद इव वैदेशिकसभ्यताभक्ता भवेम, आर्यसभ्यतायाश्चास्मत्सन्ततिर्दूरीभूता स्यात्, धर्मं चोपेक्ष्यार्थकामपरायणतास्मद्देशे प्रसृता स्यादिति । शान्तं पापम्, प्रतिहतममङ्गलम् । अहं तु वाञ्छामि, कालेऽस्मिन् परैः क्रियमाणानस्मद्धर्मेऽस्मत्सभ्यतायामस्मद्दर्शनेऽस्मद्विज्ञानेषु चाक्षेपान् वयं समाधातुं प्रभवेम । संस्कृतज्ञा आर्यसभ्यताया विजयिनः सैनिका भवेयुः । अद्याप्येत एवार्यसभ्यतायाः सैनिकाः सन्ति, परं यथा कश्चित्सैनिकः शताब्द्याःप्राग्व्यवहृतं खड्गं गुलिकास्त्रं वा प्राक्तनपरिपाटीनिर्मितं गृहीत्वाद्य वैज्ञानिके युद्धे विजयाभिलाषी गच्छेत्, तस्योत्साहः प्रशस्यतां नाम धीरैः, फलं तूपहासातिरिक्तं न किमपि तेन लभ्येत, वैज्ञानिकैरेवास्त्रैर्युद्ध्यमानेन जयोऽद्यावाप्तुं शक्यते, तथैव प्राक्तनीमेव पद्धतिमवलम्ब्य यद्वयं विचारसमरेऽवतरामः, न तेनास्माकं सभ्यतया विजयः शक्यतेऽवाप्तुम्। तत एव विद्यमानेष्वप्यस्मत्सभ्यताधुरंधरेषु पण्डितप्रकाण्डेषु अस्मत्सभ्यता ह्रसत्येव, न विजयते। पण्डितास्तु हठाविष्टा न स्वपद्धतेः पदमपि इतस्ततो गन्तुं वाञ्छन्ति । यस्तु कालानुकूल्येन किमपि वक्तृतादिकं विधातुं

चेष्टते, स पण्डितसमाजाद्बहिर्निष्कास्यते। 'उपदेशकः स न पण्डितः' 'सभासु वक्तुं जानाति न विद्वत्सु गणनामर्हती'त्याद्या आलापा विदुषामनेकधा श्रोत्रगोचरीकृताः। पण्डितान् यदि कश्चिद् विचारार्थमाह्वयति, तर्हि पञ्चावयवप्रक्रिययैव वादो विधेयः, इति त आगृह्णन्ति। किमर्थोऽयमभिनिवेश इति पृच्छामि। किं प्रकारान्तरेण तत्प्रक्रियया ते नास्माभिः समाधातुं शक्यन्त इत्यस्मद्दौर्बल्यं, केनचिद्व्याजेनास्माभिराच्छाद्यते, उत अस्माकं दर्शनेषु धर्मादिषु वा तादृशं दौर्बल्यम् यत्प्रकारान्तरेण परीक्ष्यमाणानि तानि मलिनीभवन्ति। मम तु दृढोऽयं विश्वासः, यत् शुद्धं स्वर्णमिवास्मद्धर्मदर्शनादिकं कथमपि परीक्ष्यतां नाम, सर्वथा तदुज्ज्वलमेव भासेत। ततश्च प्रक्रियामात्राग्रहेण किमिति स्वीया संस्कृतिः कदर्थनां नीयत इति नाहं विवेक्तुं प्रभवामि। अहं तु शिक्षापद्धतेरेव दोषमिमं कथयामि, यद्येन क्रमेणास्माकमभ्यासः, तेनैव क्रमेण वयं वक्तुं शक्ताः, नाध्वान्तरे गन्तुं प्रभविष्णवः। चिरादस्माकं पद्धतौ दोषाः प्रवृत्ताः, अद्य परीक्षायुगे तु तादृशी दुरवस्था संपादिता यद्वयं न गृहस्य न वा घट्टस्य वर्तामहे। आश्चर्यमिदम्—सहस्रशः पण्डिता वृत्तिकर्शिताः परिभ्रमन्ति, कार्यार्थिन्तु यैरपेक्ष्यन्ते संस्कृतज्ञाः, न तैर्लभ्यन्ते। धर्मप्रतिपादका वक्तारो न लभ्यन्ते, याजकाः कर्मकाण्डविद्वांसो न लभ्यन्ते, पुराणवाचकाः कथाभट्टा न लभ्यन्ते, सामयिकपत्रसंपादका न लभ्यन्ते, अभिनवशैल्या ग्रन्थग्रन्थका न लभ्यन्ते, धर्मव्यवस्थापका न लभ्यन्ते। लभ्यन्ते केवलं कस्मिंश्चिदध्यापनासने समुपविश्य यथाघुष्टमुद्गिरितारः। लभ्यन्ते व्युत्पत्तिस्थाने केवलं योग्यतापत्रप्रदर्शकाः, लभ्यन्ते प्राक्तनटीकाक्षराणि—इतस्ततः कृत्वा केवलं वृत्त्यर्थं पुस्तकप्रणेतृषु नामलेखकाः, लभ्यन्ते वा पञ्च पङ्क्तीरपि शुद्धाः संस्कृते लेखितुमसमर्था अपि संस्कृतपत्रसम्पादकाः। कथमनेन प्रकारेण संस्कृतशिक्षा रक्षिता स्यात्। कियन्तं च कालमन्तर्निस्सारतां गतोऽयं शाखी पुष्पितः फलितः शक्नुयादवस्थातुम्।

तन्मान्याः! पुनरपीदं साभ्यर्थनं ब्रवीमि—विसृज्याभिनिवेशं पुरस्कृत्य दूरदर्शितां संघशक्तिं सम्पाद्य भूयोभूयो विचार्य आमूलचूडं परिवर्त्य तथा शिक्षापद्धतिः प्रकाश्यताम्—यथा नोपहस्येरन् समाजे संस्कृतपण्डिताः, नोदरदरीपूरणमप्यशक्यमेषां भवेत्, न ह्रासमुपेयाद् भगवान् सनातनो धर्मः, चिरञ्जीविनी भवेदार्यसभ्यता, कृतार्थतां च गता परिषदियम् युष्माकं युगानुयुगं यशो लभेत। बहुः कालो युष्माकं मया व्यतिगमित इति क्षमां याचमानो भवद्गिरामवसरप्रदानाय वाचं स्वीयामुपसंहरामीति। शुभं स्यात्॥

DYĀVĀPṚTHIVĪ

By

The Late Dr. R. SHAMA SASTRY, Mysore

Prof. H. J. Jacobi was the first to point out that the Dvādaśāha sacrifice at the close of the year at the beginning of the rainy season in what is even now called the Frog-hymn of the Ṛgveda (VII, 103, 1-9) indicated the adjustment of the lunar with the solar year when at the close of the hot season and the beginning of the rainy season the Vedic people celebrated their new year. Then it was that the sun's daughter Sūryā was given in marriage to the moon, as detailed in *Ṛ.V.*, X, 85. The year closed with the arrival of the sun in the Maghā asterism and the new year began with the sun at the Pūrvāphalgunīs after the Dvādaśāha sacrifice. It was in the Phalgunīs that what is called Dakshiṇāyana or summer solstice was located. Owing to precession of solstices it receded to the first half of Āśleṣā at the time of the Vedāṅgajyautiṣa and later on to the beginning of the Punarvasū. Thus he fixed the chronology of the Vedic people at about 4000 to 4500 B.C. At the same time Lokamānya B.G. Tilak took into his consideration the precession of the equinoxes from Mṛgaśiras to the Aśvinis and came to the same conclusion regarding the chronology of the Vedic age.

But distinguished Oriental scholars regarded the conclusions of both Prof. Jacobi and of the Lokamānya as vague surmises, not convincing, as there was nothing expressly stated in the Ṛgveda itself indicative of the situation of solstices and of equinoxes in those asterisms. None of these scholars went so far as to think that the word "Svaḥ" in the Vedāṅgajyautiṣa verse "*Svarākramate*" means "Dyauḥ", a Vedic technical term meaning winter solstice or Uttarāyaṇa and that in the compound Dyāvāpṛithvī the second term "Pṛthivī" means summer solstice or Dakṣiṇāyana. Other Vedic names of these two Ayanas are father and mother that are stated to be ever-youthful in the Ṛbhu hymns. The line joining these two points gives the celestial sphere or the sun's ecliptic a bow-like appearance. The bow is called Indra's bow, especially when it is cut asunder owing to precession of solstices. The other two Ayanas usually known in the Ṛgveda as Pitṛ-yāṇa and Deva-yāna are stated to lie in the midst

of Father and Mother (*R.V.*, X. 88. 15). The verse runs as follows:—

"I have heard of two paths, the path of the fathers and the path of the gods and mortals: with these two paths the whole moving world turns between the two points called father or Uttarāyaṇa, and mother, Dakṣiṇāyana."

The semi-circle or bow from winter solstice to sumer solstice has these two Ayanas, Pitṛ-yāṇa and Deva-yāna, half and half each of the whole semicircle. The other bow from summer to winter solstice is equally divided into two Ayaṇas, the Pitṛ-yāna and the Deva-yāna. The Deva-yāna in the upper bow which is said to have begun with the Kṛttikās or Rohiṇī once is called Vasanta-viṣuva or vernal equinox and that in the other half of the bow it is called Tula-viṣuva or Śarad-viṣuva, autumnal equinox. The bow is called Viṣṇu's bow when winter solstice is meant to be referred and Rudra's bow when the other solstice is meant. It is also called Samyu's bow or Jupiter's bow, as the summer solstice was once situated in Pūrvāphalguni, which is known as the mother of Jupiter. From this it follows that the beginning of winter solstice was once at ths Pūrvābhādrapadā whose presiding deity is known as Aja-Ekapād. This situation of the solstitial colure is clearly referred to in the Rohita Sūkta of the Atharvaveda (A.V., XIII. 3. 6):—

It says that "Rohita gave the earth and heaven their being. The Parameṣṭhin held a cord extended. There on reposeth Aja-Ekapād. He with his might hath established earth and heaven." The cord mentioned in the verse is the bow-string or diameter of the semicircular bow of Indra. When its string was cut off, Viṣṇu's head as well as Rudra's head, i. e., the loci of the two solstices would be cut off, due to precession of solstitial colure, causing the receding of the loci of the equinoctial colure at the same time. It is this change in the situation of the two colures that is meant when the Yajus-saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, and Āraṇyakas mention several asterisms as locus of Viṣṇu or Rudra, or Agni, Mitra, or Varuṇa.

The Mahābhārata gives expression to a dispute between Rohinī and Abhijit regarding the precedence of vernal equinox or of winter solstice in counting the Ayanas. Then it speaks of Rohinī as once being the place of equinox and then of the Kṛttikās, being the locus of vernal equinox. Both the Epic and the *Sūrya-prajñapti* of the Jainas include Abhijit among the constellations and make their number 28. The

Sūrya-prajñapti divides the constellations into three classes and distributes them in the ecliptic giving them unequal spaces. Some are given fifteen Muhūrtas or 24′, some 30 Muhūrtas or 48′, and some 45 or 72′ for their place in the ecliptic. It places Abhijit before Śravaṇa and gives them 9 and 30 Muhūrtas or degrees in the list. This plan seems to have been in use among the Vedic astronomers also in those days. In course of time this clumsy plan seems to have been given up. This is what seems to have been meant when the Mahābhārata says that Abhijit went to the forest for performing penance with the hope of getting the first place Among the Ayanas. The *Vāyu-purāṇa* gives a clear definition of the equinoxes and of their loci.

The verses of the Mahābhārata run as follows :—

"Abhijit spardhamānā tu Rohiṇyāh kaniyasī svasā.
Icchantī jyeṣṭhatām devī tapastaptuṁ vanaṁ gatā.
Tatra mūḍho'smi bhadram te nakṣatraṁ gaganāccyutaṁ
Kālaṁ tvimaṁ paraṁ Skanda Brahmaṇā saha cintaye.
Dhaniṣṭhādistadā kālaḥ Brahmaṇā parikalpitaḥ.
Rohiṇi hyabhavatpūrvaṁ evaṁ saṁkhyā samā'bhavat.
Evamukte tu Śakreṇa Kṛttikāḥ tṛdivaṁ gatāḥ.
Nakṣatraṁ saptaśirṣābhaṁ bhāti yadvahnidaivatam.

TRANSLATION :

Abhijit, the youngest sister, became jealous of Rohinī on account of her superiority and went to the forest to perform penance to acquire herself such superiority: I am bewildered at this; mayest thou be blest. The asterism Bhadrā fell down from the sky (gagana = vyoma = uttarāyaṇa). I shall, however, consider with Brahmā this matter concerning time. Just then time was made by Brahmā to begin with the asterism, Dhaniṣṭhā. The asterism of Rohiṇī was (a point of division) before. Thus the number of divisions was alike or even. When Indra said thus, the asterism of Kṛttikās which looks like seven-headed and which has Agni as her regent, went to heaven."

It is to be noted that when the number of asterisms was 28, each of the four divisions, two of the solstices and two of the equinoxes, had seven asterisms. But when the number was reduced to 27, by dropping Abhijit, the number of astersms for each division was also reduced to 6¾. Thus the number from Pūrvābhādrapada spoken of as Bhadrā in

the verse above to Rohiṇī was seven. Then from that asterism to Pūrvāphalgunī, the place of Summer solstice was also seven. Then from that to Viśākhā, the locus of autumnal equinox, was also seven. Thus the number of asterisms from summer to winter solstice was 14. The same was the number from vernal to autumnal equinox. With 27 constellations, each division had 6¾ asterisms and the divisions from solstice to solstice as well as the divisions from one equinox to another had 13½ asterisms.

At present the locus of winter solstice is at the end of Mūla asterism and the several asterisms that are stated to be solstitial or equinoctial asterisms in ancient works are as follows :—

W. Solstice	Ver. Equinox	S. Solstice	Autumnal Equinox
Pūrvābhādrapadā	Rohiṇi	P. Phalgunī	Anurādha
Śatabhiṣaj	Kṛittikā	Maghā	Viśākhā
Dhaniṣṭhā on the 7th Māgha when Bhīṣma expired.	Bharaṇi	Āśleṣā Do 1st half	Svātī 1st half
Dhaniṣṭhā 1st half on the 1st day of Māgha month.			
Śravaṇa with Abhijit, at the time of Mahāvīra.	Aśvinī	Puṣya	Citrā

The verses of the Vāyupurāṇa, with their translation, are as follows—

Yattadviṣuvataṁ śṛṅgaṁ tadarkaḥ pratipadyate.
Śaradvasantayormadhye madhyamāṁ gatimāśritaḥ
Āhastulyāṁ ahorātram karoti timirāpahaḥ.
Muhūrtā daśa pañcaiva aho rātriśca tāvatī.
Kṛttikānāṁ yadā sūryaḥ prathamāṁśagato bhavet
Viśākhānāṁ tadā jñeyaḥ caturthāṁśe niśākaraḥ
Viśakhāyām yadā sūryaḥ carate'mśaṁ t tīyakaṁ
Tadā candram vijānīyāt Kṛttikāśirasi sthitaṁ.
Viṣuvaṁ taṁ tadā vidyāt evamāhurmaharṣayaḥ.
Sūryeṇa viṣuvaṁ vidyāt kālam somena lakṣayet.
Meshānte ca tulānte ca bhāskarodayataḥ smṛtaḥ.
Muhūrtā daśa pañcaiva ahorātriśca tāvatī.

When the sun arrives with mean motion at what is known as the summit of *viṣuva* or *viṣuvan* at the time of autumnal or vernal season, then he makes day and night equal in length to day-time driving out darkness of winter. The number of *Muhūrtas* (48) are five and ten. Each of day and night is of the same length. When the sun reaches the first quarter of the Krttikās then the moon will be, it should be known at the 4th quarters of the Viśākā asterism. When the sun moves at the 3rd quarter of Viśākhā, then the moon should be known to be at the top end of the Kṛttikās ; then the day should be known to be *Viṣuva*, so say great sages. *Viṣuva* is caused by the sun, and the month kāla is due to the moon at the end of Meṣa (Aries) or of Tulā (Libra). Such is the tradition. The number of *Muhūrtas* is only five and ten. Day and night is each of the same length.

Now winter solstice is located at the end of Mūla. The number of asterisms from Pūrvābhādrapadā to the end of or beginning of Pūrvāṣāḍhā is six through which winter solstice has receded. Taking 960 years to pass through one asterism at the rate of 72 years per degree, the number of years that have elapsed from the beginning of counting the precession to the present day is $6 \times 960 = 5760$ years, which is about 718 years greater than the Kali era. This excess is evidently due to error of observation with naked eye, as stated by Swamikannu Pillae in his *Indian ephemeris*. (See also my *Vedāṅgajyautiṣa* Introduction).

As imagined by Western scholars who are accustomed to observe celestial phenomena with telescope and other precise scientific instruments, it was not difficult for the ancients to ascertain the arrival of solstices and equinoxes with rough means in use at the time. It was the shadow measure ascertained by the use of the gnoman and the recitation of Āśvina and other Śatrams or Vedic hymns. The day measure at summer solstice was 18 Muhūrtas and the length of night was 12 Muhūratas. The reverse was the case with the day in winter solstice.

It is a wonder that Western scholars with their characteristic keenness of observation and extra-ordinary detective capacity should miss to notice these plain statements about solstices and equinoxes and believe that the Vedic people had no conception of solstitial and equinoctial points and their precision.

ĀPRĪ HYMNS IN THE ṚGVEDA

Stage of ritual development indicated therein and a theory as to how they came to be written.

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Mechanical character and systematic composition of the Āprī hymns in the Ṛgveda offer ample scope for intelligent study as well as speculation. Attempts by various scholars to understand their real character have almost been made in the light of their ritualistic interpretation by the Brāhmaṇas. According to the Brāhmaṇas, the hymns are to be employed at the time of making the Prayāja offerings in the animal sacrifice. This view has been accepted by all the modern scholars, who have written on Āprī hymns.[1] But this view can hardly be supported by the internal evidence of those unique hymns in the Vedic collection: A detailed study of those hymns[2] reveals the fact that these hymns must have been composed with a view to give a metaphorical representation of the general nature of the then existing sacrificial ritual.

The so called Āprī deities do not appear to stand for so many individually independent and clear-cut divinities and consequently they cannot be considered as so many deities, to be propitiated by the fore-offerings, as it has been popularly believed up till now. The deity of the first place, said to be Idhma is nowhere mentioned by name in the hymns themselves, where we find forms of past passive participle of the root sam-idh. Similar is the case with Īlas, where the forms of the root Īḍ have been used. The conception of Devī Dvāras cannot be interpreted to be either referring to the doors of the sacrificial chamber (सायण) or the gates of heaven (MaxMuller). The whole fabric of the connection of the Āprī hymns with the animal sacrifice has been woven on the slender evidence of the mention of Vanaspati, which is interpreted as referring to Yūpa and the word 'raśanā', (which happens to be mentioned

[1] *Max Muller Ancient S. Literature.*
Haug—*Inroduction to Aitaraye Brāhmaṇa*
Bloomfield—*Vedic repetition.*
Keith—*Religion of Veda.*

[2] I have prepared an article embodying a statement of the views of ancient and modern scholars and analysed the hymns for drawing relevant conclusions, this being the concluding portion of the same.

in a couple of places). But the internal evidence does not support such a supposition. In general Vanaspati seems to stand for the fuel as it is in contact with fire while it is burning. The word raśanā does not appear to mean rope but the flame of fire. Mention of Uṣāsānaktā as separated from the rest of the deities of the Vedic pantheon also implies that they have been associated with the general sacrificial ritual in a metaphorical manner. The conception of Daivyā Hotārā is also a poetic fusion of the two priests, one divine (Agni), and the other mortal (the hotṛ priest), whose functions were poetically grasped to be similar ones. Mention of the offerings in general and the reference to all the gods who are said to be receiving oblations therein, also would indicate that the whole stands not for any specific aspect of a particular sacrifice but for the sacrificial ritual of a general character.

A detailed study of these hymns, given elsewhere, enables us to draw some relevant conclusions regarding the stage of ritual growth as represented by the Āprī hymns and to forward a theory as to how and when the first Āprī hymn must have come to be written. This study will further give us an idea as to how the pre-Brāhmanic ritual was a much different one than that of the Brāhmaṇas and when it will be supplemented by similar close study of the other hymns of the Ṛgveda, ample light will be thrown on the nature of the early Vedic sacrifice.

I

Stage of Ritual Development indicated by the Āprī Hymns

It should be noted at the outset that all the Āprī hymns have not been composed at the same time. This should be clear from the fact that those hymns have such a set pattern that their simultaneous composition can be ruled out of consideration altogether. For later hymns of that type to come to be composed, it is evident that the earlier ones must have come to excite some unusual interest and to occupy a very significant place in the family traditions of the people of those days. Enveloped in hoary antiquity as they are, it cannot quite clearly be ascertained nor emphatically asserted as to what evoked such unusual interest and desire to have a composition of this type for one's own family in the minds of the people of that age. But the hold that the idea had got on the minds of the families can become amply clear from the fact that excepting the families in the fourth and the sixth maṇḍalas, all other families and *maaṇḍlas* have Āprī hymns

of their own. Even the Kaṇvas of the eighth maṇḍala have (I. 13) as a hymn of their family. About their absence in the two maṇḍalas and families, hardly any plausible conjecture can be forwarded. The only thing that we can say is that they were not very much fascinated with the idea of having a hymn of such a set pattern. Besides their absence in those maṇḍalas can hardly have any bearing either on the period of their composition or their place in the family ritual, the two things that constitute a part of the general problem of Āprī hymns. It is also possible that Vāmadevas and Bhāradvājas may have been using the Āprī hymns of some other older family in their family ritual. As contrasted with the absence of Āprīs in those families, it is interesting to note that Bhṛgus had a threefold tradition, viz., to choose either II. 3 or X. 70, or X. 110. In fact the remark "यथ ऋष्याप्रीणीयात् यद्यथाऋषि आप्रीणाति यजमानमेव तद् बंधुताया नोत्सृजति" in the *Ait. B.* indicates such a choice given to the members of different families even though it cannot definitely be said whether such a tradition had come to exist at the time of the composition and compilation of the Vedic hymns.

In the light of group or family affinities that must have been developed in the days of Ṛgveda, if we try to account for the unusual popularity of the Āprī hymns, it would seem that it must have been a kind of "family ritual" that must have been associated with them in their early stages. Hence with the material at our disposal, we have to make an attempt to ascertain with approximate exactness as to what it must have been.

If we look to the Vedic hymns, divested of their associations with the well-developed ritual in the days of the Brāhmaṇas, it should be clear that originally the hymns must have been composed for some self-contained rituals. We do not want to dispute the fact that the ritual was growing even while the hymns were being composed nor the fact that by the time the hymns came to be compiled, it must have attained a fairly important place ; but as MaxMuller points out at great length,[1] neither the collection of Vedic hymns has taken place with a ritualistic bias nor the ceremonial be considered as having attained its Brāhmanic growth even in those days, in spite of the fact that there have been scattered references to a variety of priests as well as materials and implements. The application of this conclusion, it appears, that he was not prepared to extend

[1] *Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 243 and pp 255-60 "Ṛv. Saṁhitā belongs to a period previous to the complete ascendancy of Brāhmaṇas.

to the ritual of Āprī hymns and hence has remarked that "each Āprī hymn was to be recited by the hotṛ priest previous to the immolation of certain victims."(*A.S.L.*, p. 245-6). It is significant that in this connection, he quotes Burnouf and Roth, apparently indicating that, in this respect, he was prepared to be guided by the popular tradition. He notices that the composition is clearly 'artificial', (p. 245), but as to how and why it could have happened, he has nothing to say. On the suggestion offered by Gāṇagari, he forwards a vague conjecture, about which, he himself does not seem to be very serious (p. 246).

Haug has recognised that in the earliest ritual, *hotṛ* alone must have been the officiating priest, who later on came to be associated with the *adhvaryu* (*Ait. B.*, Introduction, p. xxvi) ; but this conclusion he has not tried to apply to the Āprī hymns, where *hotṛ* is the predominant priest. In general he believes that the ritual was much advanced even in the days of the Vedas (*ibid*, p. xix).

Keith, like MaxMuller recognises the general principle that "the ritual of the Sūtras is not the ritual of the Veda",[1] that "in early days importance must have belonged to *hotṛ*"[2] that "a simple sacrifice must have been known in the beginning"[3] that "animal sacrifice is hardly noticed, save in the case of the important and rare *aśvamedha* sacrifice", that "Vedic hymns are a historical rather than a liturgical collection" and hence "the attempt of Hillebrandt to prove that (p. 15) Ṛgveda was a practical collection of hymns arranged according to their relation with the sacrificial ritual must be pronounced to have failed." (p. 1) He has further admitted that "The verses used by the priests for yājyās and anuvākyās are taken from Ṛgveda in a very far from natural way, showing only that the interest of the composers of the lists of offerings was to find some verse, which by connection of sound or sense might be thought appropriate." (p. 10). But the natural inference from those statements he does not apply to the Āprī hymns and hence makes that traditionally vague remark that they are for "fore-offerings of an animal sacrifice" which, as he thinks, "are preserved in the different family books of Ṛgveda and are an invaluable proof of the difference of family tradition, which is observed in the ritual text-books we have."

[1] *Religion and Philosophy of Veda* p. 252.

[2] *ibid* p. 253-4 (avesta 'zaotr')
'Description of ritual as in later days exposes us to a certain danger.'

[3] *ibid* p. 256.

The vagueness of the conclusions of these scholars, as far as the Āprī hymns are concerned, is the result of the fact that even though they had recognised and admitted that "evidently they had been composed for some sacrificial ritual",[1] they have not tried to investigate more closely the internal evidence provided by the hymns themselves, being the only basis for arriving at some reasonable conclusion regarding their character, as all of them have admitted.[2]

Before we enter upon a discussion of the various arguments that would establish the early character of the Āprī hymns, it is necessary to appreciate an essential point of distinction between the common hymns of the Ṛgveda on the one hand and the Āprī hymns on the other. It is this. Even though, more or less all the hymns in the Ṛgveda have been composed for some sacrificial ritual or the other, the Āprī hymns clearly visualise a sacrificial ritual, with very strong family traditions and consequently a self-contained one, with a rather unprecedented appeal to the imagination as well as the sentiment of the Vedic poets and their patrons.

Now we shall present the various arguments that may reasonably help us in arriving at the conclusion that Āprī hymns must have been composed at a very early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

(i) The Āprī deities :—With a detailed study of the Āprī deities,[3] it becomes clear that the view of Haug, viz., 'they are certain divine beings, who do not receive share in the principal part of the sacrifice', cannot stand at all. We can see that the number of stanzas does not stand for so many independent deities and also that all the deities are not such as do not receive share in the principal part of the sacrifice. In fact in connection with the description of '*svāhākṛtis*' almost all the important gods of the Vedic pantheon have been mentioned as coming and receiving their share of oblation offered. It is further extremely doubtful, rather well-nigh impossible, that these were the only deities of minor importance at a time, when as Haug would take it that the ritual was so much advanced to have Āprī hymns composed specially for the sake of the 'fore-offerings'. Again we can see that they cannot be said to be the various accessories of sacrifice that have been deified (in which case perhaps their use in the fore-offerings

[1] cf. Keith, pp. 254-5, where he describes the ritual in its early stages; and Haug, pp xvi-xxii, discussion on Rv X. 61.

[2] MaxMuller *A.S.L.*, p. 245; Keith—*Religion of Veda*, p. 255.

[3] This is ready for publication elsewhere.

could have been explained), because no systematic attempt seems to have been made to include all the accessories of the ritual as would be evident from the non-inclusion of such an important part as the *vedī*.

Besides, if all these were only subordinately connected with the sacrifice, all of them ought to have been glorified and invoked in a similar manner. But as we can see, out of the whole lot, it is only Uṣāsā Naktā and Tisro Devīs, who are asked to come and sit on the sacred grass like all other regular divinities, while in the case of so many of the others, some distinctive functions are associated with them. Again we can see that no attempt has been made to deify the '*barhis*' and that '*samidh*' and '*īḷas*' can in no sense be considered as divinities at all, as in these two places, only adjectival forms from the roots '*samidh*' and '*iḍ*' have been used, with Agni as the clearly intended divinity. As in *barhis*, no attempt seems to have been made to glorify '*svāhākṛtis*'. As regards the divine doors, we can clearly see that it is essentially a metaphorical conception and the occurrence of it in the midst of Āprī group revolutionizes the old view, making it impossible to say that there can be a set number of clear cut-divinities, glorified in the Āprī hymns. Out of the two divine hotrs, we have seen that one is clearly Agni and the other the hotr priest. Tvaṣṭṛ has been referred to not because he can imaginably have any connection with the animal sacrifice; but as far as his function of scattering semen (firstly in the form of rain and then the real one) is concerned and which is most appropriately related with the ordinary sacrificial performances. There is no clear indication to say that *vanaspati* ought to refer to the sacrificial post; on the contrary we can see that he has almost been identified with Agni and appears to be closely associated with the kindled fire, wherein oblations have been offered. It is with reference to the cutting up of these oblations that Agni appears to have been referred to as '*daivyas śamitā;* there being nothing to point out that the animal-slaughterer has been referred to by that word.

Besides we have seen that Agni is clearly the deity in places 1-4 and 11, as also is indicated by the evidence of the 'praiṣa sūkta'. This fact as well as the very vivid description of fire (in *samidh* stanzas) can be well construed only on the assumption of the ritual intended thereby, centring round Agni in the main.

Thus the study of the so-called Āprī deities shows that no eleven deities were sought to be glorified there and consequently Āprī hymns can be relieved of their artificial connection

with the '*prayāja* offerings'. In its turn this fact further indicates that Āprī hymns seek to glorify metaphorically a set sacrificial performance, which essentially centred round Agni and hence which must have been a very simple ritual, naturally belonging to the early stages of the Vedic sacrifice.

(ii) Sacrifice as it is referred to by the Āprī hymns does not appear to be a minor aspect of the principal sacrifice as the *prayāja* offerings theory would indicate. The expression 'this our sacrifice' is so frequently used that it very clearly implies the performance to be the main sacrificial performance and not a subordinate one like the *prayāja* offerings. (Cf. thus '*imam no yajñam* at I.13.8, I.188.7, I.142.8, III.4.8, V.5.7, IX.5.8; 'imam yajñam' at V.5.2, III.4.5; '*nas yajñam* at I.13.2, VII.2.7, X.110.7; '*asmin yajñe*' at I.13.3, X.70.0; '*nas iṣṭaye*' at X.70.11; '*yajñe yajñe*' at V.5.9). This sentimental expression further indicates close family affinity that had developed round the performance of this ritual. The expression '*yajñe yajñe*' at V.5.9 and '*yajñais*' at VII.2.2 further point out that these were common performances by family traditions and not any elaborate specialised performances of the later days. The reference to sacrificial priests also occurs in the most general terms and with regard to their functions in an ordinary sacrifice. Thus 'haviṣmat' at I.13.1, '*ṛtam yat*' at I.188.2, '*Śaśamāna*' at I.142.1 '*yatasruc*' at I.142.5; '*barhis stṛṇānās*' at I.142.5, '*barhis bharamāṇa*' at VII.2.4 '*saparyavas*' at VII.2.4 and '*ājuvhānās*' at VII.2.4.

(iii) This sacrifice is further said to be performed thrice a day at times at least. (I.142.3 *tris divā āmimikṣati;* and at III.4.2 *tris ahan āyajante*). It is said to be performed not in a specially constructed sacrificial hall but in the household of an ordinary householder. (*samiddho adya manuṣo duroṇe* X.110.1). This same is further supported by the fact that the sacred grass is said to be spread at the 'break of day' (X.110.4 *vṛjyate agre anhām*) and Agni is also referred to as enjoying the *samidh* that very time (*sudinatve ahnām* X.70.1). If any elaborate sacrifice were intended to be referred to, there was ample scope for doing so at these and such other places and hence it appears that at this stage, the sacrifices were so simple that the main activities therein were to kindle *samidh*, scatter sacrificial grass, pour ghee with a ladle and proclaim *svāhā* at the end.

(iv) In trying to establish the early character of the 'nābhānediṣṭha-sūkta' (x. 61),[1] Haug has employed the fact of reference to six priests therein as against sixteen of the later days to indicate its early character. He is of course right in doing so. Now if we apply the same argument to our hymns,

[1] *Ait. B.*, Introd., p. 16-22.

which, it should specially be noted, are obviously equally sacrificial in character, then we get a very interesting result for our problem. If Āprīs really formed a part of the elaborate Soma ritual, here was an opportunity for clear reference to the priests. But we find here that there is only one priest that is referred to in very glorifying terms and that is 'hotṛ'. Side by side with him, '*adhvaryus*' have also been mentioned at VII.2.4, but clearly with reference to their subordinate status as assisting the scattering of the sacrificial grass (*barhis pravṛñjate*). The discussion in '*daivyā hotārā*' has indicated to us that this same *hotṛ* used to be the composer of the hymn as the adjectives like '*kāru*' would show. This state of affairs, viz., where the composer would act as the *hotṛ* priest must have belonged to the very early stages of the Vedic sacrifice. As Haug has remarked, the *adhvaryus* also belong to a very early stage of the institution of sacrifice (*Ait. B.*, intro., p. xvi). And hence a reference to them in the Āprī hymns with a predominant position to the *hotṛ* indicates a stage when the ritual though not in its infancy, had not developed any tendencies of growing to or attaining its later Brāhmaṇic proportions.

(v) The reference to the only technical expression '*svāhā*' is further significant in this connection; even the expressions '*iṣṭam*', '*vītam*', '*abhigūrtam*', '*vaṣaṭ kṛtam*' to be spoken by the priest on different occasions belong to a fairly early period of the Vedic sacrifice as Haug points out (p. xviii). Their non-mention in the Āprī hymns, where they could have been mentioned with propriety, can help us in justifiably concluding that Āprī hymns belong to a stage of ritual when '*svāhā*' was the only expression of religio-magical significance and hence could find a glorifying place in this metaphorical glorification of the then sacrificial ritual.

(vi) This same conclusion would further be suggested by the position of Āprī hymns in the midst of Agni group. As it is well known, that the Ṛgvedic collection of hymns has been done on a definite basis. Hence, the place of Āprī hymns in the early parts of the family *maṇḍalas* particularly (II.3, III.4, V.5, VII.2) indicates on the one hand that they belong to the earlier period of the composition of the Vedic hymns, and on the other that from the beginning they have been considered as Agni hymns, in spite of the so called variety of deities existing therein. This latter indication is more significant inasmuch as in the early period, so many Āprī deities were not considered as intended herein but only Agni, suggesting

their connection with some predominantly fire-ritual. Agni is clearly the deity of the stanzas 1-4 and 11, is predominantly mentioned in the seventh and the tenth places and at other places as well the connection with Agni is pretty evident through the simple sacrificial ritual. A ritual in which Agni is the all-in-all deity can only have belonged to the rather early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

(vii) The general tone of the Āprī hymns further shows that in the beginning, the Āprī hymns could have nothing to do with any well developed ritual as such. They describe a very simple occurrence : "O Agni, you are kindled with *samidh*, the sacred grass is scattered, your flames are spreading, bring the gods here, make our offerings sweet for them ; may the gods come, sit on the *barhis*, enjoy the oblations accompanied by *svāhā* and in return give us hero sons through Tvaṣṭṛ to continue the sacrificial tradition."

(viii) The offerings are referred to in the most general terms (I.13.11, etc.) and they are said to be enjoyed by all the gods, without any distinction. In order that they should be enjoyed, they are to be sweetened by Agni. At VII.2.2, they are said to be 'twofold' (ubhayāni), clearly excluding the remotest possibility of their referring to the sacrificial beast. At X.110.10, '*havya*' is said to be sweetened by '*madhu*' and '*ghṛta*'. This shows that Soma and butter were the two chief constituent parts of the sacrifice which was in prevalence then. Soma was apparently associated with sacrifice from very early times but, for want of more research into the matter, it cannot be said with any certainty as to when exactly animal slaughter came to be associated with the Soma sacrifice. But there can hardly be any two opinions as to the fact that animal sacrifice must have been a fairly late development and that originally the sacrifice with simpler offerings like milk, ghee, Soma juice, etc., must have been prevalent. Thus this fact combined with the simple notion of Agni bringing all the gods to the sacrifice and their receiving the oblations without any distinction indicates that the ritual implied in the Āprī hymns must have been a pretty simple one.

(ix) The apparently very close connection between the Āprī hymns on the one hand and the Āfringan prayers in Avestā

[1] The idea of Agni bringing the gods and sacrificing to them is so frequently repeated that it cannot be said to be just accidental. Thus 'Devān āvaha' (I.13.1,I.142.1,X.110.1, 'Devān āvakṣi' 1.188.3,II.3.3, III.4.1,X.70.3 'Devān yaja' (II.3.1,X.70.1,II.3.7) 'Devān yakṣi' (I.13.1,I.142:11, II.3.3,III.4.3, X.70.4, X.110. 3, 9) ; 'ūrdhvam adhvaram kṛṇu', VII.2.7, X.110,2 ('yajñam madhumantam kṛ I.13.2, I.142.3, V. 5. 2, III. 4. 2.)

on the other also (as the discussion in an earlier section would show) indicates that the Āprīs must have belonged to a very early stage of Vedic sacrifice, because it was thought desirable to retain them in some form or other even by the dissenters from the older religion apparently as they were connected with an older rite and had come to develop essentially very strong family associations with them.

(x) The discussion on the word Āprī, given elsewhere, would also indicate that the hymns must have been written long before the name was applied to them, which in its turn would show that the hymns came to be written at a very early stage of the Vedic sacrifice.

In the light of the evidence, set forth above, it would be interesting to consider as to why the Āprī hymns must have come to be composed, which possibly out of them was the earliest one, and when and why the name Āprī was associated with them, and why later they came to be taken with the *prayāja* offerings. Lastly we may also attempt an approximate reconstruction of the ritual, intended therein.

II

A Theory as to why the first Āprī hymn came to be written

After the results of the previous discussion are borne in mind, viz., (i) the Āprī hymns must have some very clear sacrificial association, (ii) they must have been written at a fairly early period of Vedic sacrifice, (iii) the ritual they visualise must be a pretty simple one, there would not be much difficulty in understanding as to why the first hymn of that type came to be composed.

In the early days, as one can easily understand, sacrificial bias must have been subordinate to the poetic instinct and hence earlier hymns must have come to be written with a stronger poetic urge. Daily sacrifice had come to stay, where oblations must have been offered to a variety of deities. From the mention of practically all the important gods of the Vedic pantheon in the Āprī hymns, it is clear that by that time separate hymns had come to be written in honour of all those different deities. Ritual was not very much advanced except perhaps in some cases, where offerings were offered thrice a day. Agni was still the most important deity, being instrumental, in addition to his divinity, in bringing the gods to the sacrifice of the mortal. Hotṛ was still the most important priest, being assisted by a few *adhvaryus* at times, especially as the ritual had still

not become a complicated one. The function of Agni in invoking the gods had already been grasped by the poet's imagination as being similar to that of the hotr priest and consequently Agni had come to be designated as the Hotr of the gods (I.13.1,4,8 ; I.142.8 ; II.3.1, III.4.3,4 ; X.70.3 ; X.110.3,9,11). He was however distinguished from the mortal priests of that name by describing that Agni was so from very ancient times (*'pradivas hotā'* II.3.1, X.110.11) or was the first *Hotā* priest (*iḷas prathamam hotāram* III.4.3 ; *yavhas hotā* X.110.3) or was the first Hotr priest established by Manu (*asi hotā manurhitas* I.13.4), the first mortal to offer sacrifice. This poetic idea of Agni being the hotr combined with the importance attached to the function of the mortal priest of that name found metaphorical glorification in the conception of 'Daivyā Hotārā' in the Āprī hymn. As a result of this metaphorical fusion of the two, they have been very aptly described as *'prathamā hotārā'*, the first priests (I.188.7, II.3.7, III.4.7, X.110.7).

Imagery of fire rising up with smoke and flames had still very great appeal to the imagination of the poet (cf. VII.2.1); and hence he asks the fire to rise up with the oblations and go to the gods (X.70.1 *ūrdhvo bhava*). The sacred grass was poetically conceived as being soft like wool (*ūrṇamnmrada* V.5.4), because it was to be the seat of the gods. The result of the sacrifice, viz., favour of the gods, which would manifest through corn (which would help the birth of hero sons through semen) was clearly appreciated. This was naturally associated with Tvaṣṭr and in this way he was given a place in the metaphorical glorification of the sacrifice.

To appreciate the inclusion of the conception of 'divine doors' in the Āprī hymns, one thing should be very clearly noted. It is this. In these early days gods were not visualised so much with anthropomorphic details as with their original aspects as those particular phenomenon of nature. So when the poet is expecting the gods to come to the sacrifice and receive oblations, it is only in a metaphorical sense and not with reference to any actual arrival, as understood in the later days. And then the metaphorical arrival of the gods, combined with their association with Agni has given rise to the peculiar conception of the divine doors and it is for this reason that the description of the doors in the Āprī hymns does not agree with any other explanation.

Agni happened to be naturally the most favourite deity being the nearest one as well as easily approachable. At the same time his connection with the gods who were far away could not be forgotten and it is for this reason that the twofold

conception of Agni as Narāśaṃsa and Tanūnapāt had come into existence. But as both were not considered as distinctly different from each other, we find them mentioned according to the family traditions. Thus these so called deities came to be included in this metaphorical glorification.

The tribe of Bharatas was clearly the most popular one while the sacrificial ritual was growing. This growth was apparently taking place on the banks of the great Ṛgvedic river Sarasvatī and its tributaries. Bharatas were the first to attain such predominance and hence their family deity or deities naturally came to be associated with the sacrificial ritual. The first offering to the gods was also poetically sought to be glorified like the first Hotṛ priest and it found expression in the conception of 'iḷā', thus enabling the poet to form a trinity of divinities, all having poetic association with the sacrifice.

The beginning and the end of the Āprī hymns both emphasize the poetic character of their composition. Thus whereas the hymn begins with the reference to *samidhs*, which also form the beginning of a sacrifice, it ends with the reference to '*svāhā*', which also mark the end of the sacrificial performance. Poetically the beginning and the end are perfectly faultless.

In this way with the development of these poetic associations, there naturally came into existence one poetic composition which combined all these together in one place. There were already different hymns, written in honour of different deities and hence it was not necessary to mention their characteristics in such a type of hymn. But at the same time such a hymn was not to characterize any specialised sacrifice in honour of any particular deity but one where all the divinities would receive their share without any distinction. The offerings of ghee and Soma juice were such that they could be enjoyed by all the gods. In the midst of divinities, the predominance of Agni can be easily understood and explained under these circumstances as we have seen above.

This universal character of the first Āprī hymn, must have distinctly appealed both to the imagination and the devotion of the people of one family in the first instance and then later to those of other families as well, who must have thought of adopting a similar course for their own families. In this way it appears that the different Āprī hymns came to be written.

This poetic effort must then have been associated with a ritual which of course would be a simple one, symbolic of all the variety of sacrifices offered in honour of the different deities.

A FAMILY HYMN OF THE AGASTYAS

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1. I have attempted to prove elsewhere, that the Ṛgvedic families have in their collections a hymn or hymns which may be properly described as their Family Hymn or Hymns in view of the fact that they describe in them some unusual exploit of an early ancestor or rather, the Founder of the Family, trying to show his super-human character and powers. In some of these this early ancestor is represented as having the privilege of a direct contact with the great gods like Indra, while in others he is shown as performing some miracle, some unusual exploit which is impossible for ordinary men, with the help of the deities. Thus it was found how five of the six Family Maṇḍalas contained such Family Hymns, while one, namely, the Second did not appear to have any. A conjecture may be hazarded in this connection, though at present it does not seem to have any very sound foundation.

2. Among the Family Mandalas, i.e., Maṇḍalas II to VII, the Maṇḍala of the Gṛtsamadas appears to have been first compiled and offered for inclusion in the Ṛk Saṃhitā. The idea of composing and putting such a hymn in their group did not possibly strike them and hence we do not find any hymn in it which may be properly described as a Family Hymn. The Viśvāmitras came next and probably set the ball rolling by putting two hymns in their collection of the Indra hymns, one which recounts how the great Viśvāmitra stopped two mighty rivers at their confluence so as to allow his followers, the Bharatas, to go beyond them with all their luggage and booty, and the other which describes how he officiated at the great Horse-sacrifice performed by his patron Sudās after his world-victory. One of the hymns is placed at the end of the Indra group perhaps by chance or considerations of arrangement, but without any intention of giving it greater prominence over others. The Vāmadevas took up the hint and put in the midst of their Indra hymns (its position being dictated by the number of its stanzas) a glorious hymn which declared how the ancient Vāmadeva was great and old enough to enjoy a conversation with deities like Indra and Aditi, on a basis of equality. The Atris followed them and brought at the end of their Indra group a hymn which gives a glowing description of how the great Atri delivered the sun from a calamity with the help of Indra and his own magical powers. The Bharadvājas similarly

put a hymn at the end of their Indra Group, in which their ancestor is painted as the great magician-sage who with his magical chants protected Divodāsa's war-chariot and war-drums in his long-drawn battles with the Dāsa chiefs Śambara and Varcin. The Vasiṣṭhas came last and put in two such hymns one at the beginning and the other at the end of their Indra group; in the first Vasiṣṭha's great influence with Indra is described, showing how on account of it, his patron Sudās, the Bharata king, could win the unbelieveable victory over the ten kings who opposed him, while in the other, Vasiṣṭha is glorified as an incarnation of the divine son of Mitrā-Varuṇā, born from the celestial nymph called Urvaśī.

3. I have presumed that the order in which these Family-collections appear in the Ṛk Samhitā is also the order in which they were compiled and introduced there; and this is also borne out by the contiunally rising number of stanzas which are contained in them. Thus Maṇḍalas II to VII have respectively 429, 617, 589, 727, 765, and 841 stanzas in them. The ascending order of the stanzas is violated only by the Vāmadevas and it is possible that for some now unknown reason they yielded their second place among the Mādhyamikas to the Viśvāmitras. In all these cases, the Family Hymns find a place in the midst of the Indra hymns and this is quite natural, because Indra is the greatest and worthiest among the gods who may be associated with wonderful exploits.

4. Outside the Family Maṇḍalas, we find a similar hymn in the Agastya group in the 1st Maṇḍala. It is I.165. The Agastya group begins with the hymns to the Maruts, in which Indra also prominently figures now and then. The Agastyas appear to be specially favourable to the Maruts, and disclose a consciousness of having done something for these deities in connection with their share in a sacrifice. It is likely that the Agastyas were the first to offer a sacrifice jointly to Indra and the Maruts in view of the great and constant help which Indra derives from them. The Agastyas evidently regarded themselves as the great favourities of Indra and possibly on the strength of this assumption they proceeded to take this new move in favour of the Maruts. One Agastya poet actually says that the Agastyas are the great favourites of Indra both 'today and tomorrow' and this he significantly declares at the end of a Marut hymn namely I.167 (*vayam adya indrasya preṣṭhā vayam śvo*). This new move of some early Agastya seems to have been poetically represented by the later Agastyas as a glorious exploit of their early ancestor who secured for the Maruts an honourable share at the sacrifice as Indra's companions

at the table, after appeasing Indra who was at first violently opposed to this proposal of the Agastya leader.

5. The hymn I.165 stands at the commencement of the group of hymns addressed to the Maruts by the Agastyas as said above. It contains 15 stanzas and is conceived as containing a dialogue between Indra and the Maruts, in which Indra first flatly refuses to recognise the Maruts as his table companions, but ultimately becomes reconciled to that position when his matchless and independent power is unwaveringly recognized by all concerned. As usual, all the events of the episode as conceived by the Agastya poet are not completely given in this hymn ; some of them have to be found out from two other hymns namely, I.170 and I.171. Yet I.165 must be regarded as the chief exponent of this glorious episode, since it contains the chief dialogue between Indra and the Maruts and the final reconcilement resulting in the introduction of the latter to Agastya's special sacrifice. We may thus describe I.165 as the Family Hymn of the Agastyas in accordance with the view expressed above.

6. As a matter of fact, the part played by the ancient Agastya in the reconcilement and his talk with Indra on the one hand and with the Maruts on the other should have found a place in this Family Hymn, since this is the chief thing of which the later Agastyas could be proud ; yet these are actually found in I.170 and 171. This would seem to militate against the view that such hymns were intentionally composed with a definite purpose and in emulation with each other. But whether consciously or unconsciously composed, these hymns do contain some unusual glorious exploit of the early ancestor or rather the Founder of the Family, and for that reason, may be described as the Family Hymns.

7. I propose to deal with this hymn along with its supplements namely, I.170 and 171, in the present article. I shall give a close translation of all the three with brief notes at the end ; but first, I shall try to reconstruct the whole episode as it seems to me to have existed in the imagination of the Agastya poet. I shall of course stick to the actual words of the hymns as far as possible, in this attempt at reconstruction of the different events of this episode.

8. On one occasion, the ancient Agastya proposed to offer a sacrifice *jointly* to Indra and the Maruts and accordingly sent his invitations to both. Indra came and was waiting to receive his share ; just then the whole host of the Maruts appears on the scene for the same purpose. Indra was wholly ignorant of this new move of the Agastyas and quite innocently

as it would seem, accosts the Maruts about the purpose of their visit to that place (165.1 ; 2). In this question, Indra's tone is quite friendly and merely discolses his curiosity to know their destination. He of course has guessed that they had arrived to receive some one's hymns and sacrifice ; but he least suspected that they had come to share these with him at the same place. The Maruts on the other hand appear quite confident of their host's good will and sincerity in inviting them there and in a tone of self-exultation and in a jocular vein repeat the same question to Indra (165.3). The words *ekaḥ, satpatiḥ* and *māhinaḥ* in *ab* and the whole of the second half would seem to suggest that they thought Indra knew how he was to share the sacrifice along with them as his worthy companions and that he was merely joking in asking the question. Indra, however, did not know anything in the matter as the Agastyas had not informed him beforehand of their new move, depending upon the great favour of Indra which they enjoyed. So, suddenly and with a little impatience Indra replies that he had come there to receive hymns, Soma and other offerings at Agastya's sacrifice (165.4). The Maruts thereupon rejoin in that same jocular vein that they too had been there according to their *sweet will* for the same purpose (165.5). Indra now loses his temper and questions their right to be there, strongly objecting to their use of the word *svadhā* or *sweet will* and also wanting to know what had happened to that *svadhā* of theirs at the time of fighting with the Ahi ! He reminds them how at that time they had left him alone and how in spite of that he had come out successful. Indra meant to say that such deserters had no right to a sacrifice and much less as his table-companions (165.6). The Maruts now realise their mistake in misunderstanding Indra's attitude and request Agastya to explain the real situation to Indra. But Agastya too, was absolutely helpless at this juncture and could not even raise his voice to address Indra in the matter. Indra would not under any circumstances, allow Agastya to offer a sacrificial share to the Maruts even though it was designed and already set aside (171.4). On the other hand, Indra threatened to kill Agastya if he offered anything to the Maruts (170.2). Seeing this, the Maruts at once give up their jovial attitude, assume a serious expression and themselves try to pacify Indra by explaining to him how they claimed merely to be his companions and friends and not independent warriors like him, reminding him at the same time how he had performed many of his exploits in their company (165.7). Indra is still not inclined to cool down and says that he did not need anybody's assistance to perform his exploits (165.8). The Maruts then, in despair

appeal to Agastya, charging him with insincerity (170.3); and Agastya makes his position clear to them (171.4). On this occasion, Agastya seems to have requested Indra to permit him to offer the sacrificial share to the Maruts as it was already promised to them, agreeing at the same time not to repeat such a folly in the future; but Indra is not inclined to grant the request owing to uncertainty of the future and unreliability of human nature and promise (170.1). Agastya makes one more attempt to appease Indra in favour of the Maruts explaining to him how they were like brothers to him and so how it would be proper for him to share the sacrifice with them (170.2; also cf. I.169.1; 6; 7). The Maruts pick up this suggestion and unreservedly acknowledge the matchless powers of Indra (165.9). Indra now once more repeats his possession of matchless powers (165.10) and then finally completely yields to the persuasions of the Maruts and Agastya. He willingly accepts the Maruts as his dear companions and beloved friends (165.11; 12). Agastya then invites the Maruts to accept his prayers and offerings as already promised (165.13) and orders his followers to make the necessary preparations for the grand sacrifice (170.4). The Maruts then decide to accept the sacrifice after mutual deliberation (165.14) and finally, Indra is urged once more to accept the sacrificial offerings in the company of the Maruts (170.5).

9. I shall now subjoin a translation of these hymns with brief explanatory notes.

TRANSLATION

I. 165. Indra Speaks:—(1) With what common beauty have the Maruts, who are of the same age and have a common abode, associated themselves? With what intention and whence have they come? The mighty ones sing a mighty song with a desire for treasures. (2) Whose hymns have the youthful gods liked? Who has attracted the Maruts at his sacrifice? With which admiring thought should we stop them who are flying like hawks in the mid-air? (3) The Maruts Speak:—From where have you come all alone, oh Indra, though you are great and a true commander? What do you want thus? Having met us who are well decorated, you greet us; you may therefore speak out what you desire from us. (4) Indra speaks: Hymns and prayers as also the pressed juices are very agreeable to me; (through them) my vigour, my raised Vajra, goes forth. (The sacrificers) long for me; the hymns lovingly approach us and these our bay horses carry us towards them. (5) The Maruts reply:—For this same reason, indeed, have we yoked our spotted deer, having adorned our persons

and being associated with our own innermost, self-strong powers, oh Indra. You have indeed (only) imitated our self-will. (6) Indra speaks:—Where was that self-will of yours, oh Maruts, when you left me behind all alone to do the killing of Ahi? It is well known, how (at that time) I humbled (the pride) of every enemy with my weapons, being fierce, fiery and mighty. (7) The Maruts speak:—You have performed many (brave deeds) with our common powers as your companions, oh mighty Bull! And surely we shall perform many more by our power, if we so desire, oh most powerful Indra, oh Maruts! (8) Indra replies:—I killed Vrtra, oh Maruts, becoming mighty by means of my own Indralike lustre. It was I who made these all-beautiful waters easily accessible to man, with my Vajra in my arms. (9) The Maruts speak:—Your (lustre) is surely resistless, oh Maghavan. None, indeed no one, is known to be like you among the gods. None who is born now or was born in the past is able to reach you; do perform those (deeds) which you will to do, oh mighty god. (10) Indra Speaks:—All-reaching must my power be considered, though I am all alone, (in all deeds) which I boldly propose to perform with determination. For, oh Maruts, I am famous as fierce; Indra alone is the master of all things which I move. (11) The hymn, the prise worth hearing, which you composed in person for myself, i.e., Indra, the powerful and mighty friend of yours, just here as my friends, has gladdened me, oh war-like Maruts. (12) You, oh Maruts, who are shining brightly thus by my side and who bestow (upon the sacrificer) lasting fame and nourishing food, have always delighted me in the past and may please me now and in future, when I look at you who are endowed with lovely forms. (13) Agastya speaks:—Who has indeed glorified you just here, oh Maruts? (It is I). Do come towards us who are your friends, oh friends. Rousing our prayers, oh beautiful ones, be the appreciators of these my sacrificial rites. (14) The Leader of the Maruts speaks:—Since the sacrificial prayer of this descendent of Māna has brought us here in order that he might serve us as a poet serves a helpful master, turn yourself, oh Maruts; willingly to that singer. The singer has sung these songs for you. (15) This hymn, this song of the poet Māndārya of the Māna family is for you, oh Maruts. May he win vigour with food for the body. May we obtain food and a host of followers whose liberality is quick.

I. 170. Indra Speaks:—(1) It is neither now nor to-morrow; who knows what has not yet happened? The mind of an ordinary person has to be waited upon and what is even well thought out by him completely vanishes away. (2) Agastya

speaks :—Why do you seek to kill us oh Indra? The Maruts are your brothers. Arrange well with them; do not kill us in your clash (with the Maruts). (3) The Maruts speak :—Why do you disregard us, oh Brother Agastya, being our firend? We surely know what your will is; you do not desire to give us alone anything. (4) Agastya Speaks :—May they prepare the Vedi; may they enkindle the fire in front of it. Let us both perform a sacrifice for you, (oh Indra), where the immortal gods i.e., the Maruts, will feel animated. (5) You rule over all treasures, oh lord of riches; you are the best bestower of friends, oh lord of friends. Do agree with the Maruts, oh Indra; and then enjoy our offerings at the proper season.

I. 171. (1) I approach you with this prayer; with this well-sung hymn I beg the favour of the victorious ones. Strike down the feelings of hatred (of the foes) with a happy (mind), by means of your secret lores; do unyoke your horses. (2) This respectful prayer composed with mind and heart, is offered to you, oh divine Maruts. Because, you are the promoters of only a respectful prayer, come to this accepting it with your mind. (3) May the Maruts be gracious to us when praised; and may the Maghavan be the best bringer of bliss, when praised. May our lovely wooden tubs of Soma be always ready to start upwards (to the gods), with a desire to conquer. (4) Agastya explains to the Maruts :—Running away from this haughty Indra, (I stood) shaking with fear oh Maruts. The offerings were specially prepared for you; (but) we removed them away (for fear of Indra). Take pity on us. (5) Bestow on us fame by which the Mānas will become known as the Shining Ones by their power, at the breaks of the many Mornings, oh Bull, a fierce and firm-footed giver of strength as you are, along with the fierce Maruts. (6) Protect these brave men from a stronger enemy, oh Indra; in the company of the very wise Maruts, have your dislike for us completely removed. As the habitual victor, be the bestower of riches on us; may we obtain food and a host of followers of quick liberality.

NOTES

I. 165. (1) *arcanti śuṣman*: Cf. III. 32. 3*ab*. *vasūyā*: The *vasu* is probably the expected sacrificial share. (2) *mahā manasā*: Cf. VI. 40. 4*ab*. (3) The word *eka* is contrasted with *māhina* and *satpati*; one who is a great and true commander ought not to be all alone, but should be surrounded by his faithful followers and friends like the Maruts. *sam pṛcchase*: cf. IV. 18.2*d*. (4) *śuṣmah* and *adriḥ* both subjects of *iyarti*; or, *śuṣma* as an adj. as at I.52.4*d* (*śuṣmīḥ marutaḥ*); IX.79.5 (*śuṣmaḥ madaḥ*). *prabhṛto adriḥ*: *pra bhṛ* is often used with the

Vajra; cf. I.61.12*ab*; V.32.7*c*; II.30.3*b*. In *c*, the subject is *yajamānāḥ* supplied; cf. I.24.11*b*; 30.10*b*; IX.99.5*d*. *ukthā prati haryanti*: cf. V.57.1*c*. *me-naḥ*: Difference in number as at IV.42.1; also cf. X.86.8*c*. (5) *d*: 'Both of us, i.e., Indra and the Maruts, have followed their self-will in visiting the sacrifice of Agastya.' (6) In *d*, supply *svadhām* as the object of *anamam*, from *a*; *nam* used as a transitive root as at II.24.2 (*natvāni anamat*); VII.56.19*b* (*sahaḥ sahasa ā namanti*). (7) The stanza like the 14th, is addressed by the leader of the Maruts first to Indra and then to his followers (in *d*). (8) *d*: Cf. III.31.16*ab*. I take *suga* to mean 'easily accessible' and not 'easily fordable' as others take it. The waters were inaccessible to man as they were held up by Vṛtra; Indra killed Vṛtra and released them for man; *suga* is used only with *pathin* or *adhvan* in Ṛv. (9) *a*: Supply *vīryam* (I.80.7*b*), or *kṣatram* (VII.34.11; VIII.90.5). *ā* after *anuttam* is exclamative, as at VIII.46.21*a* (*īvad ā*). *nakir*: *na*: Repetition of the negative for emphasis. *bc*: Cf. I.81.5; VII.32.23. *d*: Cf. VII.20.1*b*; also IV.30.23. *kariṣyā* is either equal to *kariṣyāh* or, a (future) passive participle like *kartvā*. (12) *anedyaḥ* is adj. of *śravas* and is a shortened form of *anedīyas* ('far off, lasting'). Or, supply *gaṇaḥ* (cf. I.87.4*ac*; V.61.13*ab*) referring to the Maruts. *c*: *sam cakṣyā*: Irregular use of the absolutive. (13) *a*: The expected answer is 'It is *I*, the singer'. Cf. similar questions at IV.25.1-3. *naveda* or *navedas* is 'appreciative patron'; cf. IV.27.4*c*; V.12.3*b*; 55.8*c*. (14) The words are spoken by the leader of the Maruts as in v.7. He addresses them to his followers to see if they agree with him as in the last case. Both *duvasyāt* and *cakre* are to be construed with *yat* as their accent shows. *duvase na kāruḥ*: *duvas* with this accent on the 2nd syllable is a noun of agency, meaning 'a helpful master or patron.' That *duvas* is here used of the deity is beyond doubt; cf. I.119.10*b*; III.51.3*b*; VI.36.5*a*. (15) *c*: Construe *iṣā tanve vayām ā yāsīṣṭa* where *vayām ā yāsīṣṭa* is equivalent to *vayām adhikṛtya ā yāsīṣṭa*.

I. 170. (1) I construe this as Indra's reply to Agastya's request to permit him to offer to the Maruts, only on that day, since he had already invited them, though he should have consulted Indra before doing so. It is perhaps possible to construe *a* as a reference to the poet's claim that Indra belongs to him both 'to-day and to-morrow' (I.165.10*a*), and so he could assume Indra's permission in any act of his, as he was very dear to Indra. *cd* show how an ordinary man cannot be relied upon to carry out his promise without constant persuation (*c*: A man has to be waited upon or persuaded for carrying out his promise), and beside there is the danger of

his forgetting what he has promised. (2) *naḥ* refers to Agastya in both the places. *samarana* is 'the meeting', here 'a clash', of course of Indra and the Maruts; cf. I.165.3c (*śubhānaiḥ sam arāṇaḥ*). (3) *asmcbhyam it*: 'you do not desire to give only to us; but you do desire to give to Indra.' (4) *te* in *d* refers to Indra. *amṛtasya cetanam*: Cf. *te devasya cetanam* (IV.7.2*ab*). Or, *cetanam* may be taken as an adjective of *yajñam* in *d* for which cf. III.12.2*b*; VIII.13.18*ab*, so that *amṛtasya cetanam yajñam* would mean 'a sacrifice which would animate the immortals, i.e., the Maruts.' *tanavāvahai*: Very likely, the other person intended by the dual is the same as is meant in *te*, namely, Indra himself. Indra's help was essential for performing the joint sacrifice to Indra and the Maruts. Geldner (Translation, p. 216) thinks that the other person is Agastya's son: not likely. Similarly Max Muller's or rather Grassmann's 'husband and wife' is to be rejected. (5) In *a* Indra is acknowledged as the uncontested ruler, but in *b*, he is also said to be the best 'friend-maker'; this suggests that even though Indra is all-powerful, yet he should allow the Maruts to be his friends and table-companions as desired by Agastya. *mitrāṇām dheṣṭhāḥ*: cf. *mitram enam dadhāma* (X.108.3); also expression like *mitre hite* (X.132.5), *mitradhiti* (I.120.9) and *mitradhitāni* (X.100.4). *mitrapate* occurs only here and perhaps is meant to explain Indra's position (Pati) with reference to the Mitras namely, the Maruts.

I. 171. (1) *c*: *rarāṇatā* is a very irregular form; according to the Pada Pātha, it seems to be an instrumental form of the present participle (which then must be supposed to have taken both the Atmane and Parasmai Pada terminations; or perhaps *rarāṇati* as a denom. verb) after which we must supply some word like *manasā* (cf. v. 2*c* below, and also expressions like *aheḷatā manasā* II.32.3; VII.67.7 and *sumnāyatā manasā* at II.32.2). *vedyā* is 'some superior knowledge not possessed by ordinary men'; cf. VI.9.1; X.71.1. At VII.21.5 the word seems to be used in the sense of 'magical knowledge.' If this meaning is accepted here, construe *vedyābhiḥ helo ni dhatta*' strike down feelings of hatred together with the *vedyās* of the enemy.' (2) *hṛdā manasā*: The double expression signifies the intensity of feelings; cf. I.61.2*c*; IV.58.6*b*; VI.28.5*d*; VII.98.2*c* and X.177.1*b*. *d*: *namasaḥ vṛdhāsaḥ*: cf. III.29.10 (*no vardhaya giraḥ*); VIII. 6.32 (*pra vardhaya matim*); VIII.36.7 (*brahmāṇi vardhayan*); IX.40.5 (*jaritur vardhaya giraḥ*); also X.25.10*d*; 141.6*b*. (4) Cf. I.170.2. *niśitāni*: 'specially whetted, i.e., prepared for!' Cf. VII.18.2*d*; 6*b*. (6) *sahīyasaḥ*, i.e., *martāt*; cf. IV.55.1*c*. *avayātaheḷāḥ*: cf. IV.1.4*b*. *dadhāno*, i.e., *draviṇam*; cf. IX.96.12*c*.

THE ṚGVEDIC THEORY OF POETRY

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Ṛgveda saṁhitā is primarily an anthology of beautiful poems devoted to the lyrical outbursts of the poets in those times. The compilation of this mighty volume marks the last phase of a great civilization and culture, and of a freeman's worship of Beauty. The seers sang of beauty of the familiar and the unfamiliar. The shining and lustrous dawn, the starry nights, the effulgent rays of the rising sun, the bright sun at noon, the sublime sunset, the thunder and the rain, and the tempestuous monsoon—are all endowed with beauty. They celebrated the beauty of the beneficient powers behind every aspect of nature, which blessed humanity and made life happy here and hereafter. They sang of the Beauty of their visions. They lived a beautiful life in the environments of ideal Beauty and they always sang of Beauty, Actual and Ideal.

In the vedic times, poetry was held as a thing of a very high order. The poets themselves speak about their art. They knew about the symmetry and artistic finish of their compositions. They regarded their compositions as works of art and not as having religious importance. Art itself was their religion. In the Rigveda there is no other religion than the worship of art-the worship of Beauty.

The vedic poets have settled and advanced convictions regarding the form and matter, unity of impression, conception and expression of their vision, and other details. Their whole theory can be epitomised under the verbs 'kṛ-', 'takṣ-', 'īr-' (including 'vac-', 'brū-', and 'bhar-'), 'jan-', and 'sṛj-'. These occur in the passages where they say they have composed the songs. The first two talk about the formal aspect of poetry, while the last two deal with matter. The third fuses and blends both. It does not follow from this that they had three different conceptions of poetry, for all these overlap and constitute only one theory. It is neither the form nor the matter that separately constitutes poetry, according to the vedic poets. Poetry is a spontaneous creation of an eternal value by the seer who has 'the blessed and serene mood', in which he looks into the inner life of things. It is there that

he apprehends Reality. Artistic polish of the form, though insisted upon by many, automatically follows.

Poetry was cultivated as a regular profession, as we read in one of the last hymns of the ninth book—

"Kārur aham tato bhiṣag upalaprakṣiṇī nanā" (9.112.3). These bards formed a sort of society and often styled themselves as Kāravaḥ, Kīstāsaḥ and the like. The rivers style Viśvāmitra as a professional bard. . And we also read that it is one of the most zealous poets that offers the songs (3.39.2, 7). These poets, as Geldner[1] has observed, seemed to have lived at the courts of the princes or the members of the royal family; and these were from all classes of society, both Aryan and non-Aryan.[2]

The poets were variously styled in the text. The term Muni occurs in one hymn (10.136) and here it denotes a spiritualist possessing superhuman powers and divine afflatus. 'Kīsta', 'Kīri' and 'Kāru' regularly denote a poet; but the last seems to be a derivative of 'Kṛ', to do, thus referring to the formal aspect of poetry. 'Ṛṣi' means a seer, a composer of the songs. Here the note of transcendentalism is clearly evident. 'Jaritṛ' implies one who composes musical songs. There was a section of panegyrists also who called themselves Vipanyavaḥ, Joguvānaḥ, and the like. There are also scholars (Vidvān), great intellectuals (Sūrayaḥ), pioneers or leaders (netāraḥ), and highly inspired ones (Viprāḥ). The intellectual note (Manīṣiṇaḥ) and the inspired tune are everywhere stressed firmly. Even their compositions were called in a similar way. They are utterances (vācaḥ), spells (Mantra), praises, songs and the creations of the mind (matī). They are called 'Chandas', from a root 'chand', originally meaning, to please. This term clearly shows that they have not ignored the aesthetic value of art in their considerations. That they are the creations of thought and of insight are always referred to, whenever the poet speaks of them as 'dhī', 'dhīti'. 'Nītha', a musical mode, and 'Nīthā', an artifice, are applied to their works to bring forth the musical and the artistic faculties underlying them. The descriptive note is well expressed in the terms 'Kadha' and 'Kāvya', while the ease of utternace and the melody therein are implied in 'sūkta' and 'śloka'. The song is even styled as the mind or thought (manas).

From these general thoughts, we can safely turn now to the passages speaking about the formal aspect of poetry. A

[1] See Vedische Studien, Band 3.

[2] See Dr. C. Kunhan Raja's article on "Vedic Authors" in Rangasvāmi Iyengar Commemoration volume.

general idea of these passages can briefly be given as follows: Vasiṣṭha offers the new praise as if it were sacrificial food.[1] The seers have made the hymn, carved it as the 'Bhṛgus' did the chariot.[2] A sort of artificial polish and a careful attention to the formal aspect of poetry is evident throughout. The seers are the makers of the hymns—Brahma Kṛts.[3] They worship with the new and solemn hymn; it is prabhṛti,[4] carried out after some effort. This polish and the chisselling of the form are not devoid of any art, for it is said,

"Haṁsā iva kṛṇutha Ślokam" (3.53.10).

They must make the holy song, and sing the strain aloud like the quacking swans; the musical tones are to be as fine, delicate, refined, and majestic as the gait of the swans. The poets have decked with ornaments the hymn addressed to the Aśvins amongst men, as if it had been a wife.[5] Intellect and inherent power are essential to give a colouring of art. Yet they did not greatly strive after the artistic effect, for the poet utters it easily as if he were yoking a chariot.[6] The very term Sūkta signifies that it is uttered or spoken well and easily. The glow of poesy is as free and easy as that of the gale.

Nodhas sends his hymn to Indra, as the constructor of a car drives it to its owner.[7] He has carved out a new hymn.[8] The clear understanding was given by the gods to the poet, and with it he was enabled to carve the hymn.[9] Gṛtsamada fabricated or erected praises like those who are desirous of travelling go to construct roads.[10] The institutor of the sacrifice calls upon the officiating priests to be diligent labourers, like the carpenter; and he exhorts, "Repeat the pious praise to Indra engaging yourselves jealously in the rites, like a carpenter who planes the wood."[11] Another poet observes that he has fabricated with his mouth unprecedented, comprehensive and gratifying praises.[12] Vasiṣṭha longs his pure and divine praise to proceed from him to the gods like a swift, well constructed chariot.[13] The seers construct the hymns as a clever and intelligent man prepares a chariot by himself.[14] Kumāra

[1] 7.36.2;
[2] 10.39.14;
[3] Cf. 7.29.2; 10.50.7; 54.6; 66.5;
[4] 2.24.1;
[5] 10.39.14.
[6] 1.61.4.
[7] 1.62.13.
[8] 1.109.1, cf. 3.38.1, 8.6.33; 10.80.7, etc.
[9] 2.19.8, cf. 5.73.10.
[10] 2.31.7.
[11] 4.16.20.
[12] 6.32.1.
[13] 7.34.1.
[14] 1.130.6.

Ātreya composed the hymn for Agni as a steady dexterous artisan fabricates a car.[1] Gauravīti too fabricates acceptable and pious hymns like rich garments and like a chariot.[2] Nodhas combines the hymn with the instrument of invocation, as a man yokes a horse to a chariot.[3] Kutsa returns to Rudra the hymns derived from him as a shepherd returns his sheep to the owner.[4] And another observes,

"Nāsatyābhyām barhir iva pravṛñje
Stomān iyarmy abhriyeva vātaḥ."

Further, the hymn is devoid of all faults. It is delightful and pure as the clarified butter that has been filtered.[5] It is offered like consecrated butter.[6] It is the seers that have spread the language of poetry in all the directions through the seven metres.[7]

The chisselling of the phrase and of the line, the carving of a beautiful image out of the rough, harsh and granite rock, the making of a composition—all imply a keen sense of the artistic side of poetry. Beauty in execution,[8] and vigour born out of the fusion of intellect and imagination, without any trace of striving after the effect, bespeak of a rare gift of poetic faculty.

The poet is not only the shaper and the architect of all poetic things ; he has a far more interesting and highly important station in the evolution of art. He is the medium of art, and the creator of it as well. The subject-object relation no longer exists between the two. He transcends these things, and it is almost a pleasure to him to execute the trust that is reposed in his hands. He never betrays, nor does he lag behind. The whole hymn is a spontenaous outburst ; he brings it out, bears it cheerfully, and raises it aloft. The composition is uttered freely, as if it came into existence only in a casual way. The vision and the perception have made the poem complete, and the poet has only to speak it with ease. He speaks out the earnest and sacred hymn that glorifies the divinity.[9] The hymn is uttered bright tongued before Agni.[10] Men glorify the gods with various speeches and utterances.[11] The eulogy has been spoken with earnestness by the devout.[12] They speak

[1] 5.2.11.
[2] 5.29.15.
[3] 1.61.5.
[4] 1.114.9.
[5] 6.10.2.
[6] 8.12.4.
[7] Cf. 10.71.2, 3.
[8] 7.34.1.
[9] 1.74.1 ; 88.6 ; 114.6 ; 136.6.
[10] 1.142.4.
[11] 6.31.1.
[12] 6.34.5.

the song they have made.[1] The seer, the poet speaks his mind greatly.[2] It is not uttered in a trivial way. The poet really felt it and speaks it out with all his mind. In short he speaks out his mind and nothing else; for inspiration does not affect the object alone, but also the manner of its appearance.

This product of inspiration comes out automatically at its own times and callings. The poet has to fetch outside what was within. Being the medium of revelation, he has a burden to carry. His utterance relieves him of the agitation that is going on in his mind. He carries it out easily and gracefully. It is the verb "bhar" that brings forth this significance aptly and precisely. He brings forth the earnest praise.[3] He bears forth with willing minds the unreluctant hymns.[4] The perfect praise of Vaśiṣṭha uttered with loosened tongue propitiates Indra with repeated invocations.[5] The poet bears the hymn as if it were a reward of his deep contemplation.[6] The expressions,

"Pra bharadhvam....matim" (7.4.1; 13.1; 72.1; 88.1, etc.)

"Pra bharadhvam giram" (7.5.1, etc.)

"Imā giraḥ....bharata" (7.46.1, etc.)

literally mean, 'bear aloft the mind, the speech.' They carry the active, invigorating and lively hymns. They are powerful and entirely new. Carrying out the hymn, communicating it, and uttering it are simultaneous processes and to a certain extent identical. The uttering and the thing uttered are one. Inspiration which is the master of the artist, engages him in all possible ways, and as a reward of his cool and calm acquiescence to its fold, it gives the hymn.

The seers were conscious of the variety of the types of hymns, corresponding to the varieties of the minds and of experience.[7] The attitudes and the outlook colour the perception and the imagination; and naturally enough, the presented experience varies. The poet translates the impression of the images, in accordance with the bent of his mind. He utters infinite and earnest praise.[8] The deity cries, as it were, repeatedly, and foretells what will come to pass, and gives due direction to the voice as a helmsman guides a boat.[9] The

[1] 7.28.5 cf 7.103.1.

[2] 10 35,7.

[3] 1.64.1, cf. 1.102.1; 114.1; 136.1; 151.8; 5.12.1; 1.148.2 5.60.1; 6.67.10.

[4] 1.126.1.

[5] 7.24.2.

[6] 8.66.11.

[7] 10.111.1.

[8] 2.23.8, cf. 3.34.2; 7.61.2; 8.12.31; 10.188.2.

[9] 2.42.1, cf. 10.116.9.

hymner urges praise like the stone that presses the Soma juice.[1] The beverage inspires the speech, and this develops the desired intelligence.[2] Then, the sages offer their songs.

The poem together with the form and the matter is born and complete as soon as it is uttered. Till then the whole work remains in the melting pot. Often the poets say that they have brought forth, (rather generated) the hymn specially for the occasion. The poet gives birth to a new poem.[3] The poets engender the sacred song.[4] The chief praise proceeds from him copiously like rain from a cloud.[5] It is so fresh. His mind was heavy and laden with ripe fruit till that moment. The excellent praise which Aditi brought for the royal Indra is the product of the sacrifice.[6] The hymns raise themselves to Soma.[7] Vimadas have generated the unprecedented and most varied hymn.[8] The poet offers the graceful hymn with all his heart; he longs to be in the centre of Agni's heart to touch it like a loving, well attired wife in the heart of her husband.[9]

These passages make a slight advance over that of chisselling in the theory of poetry. When he gives birth to a hymn, the poet tries to give it some more polish to make it more appealing. Such a hymn is necessarily beautiful. There are other passages too that refer to the poem mainly as a creation, not as a communication, as it is implied in some of the passages above referred to. The poet creates (Sṛj-); and when once the creation is complete, communication *ipso facto* follows. The poet never struggles over other extraneous issues. He creates and in that creation there is neither repetition nor imitation. He creates the song.[10] The created song works marvels as soon as it enters the universe with a full fledged individuality. The new, pure and graceful song issues forth like the soma juice from the filter.[11] It is a spontaneous overflow, ever green and lively. It is a composition in heart, in mind and in understanding.[12] It is conceived in the heart,[13] and spoken from the soul.[14]

1 5.36.4, cf. 9.72.1.
2 6.47.3.
3 1.109.2 see also 6.18.15; 7.15.4; 7.22.9.
4 7.31.11.
5 7.94.1.
6 8.12.14, see 8.43.2; 95.5; 9.47.3; 73.2.
7 9.95.1.
8 10.23.6; 7.2.
9 10.91.14.
10 6.16.37; 2.35.1.
11 6.8.1.
12 1.62.2, see 1.105.15; 1.67.4; 171.2; 182.8; 3.39.1.
13 2.35.2.
14 10.47.7.

Thus sincerity and intensity of utterances are the two essential characteristics of great poetry as conceived by the Ṛgvedic poets, It is earnest,[1] great,[2] grateful,[3] propitiating,[4] respectable,[5] gratifying and pious and emulous in earnestness,[6] devout, faultless and appropriate,[7] pleasant[8] and ample.[9] These songs are powerful and new, and abound in the choice phrases.[10] They are the sweetest of the sweetest,[11] unprecedented and comprehensive,[12] magnifying and wide-striding,[13] radiant[14] and auspicious,[15] excellent and pious.[16] These are some of the excellences that the poets demanded of any great work of art; and in all these they are eminently successful. Finally we are told that the poem is similar to a web, to weaving.

"asmā id u gnāścid devapatnīr
indrāyarkam ahihatya ūvuḥ"[17]

Gnāḥ are the courtezans of the Gods. It is the refined and delicate touch of the born aesthetician that is necessary in the creation of a song. All seemingly contrary things are woven here dexterously into a unitary whole-where the parts are no longer visible. We cannot remove it bit by bit and examine it. We have to enjoy and examine it as a single unit. Another poet observes,

"Mā tantuś chedi vayate dhiyam me"[18]

He requests Varuṇa not to sever the thread while he weaves the song. Poetic composition is made up of many fibres, threads or strings, with which a mighty poem is woven. To make the web complete, inspiration must linger till the very end. And in a hymn addressed to the dawns we observe—

"Syūmanā vāca udiyarti vahniḥ
Stavāno rebha uṣaso vibhātīḥ"[19]

The poet rises after praising the effulgent dawns with the song's webs. Music is an integral part of the doctrine of the Ṛg-vedic poetry which also stresses the importance of inspiration

1 3.33.5.
2 3.51.1; 5.51.8; 19.3; 6.49.4.
3 5.52.13.
4 8.11.7.
5 3.24.4.
6 7.18.3.
7 3.31.13.
8 6.15.7.
9 2.2.1.
10 1.143.1, etc.
11 1.114.6, cf. 5.11.5.
12 6.32.1.
13 7.99.6.
14 8.6.7.
15 10.67.9.
16 8.23.23.
17 1.61.8.
18 2.28.5.
19 1.113.17

and imagination considered to be the essence of everything. A strong passion for the pursuit of the unknown enkindles the imaginative spirit which provokes an extraordinarily emotional life. The poets sought after Beauty and found it everywhere; but all seemed to be eternally fresh and new. Here is the "strangeness added to Beauty" which defines clearly the theory of poetry held and practised by the vedic seers. By his poetic faculties the poet fashions Beauty in the heaven—

"Kaviḥ kavitvā divirūpam ā sajat"[1]

Truth, Beauty and goodness are his realms, for he has to establish truth (5.52.13), visualise and express sweetness and Beauty (5.5.2; 9.25.3). They saw these things not with the bodily eye, but with the mental one (1.139.2). There is an inner urge—

"Vi me karṇā patayato vi cakṣur
Vīdam jyotir hṛdaya āhitam yat
Vi me manaś carati dūra ādhiḥ
Kim svid vakṣyāmi kim u nū maniṣye." (6.9.6).

"Mine ears unclose to hear, mine eyes to see him; the light that harbours in my spirit broadens. Far roams my mind when thoughts are in the distance. What shall I speak, what shall I imagine now?"

THE LEGEND OF PRAJĀPATI'S ILLICIT PASSION FOR HIS DAUGHTER—THE SKY OR THE DAWN[1]

[*SBR* (Mādhyandina I-vii-4-1-8)]

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At *SBR* (Mādhyandina version) I-vii-4-1-8 there occurs a legend that speaks of Father Prajāpati's incestuous relationship with his own daughter Dyaus or Uṣas. We notice the versions of this legend in the Kāṇva recension of this Brāhmaṇa (*SBR* Kāṇva II-vii-2-1-8) as well as in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III-33-34. A reference to it also occurs at *SBR* (Mādhyandina) II-i-2-9 (Kāṇva) I-1-2-5-6 and the *Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa* viii-ii-10-11. I regard, for practical purposes, the Mādhyandina version as the nucleus of this legend, which may be stated briefly as follows.

"Prajāpati once entertained a passion for his own Daughter —the Sky or the Dawn. He united with her, thinking of pairing with her. Now, this was the gravest sin in the eyes of the Gods when they saw their Father pairing with his own daughter. They were convinced of the moral depravity involved in this vile act of their father and they decided that his grave social crime should not be allowed to go unpunished. They, therefore, approached Rudra, the dreadful God who was the Lord of the Cattle, and requested him to pierce Prajāpati with his poisonous arrow. Rudra, aiming at Prajāpati, discharged an arrow at him and thereupon Prajāpati's germinal fluid fell upon this earth."

The latter part of the legend speaks of the device employed by the Gods to utilise this part, torn out of Prajāpati's body, in the sacrifice; for Prajāpati represents sacrifice itself and hence no part of his Body is to be thrown away without being properly utilised in the performance of the sacrifice. The Gods, thinking of making an offering out of it for a Divinity, first took it to Bhaga who sits on the southern side of the sacri-

[1] For this paper the author is much indebted to his *guru* Professor H. D. Velankar.

ficial ground. They hoped that Bhaga would eat it as the fore-offering. Bhaga looked at it and at once his eyes were burned. So powerful the seed of Prajāpati was! Therefore Bhaga is blind.[1] The Gods realising that although the part from Prajāpati's body was offered to Bhaga as a fore-offering, it was not adequately appeased. They, therefore, took it to Pūṣan who, on tasting it, lost his teeth. It is for this reason that Pūṣan is toothless and when any offering is made to Pūṣan it is prepared from ground rice as is done for one having no teeth. Although the part was tasted by Pūṣan, the Gods still found that it was not appeased properly. They, therefore, took it to Bṛhaspati who immediately ran to Savitṛ with it and requested him to impel or influence it for him and make it palatable for him, as the latter was the *prasavitṛ* or the Impeller. When the offering was thus impelled by Savitṛ it did not harm Bṛhaspati when the latter partook of it. This same part is called *prāśitra*. This *prāśitra* the Brahman-priest receives as the representative of Bṛhaspati on earth in addition to his regular portion (*brahma-bhāga*) from Agni's cake.

The legend is exploited by the Brāhmaṇa to suit a purely sacrificial purpose inasmuch as it gives the origin of the word *prāśitra*.[2] It also explains the cutting of the *prāśitra* and accounts for its offering to Bṛhaspati as the fore-offering, which is actually given to the Brahman-priest as the latter is the representative of the former on earth. The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* version is given in connection with the Agni-Māruta Śāstras. Agni Vaiśvānara, aided by the Maruts, stirred and heated the fallen seed of Prajāpati and out of it, as *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* III-34 says, sprang successively Āditya, Bhṛgu and the Ādityas. Whilst the coals became the Angiras; from those that blazed forth after being quenched Bṛhaspati came into being; the coal-dust, the burnt earth and ashes, etc., were changed into various kinds of animals. This version of the legend differs from the Mādhyandina and the Kāṇva accounts of the story in other details as well. Thus (i) Prajāpati, entertaining an evil desire for his own daughter the Sky or the Dawn, approached her not as Prajāpati but as Ṛṣya, a species of a male deer. His daughter, at the time of co-habitation had assumed the form of Rohit, a female-deer.[3] The *SBR* versions do not speak of these transformations of Prajāpati and his daughter before

[1] Note how the Brāhmaṇa explains the blindness of Bhaga and the toothlessness of Pūṣan below.

[2] "*adhidaivajnānāya prāśitā prapto'sye ti prāśitram*" Sāyaṇa.

[3] See section 2 of the Text.

the former co-habitated with the latter. This is purely an addition made by the author of the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, perhaps with the intention of mitigating the sharpness of the offence. (ii) The *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, again, does not state explicitly, as the *SBR* versions of the legend do, that the Sky or the Dawn, with whom Prajāpati co-habitated, was the sister of the Gods. We have to presume this relationship between the Dawn or the Sky and the Gods for we know that the latter are the Prajāpatyas or the sons of Prajāpati. Even this may be due to a desire of minimising the bluntness of the Gods which is apparent in the *SBR*. This bluntness of the Gods, however, shows their *moral soundness*. Anybody, even a father, must be punished for an immoral Act. See also No. iv which refers to the astronomical interpretation of the legend in this Brāhmaṇa. The attempt is clearly to absolve Prajāpati as a god from the hedious sin. (iii) The *A.B.* further refers to the origin of the God Bhūtavat who, as the legend itself points out, is nobody else but Rudra of the *SBR*. The Gods, finding that Prajāpati had done an act which was never done before,[1] began to search vigorously for a Divinity who would punish their father for this ignoble deed of his. Being unable to find such a deity amongst themselves, they put together their most fearful bodies and when the latter were massed together they assumed a terrific form which was subsequently named Bhūtavat. This Deity became the lord of the cattle as a result of a boon conferred on him by the Gods in return for his services to them. Rudra, also, is declared by the *SBR* version as the lord of the cattle.[2] Hence Bhūtavat and Rudra are one and the same Deity. The *SBR* versions, however, do not speak of the origin of the God Bhūtavat[3] from the most dreadful bodies of the Gods, as the *AB* version does. (iv) Proceeding further, this version of the legend alludes to the origin of the constellation of the Mṛga or the Orion. When Prajāpati was pierced by Rudra or Bhūtavat of this Brāhmaṇa, he shot up into the sky to become the constellation Mṛga or the Orion. Bhūtavat, who pierced him, became the star known as Vyādha or Mṛgavyādha in the constellation. The Sky or the Dawn, who had assumed the form of Rohit, the Brāhmaṇa says, is the constellation Rohiṇī. This constellation precedes the Orion in the firmament. The three stars in line in the nakṣatra, that

[1] "na kṛtam vai prajāpatiḥ karoti ti"—Text, section 3

[2] See Section 4 of the Text.

[3] With this epithet of Rudra we can compare "Bhava" of the Bāhīkas. Rudra was know as "bhava" amongst the Bāhīkas. See legend at *SBR*. I-vii-3-1-9.

pierce through the body of the stars representing the Mṛga, are but the arrow which shot through the body of Prajāpati.[1] They appear exactly like an arrow piercing through the body of a deer. These stars representing the arrow of Bhūtavat and the one bright star in the Constellation, that represents the Mṛga-vyādha or the hunter, i.e., the God Bhūtavat himself, do appear in a straight line if an onlooker tries to connect them by drawing an imaginary line through the sky. The fancy thus, is quite justified. What the Brāhmana means in brief is that the Mṛga-nakṣatra following the constellation of Rohiṇī in the sky is but Prajāpati pursuing his daughter—the Sky or the Dawn. This application of the legend to an astronomical phenomenon we entirely miss in the other versions of the legend. (v) The germinal fluid of Prajāpati, that fell down after he was shot at by the God Bhūtavat, according to the *A.B.*, ran down on the earth and became a lake.[2] There is no reference to such a transformation of the seed of Prajāpati in the other versions of the legend. (vi) This seed, as the *A.B.* unlike the *SBR* declares, became the *mānuṣa*. The Gods, in their desire that the fallen sperm of Prajāpati should not be spoiled, said: *medam Prajāpate reto duṣad'iti* "Let not this seed of Prajāpati be spoiled."[3] Since the words that the Gods uttered with reference to the germinal fluid of Prajāpati were *'mā duṣad' iti*[4], the sperm itself became the *mānuṣa*. Here is evidently intended, by the Brāhmaṇa, a pun on the word *Māduṣa*. The expression consists of *mā* and *duṣad* and has a correspondence with *mānuṣa*. The latter expression is, therefore, identified by the Brāhmaṇa with the former and is then derived from it. Here then we get the fantastic derivation of the expression *mānuṣa* from *mā* and *duṣat*. Such fantastic derivations we often find in the Brāhmaṇas. (vii) The Gods then surrounded this seed of Prajāpati with Agni and Maruts amongst them shook it. Agni could not make it move. The Gods, thereupon, surrounded it with Agni Vaiśvānara, the Maruts shaking it this time also. Agni Vaiśvānara was able to move it,[5] and the Gods could produce the divinities and the creatures from this germinal fluid of Prajāpati. The other versions of the legend do not speak of such a creation from the seed of Prajāpati.

[1] See section 5 of the Text for this atmospheric representation of the legend.

[2] See section 6 of the Text

[3] See sections 9-11 of the Text.

[4] According to the *TMB* version these words were the words of Prajāpati himself. See text of this version, Section 4

[5] See sections 13-28 of the Text.

Before I pass on to one or two more points in connection with the study of this legend I would like to refer to one passage in the text of the *A.B.* version of the legend in translating which, I honestly differ from Dr. Haug. The expression '*imam*' in the passage '*imam vidhyati*'[1] is understood by Dr. Haug,[2] as referring to the incarnation of evil deeds, here of course of Prajāpati. By '*imam*' he means a kind of devil.' He seems to believe, if I understand him correctly, that the ghastly deed of Prajāpati had assumed a personal form and that this phantom, which was a *symbol of remorse*, (whose ?—Prajāpati's ?) the Gods desired to destroy. I feel that Dr. Haug has entirely missed the point which the legend wants to emphasise. It is needless to assume that Prajāpati's evil deed became incarnated in a phantom. This phantom or devil, as Dr. Haug himself says, was a personification of Remorse, evidently of Prajāpati himself, for the vile deed that he performed. Dr. Haug does not say explicitly personification of whose remorse the phantom or the devil was. I presume, and I hope correctly, that it was the personification of the remorse of Prajāpati, if at all it is to be understood as 'personification.' But, then, the question is 'why should the Gods think of destroying this 'personification of the remorse' of Prajāpati? Perhaps because, the gods thought Prajāpati himself was *too high* for punishment, he was the progenitor of all including gods themselves. But this is indeed the glory of the Brāhmaṇical code of morality that no one, howsoever great or highly placed he may be, was considered to be above the reach of law. A moral offender himself and not a substitute of him must suffer punishment, so the gods concluded : so that the expression '*imam*' in the passage under discussion has got to be understood as referring to Prajāpati himself. The *SBR* versions as well as the words of the Gods here in the *A.B.* version suggest that the Gods intended to punish the offender, i.e., Prajāpati himself rather than the embodiment of his offence. Sāyaṇa also refers this demonstrative pronoun to Prajāpati and not to anybody else. If Dr. Haug's interpretation of the pronoun is accepted, the words '*devānām āga āsa*' of the *SBR* versions and '*akṛtam akar iti*' of this version will lose their force altogether.

The Tāṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa-version is a very short one and has been introduced in the Brāhmaṇa in connection with the Śrāyantīya Brahma-sāman. This version does speak of

[1] See Section 4 of the Text

[2] See his Aitareya Brāhmana, vol. II, Foot-note 31, p. 218, Bombay 1863.

Father Prajāpati's passion for his daughter Uṣas.[1] His seed fell upon this earth. Prajāpati himself propitiated it with cattle, thinking that it should not be spoiled. No further details of the legend are mentioned by the Brāhmaṇa. This Brāhmaṇa, applying the legend to the immediate sacerdotal purpose, observes that when the Śrāyantīya Brahma-sāman is recited, the sacrificer propitiates and restores him, i.e., Prajāpati.

This rather important legend is no doubt an elaboration of the Ṛgvedic passage (X-61-7-Ṛks 5-7) which contains the first allusion to it. This legend in all its versions has been exploited by the Brāhmaṇas, as shown above, to explain a sacerdotal purpose but the legend undoubtedly contains more than mere fulfilment of a sacrificial necessity. It has been discussed by great orientalists like Weber and Muir, the latter of whom seems to be of the opinion that the legend refers to some atmospheric or astronomical phenomenon such as the Mṛga and the Rohiṇī-constellations. According to others the legend is merely an allegorical representation of the Mṛga-Nakṣatra following the Rohiṇī in the vast dome of the Sky. I am inclined to hold the view that the legend, though evidently an allegorical representation of some atmospheric or astronomical phenomenon, has yet an important bearing upon the moral attitude of the Vedic Aryans towards the immoral Act figuring in the story. We get in it, in strongest possible words, the condemnation of incestuous connections or illicit relationships between blood-relations. Mr. S. C. Sarkar, indeed, has attempted to prove on the so-called evidence of the Purāṇas and the other semi-historical works or on the basis of the (misunderstood) Epic-Puraṇic tradition that consanguinous marriages and instances of parental incest were of frequent occurrence (?) during the Post-vedic Age.[2] This author seems to hold the view that the vedic evidence also points to the presence of brother-sister marriages and indicates the prevalence of incestuous connections between Father and Daughter. Discussion as regards the legality or otherwise of consanguinous marriages in the Post-vedic Period is outside the scope of the present paper. I am here concerned with what is regarded as evidence from the Vedic Period. The dialogue of Yama and his sister Yamī, the present legend and its norm or germ

[1] The *TMB*-version does not mention the other name of Prajāpati's daughter, viz., the Sky as the other versions of the story do.

[2] See his "*Some Aspects of the Earliest Social History of India*", Oxford University Press, 1928, pp. 116 ff.

in the Ṛgveda are frequently quoted by theorists to found the theory of the prevalence of the social practice of marriages between blood-relations. I honestly feel that these isolated passages cannot be exploited to build a whole theory upon them. On the other hand, if these passages are correctly understood, they prove that the consanguinous marriages or cases of parental incest were regarded as extremely exceptional and revolting in the Vedic Age. The dialogue of Yama and his sister Yamī and the present legend definitely condemn, in no uncertain terms, the sexual connections with blood-relations. The Vedic people had a high conception and code of morals as has been shown by me elsewhere.[1] Any one, who was found going against the established code of matrimonial morals, was first of all dissuaded from violating it (dialogue of Yama and Yamī) or heavily punished for his crime in spite of his high and respectable position as the present legend indicates. The legend chiefly concerns itself with the illicit connection of Father Prajāpati with his own Daughter. This incest of Father Prajāpati was considered by the Gods as the gravest sin and it caused such a lot of flutter and tremendous commotion amongst them that they could not allow it to go unpunished.[2] No sooner did the Gods find that the established moral code was being violated than they decided to punish the offender without stopping to dwell upon the status of the offender or their own relationship with him. Prajāpati was their father and identical with sacrifice itself which they prized very much. Prajāpati therefore enjoyed a very high status in the Vedic Pantheon but when the Gods found him guilty of an offence they unhesitatingly punished him through Rudra. The fact that the offence of such great Deity as Father Prajāpati was at once punished by the Gods is the strongest possible condemnation of consanguinous marriages or parental incest in the Vedic Age and an equally powerful proof of the unwavering attitude of the Vedic Aryans towards the upholding of a moral principle or law against even the highest and otherwise most helpful and kindly divinity like the Prajāpati. Judged from this point of view the present legend appears to me to be a very important 'Moral Tale' and not merely an allegorical representation of atmospheric or astronomical or cosmogonical phenomenon.

[1] See my Thesis on "The Morals in the Brāhmaṇas" Introduction, Chapter VI.

[2] See Sections 3-5 of the Text.

TEXT.

प्रजापतिर्ह वै स्वां दुहितरमभिदध्यौ दिवं वोषसं वा मिथुन्येनया स्यामिति ॥१॥ तां सम्बभव ॥२॥ तद्वै देवानामाग आस य इत्थं स्वां दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोतीति ॥३॥ ते ह देवा ऊचुः—योऽयं देवः पशूनामीष्टेऽतिसंधं वा अयं चरति य इत्थं स्वां दुहितरमस्माकं स्वसारं करोति विध्येममिति ॥४॥ तं रुद्रोऽभ्यायत्य विव्याध ॥५॥ तस्य सामि रेतः प्रचस्कन्द ॥६॥ तथेन्नूनं तदास ॥७॥ तस्मादेतदृषिणाभ्यनूक्तम्—पिता यत्स्वां दुहितरमधिष्कन्क्ष्मया रेतः संजग्मानो निषिञ्चदिति ॥८॥ तदाग्निमारुतमित्युक्थं तस्मिंस्तद्व्याख्यायते यथा तद्देवा रेतः प्राजनयन् ॥९॥

तेषां यदा देवानां क्रोधो व्यैदथ प्रजापतिमभिष्यंस्तस्य तं शल्यं निरकृन्तन् ॥१०॥ स वै यज्ञ एव प्रजापतिः ॥११॥ ते होचुः—उपजानीत यथेदं नामुयासत्कनीयो हाहुतेर्यथेदं स्यादिति ॥१२॥ ते होचुः—भगायैनद्दक्षिणत आसीनाय परिहरत, तद्भगः प्राशिष्यति, तद्यथाहुतमेवं भविष्यतीति ॥१३॥ तद्भगाय दक्षिणत आसीनाय पर्याजह्रुः ॥१४॥ तद्भगोऽवेक्षां चक्रे ॥१५॥ तस्याक्षिणी निर्ददाह ॥१६॥ तथेन्नूनं तदास ॥१७॥ तस्मादाहुरन्धो भग इति ॥१८॥ ते होचुः—नो न्वेवात्राशमत्पूष्णेऽएनत्परिहरतेति ॥१९॥ तत्पूष्णे पर्याजह्रुः ॥२०॥ तत्पूषा प्राश ॥२१॥ तस्य दन्तो निर्जघान, तथैन्नूनं तदास ॥२२॥ तस्मादाहुरदन्तकः पूषेति ॥२३॥ तस्माद्यं पूष्णे चरुं कुर्वन्ति प्रपिष्टानामेव कुर्वन्ति यथादन्तकायैवम् ॥२४॥ ते होचुः—नो न्वेवात्राशमद्बृहस्पतयऽएनतत्परिहरतेति ॥२५॥ तद्बृहस्पतये पयजह्रुः ॥२६॥ स बृहस्पतिः सवितारमेव प्रसवायोपाधावत्, (सविता वै देवानां प्रसविता), इदं मे प्रसुवेति ॥२७॥ तदस्मै सविता प्रसविता प्रासुवत्, तदेवं सवितृप्रसूतं नाहिनत्, ततोऽर्वाचीनं शान्तं, तदेतन्निदानेन यत्प्राशित्रम् ॥२८॥ श० ब्रा० (माध्यन्दिन) १-७-४-१-८

अथ यस्मान्न मृगशीर्ष आदधीत, प्रजापतेर्वाऽएतच्छरीरं यत्र वाऽएनं तंदविध्यंस्तदिषुणा त्रिकांडेनेत्याहुः, स एतच्छरीरमजहाद्वास्तु वै शरीरमयज्ञियं निर्वीर्यं तस्मान्न मृगशीर्षऽ आदधीत ॥१॥ श० ब्रा० (माध्यन्दिन) २-१-२-९

मृगशिरस्यग्नी आदधीतेत्याहुः प्रजापतेर्वा एतच्छिरो यन्मृगशिरः श्रीर्वै शिरः, श्रीर्हं वै शिरोऽथ योऽर्थस्य श्रेष्ठी भवत्यसौ तस्यार्थस्य शिरः इत्याचक्षते, श्रियं गच्छति, श्रेष्ठो ह वै भवति य एवं विद्वान्मृगशिरस्याधत्ते ॥१॥ तदाहुर्न मृगशिरस्यादधीतास्त्यस्मिन्परिचक्षेति, प्रजापतेर्वा एतच्छरीरं यत्रैनमेष देव इषुणा त्रिकाण्डेनाविध्यत्तत एतद्विद्धोऽजहात्तदेतद्वास्तु निर्वीर्यमयज्ञियं कस्तस्मिन्नादधीतेति तद्वैव दधीत न वै तस्य देवस्य वास्तु न निर्वीर्यं नायज्ञियमस्ति यत्प्रजापतेस्तस्माद्वैव दधीत ॥२। श० ब्रा० (कण्व) १-१-२-५-६

(अ) ·············थुन्येनां स्यामिति ॥१॥ ·············॥२॥ तद्व वै देवानामतथास यभेत्थं·········॥३॥ त ऊचुरिमं देवं योऽयं पशूनामीष्टे·······रतीति य·········॥४॥ तथेति तमभ्यायत्य·········॥५॥ तस्य विद्धस्य सामि····॥६॥ ·············॥७॥ अथाप्येतद्·········॥८॥ तद्वाग्निमारुरमित्युक्तं········· यते यथा यथा तद्देवा रेतः सिक्तं प्राजनयन् ॥९॥

त उ वै देवा यदैषां क्रोधो व्यैयायाथैनं ततोऽभि········· ॥१०॥······· ॥११॥ त ऊचुरुपजानीतेति कनीयो हाहुतेः कथमिदं नामुया स्यादुपजानीतेति ॥१२॥ त ऊचुर्भगायैव दक्षि°····°हरतेति,तद्भगः··········°ष्यति, तदेव यथा हुतमेवं भविष्यतीति ॥१३॥ ······ ॥१४॥ ········ ॥१५॥ तदस्या°········ ॥१६॥ ·········॥१७॥ अथाहुर°········ ॥१८॥ त ऊचुर्नो न्वा अत्राशमत्पूष्णे परि° ··········· ॥१९॥ ··········॥२०॥ ········ ॥२१॥ तदस्य दन्तान्निर्जघान ········ ॥२२॥ अथाहुर°········॥२३॥ अथो यथैवादन्तकायैवं प्रपिष्टानां पौष्णं चरुं श्रपयन्ति ॥२४॥ त ऊचुर्नो न्वा अत्राशमद्बृहस्पतये परि° ········ ॥२५॥··········॥२६॥ स ह

बहस्पतिः············०वायोपससारेदं मे प्रसुवेति त्वत्प्रसूतं मेदं मा हिंसीदिति ॥२७॥
तथेति तदस्मै सविता प्रासु०··········ततोऽर्वाक् शान्तं ········॥२८॥

श० ब्रा० (काण्व) २–७–२–१–८

(आ) प्रजापतिर्वै स्वां दुहितरमभ्यध्यायद्दिवमित्यन्य आहुरुषसमित्यन्ये ॥१॥ तामृश्यो भूत्वा रोहितं भूतामभ्यैत् ॥ २ ॥ तं देवा अपश्यन् न कृतं वै प्रजापतिः करोतीति ॥ ३ ॥ ते तमैच्छन्य एनमारिष्यत्येतमन्योन्यस्मिन्नाविन्दन्, तेषां या एव घोरतमा तन्व आसंस्ता एकधा समभरंस्ता संभृता एष देवोऽभवत्तदस्यै तद्भूतवन्नाम भवति वै स योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद; तं देवा अब्रुवन्नयं वै प्रजापतिरकृतमकरिमं विध्येति, स तथेत्यब्रवीत्स वै वरं वृणा इति वृणीष्वेति स एतमेव वरमवृणीत पशूनामाधिपत्यम् ; तदस्यैतत्पशुमन्नाम, पशुमान्भवति योऽस्यै तदेवं नाम वेद ॥४॥ तमाभ्यायत्याविध्यत्; स विद्ध ऊर्ध्व उदप्रपततमेतं मृग इत्याचक्षते य उ एव मृगव्याधः स उ एव स या रोहित्सा रोहिणी य एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा स एवेषुस्त्रिकाण्डा ॥ ५ ॥ तद्वा इदं प्रजापतेः रेतः सिक्तमधावत्तत्सरोऽभवत् ॥६॥

ते देवा अब्रुवन्मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति, यदब्रुवन्मेदं प्रजापते रेतो दुषदिति तन्मादुषमभवत्तन्मादुषस्य मादुषत्वम्, मादुषं ह वै नामैतद्यन्मानुषं तन्मादुषं सन्मानुषमित्याचक्षते परोक्षेण परोक्षप्रिया इव हि देवाः ॥ ७-११ ॥ तदग्निना पर्यादधुस्तन्मरुतो धून्वंस्तदग्निर्न प्राच्यावयत्तदग्निना वैश्वानरेण पर्यादधुस्तन्मरुतो धून्वंस्तदग्निर्वैश्वानरः प्राच्यावयत्······ ॥ १३-२८ ॥

ऐ० ब्रा० ३-३३-३४।

The passages in the following version are marked independently :—

(इ) प्रजापतिरुषसमभ्यैत्स्वां दुहितरम् ॥ १ ॥ तस्य रेतः परापतत् ॥ २ ॥ तदस्यां न्यषिच्यत ॥३॥ तदश्रीणादिदं मे माऽदुषदिति ॥ ४ ॥ तत्सदकरोत्पशूनेव ॥ ५॥ यच्छ्रायन्तीयं ब्रह्म साम भवति श्रीणाति चैवैनं सच्च करोति ॥६॥ ताण्ड्यमहाब्राह्मण ८-२-१०-११.

THE PROBLEM OF MĀDHAVA IN THE ṚGVEDIC COMMENTARIES

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This article is a tentative endeavour to adduce the evidence possibly available to shed some definite light on the long-discussed so-called Mādhava-problem concerning the commentators on the Ṛgveda. We have now, at our disposal two more commentaries of the RK-Samhitā, besides that of Sāyana-Mādhava, ascribed to two separate individuals both of which bear the same name, i.e. Mādhava. Of these two Mādhavas, one is the son of Venkaṭārya, whom we generally designate as Venkaṭa-Mādhava, and the other is known to us as the Anukramaṇīkāra Mādhava. We possess definite knowledge about the age and works of Sāyana-Mādhava, whose great commentary on the Ṛgveda came to be written in the latter half of the fourteenth century at the Court of Bukka and Harihara kings of the great Vijayanagara Empire. In order to get this great commentary in print Max Muller worked for 25 years i.e. from 1849 to 1874. Venkata-Mādhava's commentary on the Ṛgveda has also been available to the scholars, though not in its entirety, yet fairly in a large portion of it, the first Maṇḍala of which has already been edited by Dr. Lakshman Sarup in two big volumes. The commentary of Anukramaṇīkāra i.e. of Mādhava (A) is known to be available in only one, very old manuscript in charge of the Adyar Library, covering only the whole of the First Aṣṭaka of the Ṛgveda. It is recently edited by Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā of the Madras University and despatched for review. Besides these three, there is one more commentary on the Ṛgveda which does not belong to Mādhava but to Skanda Swāmy. For the sake of comparison we shall have to refer to all these commentaries.

The main points that are proposed to be discussed in the present article may be noted down as follows :—

1. The epithet 'Mādhavabhaṭṭāstu' referred to by Sayanācārya in the beginning of his commentary on the hymn, ṚV. X.86, cannot go to refer to Venkaṭa-Mādhava as admitted by scholars such as Dr. Kunhan Rāja, Dr. Lakshman Sarup and Pt. Bhagvaddatta and others, but it seems to apply appropriately to Anukramaṇikārā Mādhava.

2. Devarājayajvā, the writer of the running commentary on the Vedic Nighaṇṭu (Vol. I, B. O. I. edition of Nirukta) who, in his introduction to that work, mentions many Ṛgvedic commentators by name, the chief of them being Skandasvāmī, Venkaṭa-Mādhava, Bhāskara Miśra, Uvvaṭabhaṭṭa, cannot be placed posterior to Sāyaṇa-Mādhava but is decidedly anterior to him.

3. Venkaṭa-Mādhava, the commentator on the RK-Samhitā a part of it now available to us in two parts published in the Punjab Oriental Series No. 2, and his Kārikās at the beginning of each Adhyaya of the Ṛgveda published in Vol. 2 of the Madras University Series, cannot be admitted as posterior to Sāyaṇa as is attempted to prove by the scholar A. Venkaṭa Subbayya of Mysore in JORM of 1936 (vide his two articles pp. 115-140 and pp. 201-230). Dr. Kunhan Rāja has already refuted this conclusion in his article 'on the chronology of the Vedabhāṣyakāras' in the same Journal pp. 256-268.

4. The commentary of Mādhava (A) published by the Adyar Library on the first four Adhyāyas only, possesses many characteristics deserving the epithet 'Bhāṣya'. It is really the oldest of all and Skandasvāmī, Venkaṭa-Mādhava, Devarāja and Sāyana, all have derived their help from him.

5. Venkaṭa-Mādhava's Ṛgartha-Dīpikā, the commentary on the Ṛgveda, lacks in many points which are necessary to raise it to the rank of Bhāṣya. Moreover the author himself has not designated it so.

6. It may be fairly inferred that although Devarāja in his introductory passages names Venkaṭa-Mādhava and Mādhavadeva, in the body of his commentary on the words of Vedic Nighaṇṭu he invariably refers to Mādhava (A), with his Bhāṣya and various Anukramaṇis only and never to Venkaṭa-Mādhava or Sāyaṇa-Mādhava.

7. Finally, the name 'Mādhava-Kṛtā Ṛgveda-Vyākhyā should be substituted by 'the Ṛgveda-bhāṣya of Mādhava-bhaṭṭa and thus the title Mādhavabhaṭṭa must go to refer not to Venkaṭa-Mādhava but to Mādhava (A).

Let us now deal with all these points below. The sole evidence adduced by the scholars, especially by Dr. Kunhan Rājā and Bhagvad-Datta, in order to prove the identification of Venkaṭa-Mādhava with Madhavabhaṭṭa is the contended extract quoted in the Sāyana's commentary on Ṛv. X.86, which begins with the word 'Mādhavabhattāstu'. There are a few other passages which are adduced by these scholars to prove the identity of Venkaṭa-Mādhava with one Mādhava

referred to by Devarāja. Dr. Rājā has extracted some seven passages in his article contributed to the volume of the Fifth Oriental Conference, Lahore, from Devaraja's commentary to show that they tally with Sāyana's passages in the Ṛgveda. The respectful reference as 'Mādhavabhaṭṭāstu' in the plural number has led Mr. Venkatasubbayyā of Mysore to the inference that Madhavabhaṭṭa must have been the senior contemporary of Sāyaṇa. Thus an attempt has been made by the scholars to bring Mādhavabhaṭṭa, Venkata-Mādhava and Devarāja nearer to Sāyaṇa. We shall now try to adduce sufficient internal evidence from the commentaries themselves to show how all these conclusions are fairly incorrect. It is only Mr. Venkaṭa Subbayya who attempts to place Venkaṭa-Mādhava posterior to Sāyaṇa. But his conclusions have been ably refuted by Dr. Rājā. But Dr. Rāja himself would be tempted to prove Devarāja to be later than Sāyaṇa, which statement is refuted by Bhagvad-Datta and Lakshman Sarup. The new commentary of Mādhava (A) was not available to the scholars when they wrote all these articles in the manner in which we possess it now. All credit goes to Dr. Raja and the Adyar Library. In the light of the evidence supplied to us by this new commentary, we shall proceed to prove our points one by one. I shall now note down again for the perusal and comparison to be made by the scholars the extracts quoted by Mādhavabhaṭṭa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava which are not identical verbatim :—

"माधवभट्टास्तु वि हि सोतोरित्येषर्गिन्द्राण्या वाक्यमिति मन्यन्ते । तथा च तद्वचनम् । इन्द्राण्यै कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगोऽदूदुषत् । इन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्त्तमानः । तत्रेन्द्रमिन्द्राणीं वदति । तस्मिन्पक्षे (त्वस्याऋचोऽयमर्थः) सोतोः सोमाभिषवं कर्तुं वि ह्यसृक्षत । उपरतसोमाभिषवा ग्रासन् यजमानाइत्यर्थः । किञ्च मम पतिमिन्द्रं देवं नामंसत । स्तोतारो न स्तुवन्ति । कुत्रेति अत्राह । यत्र यस्मिन्देशे पुष्टेषु प्रवृद्धेषु घनेषु अर्यः स्वामी वृषाकपिरमदत् । मत्सखामत्प्रियश्चेन्द्रो विश्वस्मात्सर्वस्माज्जगत उत्तर उत्कृष्टतरः" ।

This passage again occurring in the Ṛgarthadīpikā of Venkaṭa-Mādhava goes thus (vide JoRM 1936 pp. 116).

इन्द्राण्यं कल्पितं हविः कश्चिन्मृगः दुदूषयिन्द्रपुत्रस्य वृषाकपेर्विषये वर्तमानस्तत्रे···· सृक्षाभिषोतुमुपरताभिषना आसन् यजमाना न च मम पतिमिन्द्रं देवं स्तुवति दुष्टे यज्ञे यस्मिञ्जनपदे अस्मद्वृपाकरिस्तत्पुत्रः स्वामी पुष्टेषु माद्यत्सु मत्सखायो विश्वस्मान्ममपतिरिन्द्र उत्कृष्टः ।

In the second passage there are a few corruptions which make the whole thing unintelligible yet we can fairly compare both; and we are in a capacity of making a plain statement that Sāyana's extract can never be the same as the latter, he must be quoting from some other commentary. Now Dr. Rajā has obliged the scholars by publishing both **Madhavas'**

commentaries side by side in his 'Mādhava-Kṛtā Ṛgvedavyākhyā, the Adyar edition of 1940 covering the first four Adhyāyas only ; even the cursory perusal of both the Madhavas will reveal the fact that Venkaṭa-Mādhava, throughout the whole of his commentary has tried to epitomise the commentary of Mādhava (A), sometimes hopelessly passing on silently even without caring to give the synonyms of some important words. This may suggest us the idea that his above extract also must have been the slightly altered version of Mādhavabhaṭṭa's given to us by Sāyaṇa. This point can only be fully clear in case we come to have the full commentary of Mādhava (A). This valuable commentary of Mādhava (A) reveals some other notable facts. His commentary being old, it seems that Sāyaṇa also to a great extent must have borrowed from him as he does from Skandasvāmi. Venkaṭa-Mādhava also is indebted to Skandasvāmi. There are faint reasons to conjecture that Skandasvāmi also is later than Mādhava (A). Many times he seems to have quoted passages and meanings from this Mādhava. To verify these statements the scholars are requested to go over closely the hymns 25 and 51 in order to compare the commentaries of all these scholiasts. Dr. Rāja believes that Devarāja quotes passages from Sāyaṇa's and thus he is later than Sāyaṇa. He has adduced seven passages for this purpose, of which we can take up only two for our purpose ; because they occur in the first four Adhyayas of the Ṛgveda of which the commentary of Mādhava (A) is available. These two are No. 3 and No. 7 of Dr. Raja's article. I shall requote those passages along with Mādhava (A)'s one for the comparison of the critics :—

Devarāja—'जलाषं ज–लषितं जातैः'–इति माधवः । यद्वा जलाषमिति सुखनाम सुखहेतुत्वादपां तद्धेतौ ताच्छब्द्यम् । "रुद्रं जलाषभेषजम्" (ऋ० १-३-२६-४) 'जलाषमुदकनाम वा' इति माधवोऽभाषयत् । (pp. 130 B. I. Edition under the word Jalāṣa)

Sāyana—on R.V. I.43.4. जलाषभेपजं–सुखरूपौषधोपेतं । यद्वा उदकरूपौषधोपेतम् । उदकं हि रुद्रनामाङ्कितं सदौषधं भवति ।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava—on the same, simply in a word सुखकरभेषजम् ।

Now Mādhava (A)—रुद्रं जलाषभेषजम् । जलाषमिति सुखनाम । सुखकरभेषजम् । जलिर्गतिकर्मा । जङ्गमैः सर्वैरभिलषितं जलाषम् । यदि वा उदकनामैवैतत् । उदकं ह्यस्य कीर्तने भेषजं भवति ।

Here by minute observation we can see that all of them i.e. Devarāja, Sāyaṇa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava are reproducing the idea or words to be seen in Mādhava (A)'s commentary. Devarāja's words agree more with this Mādhava's than Sāyaṇa's statement that 'उदकं हि रुद्रनामाङ्कितं सदौषधं भवति' is nothing but the re-producing of 'उदकं ह्यस्य कीर्तने भेषजं भवति' of Mādhava (A).

Now let us take the other available passage i.e. No. 7. Though the passage refers to only one word, the meaning of which is likely to be found in almost all the commentaries similarly, yet when we shall read the entire bhāṣya on that Ṛk (R.V. I. 24.7) it will surely reveal to us many more facts just to consolidate our present inference i.e. the indebtedness of all to Mādhava (A).

Devaraja—on p. 36 under वन–'अबुध्ने राजा वरुणो वनस्य' (ऋ० सं० १-२-१४-२) इति निगमः । 'वननीयस्य तेजसः' इति माधवः ।

Here I shall give the rendering on the whole stanza belonging to all commentators :—

Sāyana—on R.V. I. 24.7—पूतदक्षः शुद्धबलो वरुणो राजाऽबुध्ने मूलरहितेऽन्तरिक्षे तिष्ठन् वननस्य वननीयस्य तेजसः स्तूपं सङ्घमूर्ध्वमुपरि देशे ददते धारयति । नीचीना, स्युः । मध्वदेशे वर्तमानस्य वरुणस्य रश्मय इत्यध्याहार्यम् । ते ह्यधोमुखास्तिष्ठन्ति । एषां रश्मीनां बुध्नो मूलमुपरि तिष्ठति इति शेषः । तथा सति केतवः प्रज्ञापकाः प्राणाः अस्मेऽस्मास्वन्तर्निहिताः स्थापिताः स्युः । मरणं न भविष्यतीत्यर्थः । स्त्यै शब्दसङ्घातयोः । स्त्यः सम्प्रसारणम्भूङ चेति 'प' प्रत्ययः ।

Venkata-Mādhava—अमूले अनालम्बेन अन्तरिक्षे वरुणो राजा तेजस उदकस्य वा सङ्घात मूर्ध्वं धारयति शुद्धबलः । ते च रश्मयो नीचीनाग्रास्तिष्ठन्ति । तेषामेषां मुलमुपरि भवति । अस्माकमन्तरमृतानां निहितानि भवन्तु प्रज्ञानानि ।

Mādhava (A) बुध्नो मूलं बध्नातीति । अमूले नभसि तिष्ठन् । राजा वरुणो वनस्य वननीयस्य तेजसः । ऊर्ध्वं स्तूपं सङ्घं स्तूपः स्त्यायतेः । ददते धारयति । ददतिः धारणार्था । 'चतुरश्चिद्ददमानाद्' (Rv. I. 48. 9) इति । पूतदक्षः शुद्धबलः । नीचीनाः अधोमुखाः तिष्ठन्ति । उपरि बुध्न एषा रश्मीनाम् । तथा सति अस्मास्वन्तर्निहिताः प्रज्ञापकाः प्राणाः । स्युरिति मुमूर्षुराशास्ते ।

I shall ask the critics to mark the whole thing just to find out that how closely Sāyana follows Mādhava (A) and how widely Venkata-Mādhava differs from him in rendering the words अबुध्ने, वनस्य, केतवः । It is not his conjecture but Venkata-Mādhava here agrees or imitates Skandasvamī also. I have to point out that Sāyana and Venkata-Mādhava both of them derive their help from Skandasvāmī too as well as from Mādhava (A). Here I adduce Skandasvāmī's commentary for the verification by scholars :—

Skandasvamī—on R.V. I. 24.7. (Raja's edition pp. 71)

बुध्नमधोभागः । स इतरयोभागयोराश्रयः । बुध्नत्वाश्रयत्वयोः सम्बन्धात् बुध्नशब्देनाश्रयो लक्ष्यते । अबुध्नेऽनालम्बनेऽन्तरिक्षे ईश्वरः दीप्तो वा वरुणः । 'अरुवंनानिवस्त्राणि' इति रश्मौ । अभिङ्ग् । रश्मीनां सङ्घातार्थं धारयति शुद्धबलः । नीचीनाः अधोमुखास्तिष्ठन्ति अन्ये रश्मयः । उपर्याश्रयो मण्डलाख्यः । एषां वनाना स्तूपं अबुध्ने खे आदित्यमण्डलस्याध्वं नीचीनाश्च भुवि रश्मीन् धारयति । परः पादः अन्यार्धः । तत्सम्बन्धार्थं यत्तदौ स्तः । य इदं करोति तस्य प्रसादेन अस्माकं मनसि निहिताः प्रज्ञाः स्युः । आम शे । जीवनाशा इयम् । जीवत एव अन्तःप्रज्ञाः स्युः । मृतस्य । अथवा—पिगश्चक्षश्च केतवः । इति रश्मयः । ते प्रज्ञात्मकाः । ते चक्षुर्द्वारेणान्तर्मनांसि भवेयुः । चक्षुषा रश्मीन् पश्येम इति प्रार्थ्यते । मुमूर्षणा हि चन्द्रमा त्वादित्यो दृश्यते । न रश्मिप्रादुर्भावः । आदित्यरश्मिदर्शनद्वारेण चिरजीवित्वमाशास्यते ।

From this elaborate commentary of Skandasvamī we see how Venkaṭa-Mādhava in order, to get his idea in his brief Commentary has rendered the above-mentioned three words all to him. Thus we see how he owes his interpretation to both Skanda and Mādhava (A). The word 'मुमृषुं' in Mādhava (A) commentary may be a clue for the detailed explanation of Skandasvamī and while doing so he quotes in two places his nāmānukramaṇī in which the very words are traced. The scholars say that these quotations from Anukramanī's of Mādhava are not seen in the other edition of Trivendram. Until it is corroborated that these extracts are spurious or otherwise we withhold our conclusion that Skandasvamī is also indebted to our Mādhava, though there are other indications in his commentary which favour our inference.

Devarāja in his exegesis on the words of Nighaṇṭu refers to Mādhava at least 90 times ; I am quite satisfied to find out that all these references are to this Mādhava (A) only and to none else. Because in Dr. Raja's edition of the first four Adhyayas of the Ṛgveda we are able to trace at least 60 of them, though the RK.-passages quoted therein are from the various Maṇḍalas. If the commentary of this Mādhava be available further, We shall surely be able to trace all of them. We cannot trace even a few of them in Venkaṭa-Mādhava's commentary and many of them are missing in Sāyaṇa but none of them will be found missing here. Moreover Devarāja while referring to the Bhāṣya of this Mādhava, explicitly mentions the Nāmānukramaṇi and Nighaṇṭu and Nirvacanānukramaṇī, belonging to this very Mādhava, thus making the explicit statement about the identity of the authorship of Mādhava as regards his Bhāṣya and the various Anukramaṇis. Cit. pp. 263 on द्युगत् अत्रं माधवस्तु-'द्युगत्दीप्तिं द्युलोक गच्छ हरिभिः इति चैतद्भाष्ये उक्तवान् । तूतुजानः तराणिः द्युगत् इति द्युगच्छब्दः क्षिप्रनामसु तेनाप्यपाठि । These three words in the line दविध्वतं तूतुजानस्तरणिर्द्युगदेव च we find in his Nāmānukramaṇi which leaves no doubt as to the identity of Bhāṣyakāra to the same on pp. 55, राश्मिभर्निरिति माधवेनोक्तमहर्भवितुमर्हति । This is found in his Ṇāmānukramani. One more characteristic which is exclusively his own and which the other commentators—all of them—never give in their own commentary is the alteration in the meaning of the words when the accent of those words is shifted making आद्युदात्त as मध्योदात्त or अन्तोदात्त and vice versa. Devarāja quotes many such words and says that they are so described by Mādhava ; and all of them verbatim are to be found in the new commentary and many more. The knowledge of this aspect of accentuation reveals its great importance for the interpretation

of the Ṛgveda and establishes the fact that the ancient vedic scholars were the thorough masters of the Vedic exegesis too. The profound knowledge of this Mādhava must have been stored in all his anukramaṇis which have been, unfortunately inavailable to us. Venkaṭa-Mādhava's general expositions of various topics in his introductory Kārikās at the beginning of each Adhyaya may be an attempt to summarise the mine of information to be found in his Anukramaṇī works. These remarks, will, I think, suffice to convince scholars that the revered माधवभट्ट referred to by Sāyaṇa can be none else and his commentary is not mere Vyākhyā as Dr. Raja has designated it, but it deserves to be rightly called as 'Bhāṣya' and the revered epithet माधवभट्ट applied to Venkaṭa-Mādhava must be transferred to this Mādhava who is the predecessor of all.

Once it is finally proved that Devarāja invariably quotes this Mādhava (A) and not Sāyaṇa-Mādhava whom he never quotes, the argument that he is later than Sāyaṇa-Mādhava falls to the ground; and all the evidences that are adduced by Dr. L. Sarup (in the preface to his Nirukta pp. 25-27) to prove his priority at once becomes cogent. Moreover Devarāja would never remain silent in quoting Sāyana too along with all others of whom a long list is given by him. As he quotes Bhojadeva and Kshīrasvami he is decidedly later than 1100 A.D. If Bharatasvami's date as pointed out by Dr. L. Sarup be authentic, then Devarāja is to be relegated to the beginning of the 14th or the end of the 13th century but before the advent of Sāyaṇa-Mādhava. Had he flourished after Sāyaṇa-Mādhava, he would have surely utilised his (माधवीया धातुवृत्ति) Madhaviyādhatuvrtti for his purpose.

The way in which Devarāja is quoting Venkaṭa-Mādhava seems to be very funny. His words are :—'इदञ्च स्वमनीषिकया न क्रियते किन्तु नैघण्टुकागतेष्वेव पदेष्वध्यर्द्धं शतत्रयमात्राणि पदानि भाष्यकारेणैव तत्र तत्र निगमेषु प्रसङ्गान्निरुक्तानि। स्कन्दस्वामिना च निगमव्याख्यानेषु अन्यानि च पदानि शतद्वयमात्राण्युपात्तानि। तेन च समाम्नायपठितानां पदानामन्येभ्यो व्याकृत्यर्थं किञ्चिच्चिह्नं कृतम्। अतस्तेषां पाठशुद्धिस्तत्रैव सिद्धा। अन्येषाञ्च पदानामस्मत्कुले समाम्नायाध्ययनस्य। विच्छेदात्—श्रीवेङ्कटाचार्यतनयस्य माधवस्य भाष्यकृतो नामानुक्रमण्याः—आख्यातानुक्रमण्याः—स्वरानुक्रमण्याः—निर्वचनानुक्रमण्याः—तदीयस्य भाष्यस्य च बहुशः पर्यालोचनात्—बहुदेशसमानीतात्—बहुकोशनिरीक्षणाच्च पाठः संशोधितः'। ····Now the Bhāṣya and the various anukramaṇiṣ quoted by him, Devarāja says, belong to Venkaṭa-Mādhava whereas now we know that they do not belong to Venkaṭa-Mādhava but to Mādhava (A) whose bhāṣya on the First Aṣṭaka has been now available to us; so we can very well infer that Devarāja has definitely mistaken Venkaṭa-Mādhava for Mādhava (A). As he says

that the Bhāṣya and the anukramanis he possessed were secured by him from many places and got corrected by the help of many lexicons (बहुशः पर्यालोचनात्–बहुदेशेभ्यमानीतात्–बहुकोशनिरीक्षणाच्च)—which fact goes to enable us to infer that these works had become very old by the time of Devarāja who could not distinguish the real author from Venkaṭa-Mādhava; and further Venkaṭa-Mādhava also must have been regarded as fairly old by him while quoting him in this way. No real work by Venkaṭa-Mādhava seems to have been available to him. This kind of confusion is not merely due to his personal information he had at that time but it seems to have been the general tradition as we meet with such a colophon at the end of the second Adhyāya in the new commentary. The word 'गोमति' there must have been either misread for something else or it may be the insertion by the scribe who wrote or copied the Bhāṣya. Because we know by the statement of Devarāja that he could not get the correct copy of Mādhava's bhāṣya and for the correction of which he had to collate various mss from different places and with the help of lexicons with great efforts, as told before. That was not the case with Skandasvāmi's commentary which was with him in a condition quite fair and correct. We must remember that Skandasvāmi did not belong to Southern India but to Valabhi in Gujarat and his Bhāṣya and the commentary on Nirukta Devarāja could have quite intact and in order, and in case of this Mādhava he is regarded to have hailed from the same village 'Gomati' on the river 'Cauvery' to which Venkaṭa-Mādhava also belonged. So we cannot account for so much corruption of his Bhāṣya. Such a corruption in prominent works is generally due to such reasons as their antiquity etc. Thus we cannot even accept the suggestion dropped by Dr. Sarup in the introduction to his 'Indices and Appendices' of Nirukta that this Mādhava may have been the grand-father of Venkaṭa-Mādhava who makes mention of him in his colophons and says that he also was the writer of a commentary on some part of the Ṛgveda. Pt. Bhagvad Datta also has confounded Venkaṭa-Mādhava for this (A) Mādhava and the references to the Nāmānakramaṇi and others by Keshavasvāmi in his Nanārthārṇavasamkṣepa and by Vedācārya in his Sudarśanamīmāṁsā point out to this Mādhava and not Venkaṭa-Mādhava. Venkaṭa-Mādhava in his brief commentary does not fail to quote passages from various Brāhmana texts but those all. will be found in this Mādhava's also. In the first four Adhyāyas there is only one passage sufficiently lengthy quoted from Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa (vide pp. 384, Adyar edition at the beginning of the 51st hymn) which is not seen in the other Mādhava's. Sāyaṇa seems not to have been aware of

Venkaṭa-Mādhava, otherwise he would never fail to quote this passage in his commentary. This fact cannot lead us to the conclusion that Venkaṭa-Mādhava came after Sāyaṇa. We have already pointed out that Devarāja is decidedly earlier than Sāyaṇa and he knows Venkaṭa-Mādhava and by the way in which he quotes him it seems that he must have regarded him to be fairly old in his time.

Before I proceed to adduce the interesting passages from Devarāja just to enable scholars to make the comparative study of all the available commentaries on the Ṛgveda and thus to decide the validity of my conclusion, I should like to make a few remarks as to the merits of these commentaries with the full readiness of welcoming any impartial criticism against it. Let us first take up Venkaṭa-Mādhava. His commentary is nothing but assignment of appropriate synonymous substitutes for the words in the stanzas in the order in which they occur there. While doing so he has taken pains to quote passages from various Brāhmaṇa texts in imitation of Mādhava (A) generally and sometimes Skandasvamī also. We must admit that the expatiations made by him in the form of Kārikās on the various aspects of Vedic words including accentuation reveal his ingenuity and sagaciousness and learning too. Otherwise his mere commentary would have been a poor attempt, insufficient to draw the attention of Vedic scholars. In the body of his commentary his negligence is often detected. To quote the instance in the very beginning on R.V. I. 1.7 he takes दोषावस्तर् as two words meaning सायं प्रातश्च whereas Mādhava (A) and Skandasvamī are right in explaining it as a vocative, meaning दोषाया आच्छादयितर् This mistake of Venkaṭa-Mādhava on the same word and in the same place was already pointed out to the scholars by Oldenberg and Macdonell in Sāyaṇa's commentary long before these commentaries came to be known to the scholars. So we have the least hesitation to assert that Venkaṭa-Mādhava does not command reverence and so he cannot be the same Mādhavabhaṭṭa referred to by Sāyaṇa.

As regards Sāyaṇa's commentary I have already made my remarks in the introduction to Dya Dviweda's Nītimañjarī that his great commentary is an encyclopœdiac work wherein the subject-matter of all the aucillary texts of the Vedas (परिशिष्टग्रन्थ) and his various available commentaries bearing on the respective points has been brought together by his wonderful mastery on the subject and the peculiar grasp of it. This rule applies only to those portions where he has made his commentary elaborate i.e. in the First Aṣṭaka and the Second

and even the third and not everywhere. His originality has been made manifest not in the exposition of appropriate or correct interpretation but in showing his ingenuity to assign those meanings with his profound knowledge of Pāṇini and Jaimini thus establishing himself as the first-rate scholiast of vyākaraṇa and Pūrva-mīmāṁsā. Otherwise his commentary is nothing but collection or saṁgraha of the renderings of the previous commentators.

Skandasvāmī must have belonged to the sacerdotal or Yājñika school and seems to be a staunch follower of Sākapūni. He is highly learned in his exegesis and often finds fault with the ancient predecessors such as Yāska and Śākalya whom he addresses as Padakāra. We know from Bṛhaddevatā and Yāska's Nirukta that they also have pointed out the slips of their predecessors, e.g. Sāunaka, of Yāska and Yaska, of Sākalya. It is very difficult to say whether Skanda followed our Mādhava, because while explaining word विवस्वत् bearing Madhyodātta accent meaning Yajamāna he always says that Śākapūni says so; Mādhava (A) points out to us that the word when it is Ādyudātta means Aditya; and when it is Madhyodātta it means Yajamāna; had Skandasvāmi been acquianted with Mādhava or his Sarvānukramaṇī I think he would quote this authority or at least would hint at it. We see in Nirukta that Yāska also was unaware of this rule when he explains this word विवस्वतः on R. V. VI-8.4 in 'अपामुपस्थे' etc. as आदित्यात् विवस्वान् विवासनवान्, whereas it fairly means as यजमान there. Skandasvāmī's commentary is full of erudition, inspiring and serene. His main aim seems to be that he regarded the mantras as subordinate to sacrificial performance as we see from the very beginning of his commentary which goes as 'मन्त्राः पञ्चप्रकाराः प्रैषाःकरणाः क्रियमाणानुवादिनः शस्त्राभिष्टवनादिगताः जपानुवचनादिगताः इति'। He quotes many legends from the Brāhmaṇas and other sources and thus he maintains one of the old schools the tradition of which has totally disappeared.

Mādhava (A)'s characteristics can now be pointed out by quoting the passages given to us by Devarāja who accepts him as an implicit authority. His commentary which is now available to us on the first four Adhyāyas is very brief in exposition yet very learned. He seems to go never astray. We can see that his commentary has been a source of inspiration to both Sāyaṇa and Venkaṭa-Mādhava. Let us now proceed to point out this fact by concrete instances. Let us first take the word 'विवस्वत्'।

Devarāja–pp. 187 on विवस्वतः–वस निवासे इत्यस्मादन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यन्ते इति विच् दृशिग्रहणाद्भावे भवति। विविधं वसनं विवः। तद्वन्तो विवस्वन्तः। सर्वस्यापि मनुष्य-

स्य यत् किञ्चिद्दिवसनमस्ति विवस्वच्छब्द आदित्यवाची आद्युदात्तः। अन्यत्र मनुष्यविशेषे यजमाने द्वितीयाक्षरमुदात्तमिति माधवः। 'आविर्भव सूक्तरूपा विवस्वते' (भ. र. १.२.३२.३) शिवो दूतो विवस्वतः (भा. सा. ६. ३, २२. ३) इति निगमौ। अत्र विवस्वान् यजमानः इति माधवभाष्यम्। 'महो जाया विवस्वतो ननाश (या० सं० ७-६-२३-१)'–इत्यादित्यवचनस्योदाहरणम्। Here Sāmaśrami quotes incorrectly R. V. I. 31. 3 which ought to be 'आविर्भव सुक्रतूया विवस्वते।

I am giving complete commentary for the sake of comparison :—

Mādhava (A) on pp. 207.R.V.1.31.3. तत्वमग्ने। मातरिश्वा वायुः। मातरि श्वसितीति। माता अन्तरिक्षमिति निरुक्तम्। (Here Dr. Rāja adds in a footnote 'what is found in Nirukta as मातरिश्वा वायुः। मातर्यन्तरिक्षे श्वयिति (N. 7.26). But Dr. Rāja was not careful in making these remarks which reveals the ignorance or negligence on the part of Mādhava whom we regard as a profound scholar. Mādhavā is quite right in his statement to which I attract the attention of scholars to N. 2.8 where we find माताऽन्तरिक्षम्—निर्मीयन्तेऽस्मिन्भूतानि। तस्मै विवस्वते यजमानाय परिचरते। (These words 'यजमानाय परिचरते' have been picked up by Sāyana everywhere) सुक्रतुयया कर्मेच्छया। आविभवः आविरभवः। (आविरभवः we find in Venkaṭa-Mādhava borrowed by him from here). Sāyana takes it as imperative only. It is Skandasvāmi who explains the secrecy of the translation by the Vedic legend). वाक्यसंयोगाद् भूतार्थेऽपि लोट् दृश्यते। आ दस्युघ्ना मनसा ह्यारतम्' इति। विवस्वानादित्यश्चेदाद्युदात्तः। 'महोजाया विवस्वतो ननाश' (R. V.17. 1). अरेजेतां अकम्पेतां बलिनं दष्ट्वा। रोदसी होतृवूर्ये यज्ञे। तस्मिन् होतृणां वरणयोग्यां होतृवूर्यः सोढवानसि। हविषो भारमयजश्च महतोदेव्यान् वासयितः।

Venkaṭa-Mādhava :—(त्वमग्ने पुराणो वायवे आविरभवः शोभनकर्मेच्छया विवस्वते) (does not render but passes off in silence will indicate whether he was not willing to accept the rendering) तस्मै मातरिश्वा त्वामाजहार। त्वयि होतरि देवैर्वृते महान्तं त्वां दृष्ट्वा द्यावापृथिव्यौ अकम्पेताम् त्व देवानां हविवहनभारं सोढवान्। अयजश्च महतस्तान् वासयितः। *This is pure imitation of Mādhava and Skandasvāmī.* I shall not quote here Sāyana and Skandasvāmī as they are very lengthy. Only I shall mark their difference. Skandasvāmī begins with the legend which goes thus—अत्रेतिहासः। सर्वमन्धं तम आसीत्। अथ मातरिश्वा सूक्ष्ममग्निमपश्यत्। अथर्वा च ऋषिः तत् पाराशर्यो भरद्वाजश्च वक्ष्यति। मथतिचदीम। (R.VI.716) त्वामग्ने पुष्करात् (R.V. VI. 16. 13) इत्याभ्याम्। तत्र मथ्यमाने ज्वालामालो नाम अग्नि रजायत। स प्रथमं मातरिश्वने आविरभवत्। अथ विवस्वते। तदिह उच्यते। हे अग्ने त्वं अग्रिमो वायवे आविरभवः। लङि लोट्। शोभनकर्मेच्छया। इच्छार्थं वयच्। हवः इति दीर्घश्च। टार्थे आव्। सुक्रतुयया शोभनयागादिकर्मेच्छया। मातरिश्वने च आविर्भूय अनन्तरं विवस्वते च। रेजृ भयवेपनयोः। (Here I may draw the attention of the scholars towards the silence maintained by Skandasvāmī followed by Venkaṭa Mādhava. To me this silence does not seem to be natural but purposeful. Here Skandasvāmī finds it difficult whether he should render विवस्वते as आदित्याय because

there मातरिश्वने behind or यजमानाय as is positively done by Mādhava. So मौनं सवर्थिसाधनम् is the policy adopted by both. Sāyana has accepted Mādhava's rendering. Hence I attach high regard to Mādhava (A).

The meaning of असघ्नो: is worth noting. Difficulty lies in the Derivation. Mādhava (A) perhaps might have explained these things in his Nirvacanānukramaṇi. Skanda and Sāyaṇa both find difficulty in deriving the word. Skanda proceeds quoting the legend as 'किञ्च असघ्नो: । अत्रेतिहास: । देवा: किल स्वयमेव स्वानि स्वानि हवींपि अभक्षयन् । तेपां केचिद् वोढुं नाशक्नुवन् । एकैकाहुतिस्त्रैलोक्यभारादतिरिच्यते । कांश्चित्तु शक्नुवतोऽपि असुरा अभ्यद्रवन् । ते सर्वे अग्निमब्रुवन् । द्रव्यं नो वह इति । तत् ल्केलायमान एव सोऽवहत् । तदेतदिहोच्यते । असघ्नो भारमिति । सघतिर्हिंसायाम् । इह तु भारस्य हिंसाकर्मासम्भवात् अन्यस्य सघि: शक्नोत्यर्थे वा । सहेर्वा शक्नोत्यर्थस्य न सधे: । शक्नोतेश्च नित्यकर्मभूतधात्वन्तरस्यानुपक्तत्वाद् भारं इति च श्रुतेर्वोढुमिति वाक्यशेष: । आहुतिभारं वोढुमशक्ना: । वस्ते प्रशस्यधन्न् वा । Sāyana here follows Skanda. He says कर्मणिभारमसघ्नो: । ऊढवानसि असघ्नो: । षध हिंसायाम् अत्र तु वहनार्थ: । This is the sum and substance of what Skanda elaborately decides. One thing is clear that both Skanda and Sāyaṇa are the staunch followers of Pāṇini. With Mādhava it does not seem to be the case which becomes clear when we read minutely his Akhyātānukramaṇī. Sāyaṇa is the perfect master of Pāṇini's grammar where as we may find slips in Skandasvāmī, e.g. in explaining वावसाना in (R.V. I. 43.13) Skanda says ताच्छील्ये शानच् । whereas Sāyana is correct in pointing out that it is not शानच् but ताच्छीयवयोवचनेषु चानश् । perhaps that might be the printing mistake.

But one thing is clear. These scholars want to derive Vedic words following Pāṇini Dhātupāṭhā whereas Mādhava's derivations are quite original. We cannot say what tradition he is following. He is very definite and unambiguous, which are the signs of his great antiquity and reverence. That is why we insist upon calling him as Mādhavabhaṭṭa as done by Sāyaṇa and his commentary as Bhāṣya, as Devarāja has already designated it. Similarly it may be pointed out that Yāska's reputation in R.V. I. 84.15 is not sound as Sāyaṇa seems to have mended it already. Om.

We can easily multiply instances. दिग्दर्शनेनैवालम्

UNTRACED QUOTATIONS IN SĀYAṆA'S COMMENTARY ON THE ṚGVEDA.

By

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The Vaidika Saṃśodhana Maṇḍala of Poona has been publishing a new edition of the Ṛgveda with the commentary of Sāyaṇācārya in five volumes. Three volumes comprising Maṇḍalas I to VIII have already been published and the fourth volume covering Maṇḍalas IX and X will shortly go to the press. A fifth volume will comprise the various indices.

Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, quotes a number of passages from the different branches of Sanskrit literature, e.g., Vedic literature, Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, Grammar, Bṛhaddevatā, Sarvānukramaṇī, Ṛgvidhāna, etc. Prof. Max Müller, in his well known edition of Sāyaṇa's commentary on the Ṛgveda, has tried to trace these passages to their original sources. He could not, however, succeed in tracing all of them. The chief reason for this seems to be that good editions of Vedic and other texts with indices were perhaps not available to him. Then the editors of the Bombay edition of the Ṛgvedabhāṣya have also made efforts in the same direction and have given the references of certain Vedic passages in addition to those given by Max Müller. Still there remained to be traced a number of Vedic and other passages quoted directly or indirectly in the text of the commentary. It was, therefore, quite natural that the editors of the Poona edition should try to find out the original places of those passages and they have been successful in tracing at least some of them.

In cases of passages from Vedic texts, whether or not actually mentioned by name, the texts concerned were referred with the aid of (1) Bloomfield's *Vedic Concordance*, (2) Viśvabandhu Sāstri's *Vaidika Padānukramakoṣa*, and (3) Hamsa Rāj's *Vaidika Koṣa*. Help of Vaidikas who have learned the texts (of the Ṛgveda and Yajurveda School) by heart, was also obtained. Texts like *Sarvānukramaṇī*, *Bṛhaddevatā*, *Ṛgvidhāna*, Grammatical texts, Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, etc. were referred for passages quoted therefrom.

Still there remain a number of quotations which could not be traced so far, for some reason or other. Such quotations are given below. Some of them are not actually quoted by

words, they are referred by the commentator in his own words. The quotations can be divided into several classes :—

(i) Passages from Vedic texts which are mentioned by name,
(ii) Passages from Vedic texts which are not mentioned by name,
(iii) Passages from works that have not been discovered so far,
(iv) Passages from Smṛtis or similar works,
(v) Ślokas like those in *Bṛhaddevatā*, *Ṛgvidhāna* and Ṣaḍguru-śiṣya's *Vedārthadīpikā*,
(vi) References from unknown sources which are introduced by केचिदाहुः, कश्चिदाह, अपरे, संप्रदायविदः, वृद्धाः, ऐतिहासिकाः, etc.[1]
(vii) Miscellaneous.

Of all the passages, at least those in Classes (i) and (ii) could be traced with some efforts. It is difficult to say anything definitely about those in other classes. In order to do full justice to Sāyaṇa, the great commentator of the Vedic texts, who has rendered the greatest help in their interpretation, it is essential that utmost efforts should be made to trace all the remaining quotations in the whole of his commentary on the Ṛgveda to their original sources. It is with this intention that the list of all such passages is being published here. The list may perhaps not be exhaustive. Scholars especially interested in Vedic studies are, therefore, requested to kindly note such passages as may not have been mentioned here, while going through the published volumes of the Poona edition, and to co-operate with the editors in finding out the original places of all the quotations and thus enable them to make the edition as thorough as possible from this point of view. References of quotations in the commentary on Maṇḍalas IX and X that may be obtained within time, will be utilised while printing the text of the fourth volume comprising those Maṇḍalas. Those in the commentary on Maṇḍalas I to VIII will be mentioned in the introduction to the same.

The classified list of untraced passages now follows :—

Class (*i*) :—

III. 51. 7—इन्द्रः शार्यातस्य यज्ञे सोमरसानपिबदित्येषोऽर्थः कौषीतके स्पष्टमुक्तः । The name of Śāryāta is not found in the index of proper names in Kauṣītaki Brāhmaṇa at the end (Lindner's Edition).

[1] Cf. Max Müller, *Ṛgveda*, 2nd edition, Vol. IV, Preface, p. cxxxi.

IV. 9. 5—'स हि सप्तदशः कर्मणामुपद्रष्टा भवति' इत्यापस्तम्बेनोक्तत्वात् ।

VI. 46. 3—यां कां च स्त्रियं संभवन्निन्द्रो भोगलोलुपतया स्वशरीरे पर्वणि पर्वणि शेफान् ससर्ज इति कौषीतकिभिराम्नातम् ।

VIII. 2. 2—तदुक्तं भगवता आपस्तम्बेन–'शुक्लामूर्णास्तुकां यजमानाय प्रयच्छति तां शकटे दशापवित्रस्य नाभिं कुरुते शुक्लं वलक्ष्याः पवित्रममोतं भवति' ।

VIII. 4. 1—'सिम इति वै श्रेष्ठमाचक्षते' इति वाजसनेयकम् । It is to be noted that this occurs in Ṛgveda 1. 102. 6 as a passage from Śāṭyāyanaka.

X. 51. 8—शरीरदाया ह वा अग्नयो भवन्तीति च ब्राह्मणं पुरुषाहुतिर्यस्य प्रियतयेति च ।

X. 52. 2—'एष वै सोमो राजा' इत्युपक्रम्य 'तद्देवाभयं भवति' इति हि छन्दोगब्राह्मणम् ।

X. 101. 3—'सप्त ग्राम्याः कृष्टे सप्तारण्या अकृष्टे' इत्यापस्तम्बः ।

Class (ii) :—

II. 3. 10—'अग्निर्वै देवानां शमिता' इति श्रूयते ।

VI. 65. 6—तथा च ब्राह्मणं–'प्राणो वै भरद्वाजवत्' इति ।

VII. 10. 5—तथा च श्रूयते–'यस्माद्दूतोऽभवत्तस्माद्विशस्तमध्वर ईळते' इति ।

VIII. 17. 5—तथा च श्रूयते–'ओभा कुक्षी पृणता वार्त्रघ्नं च माघोनं च' । Max Müller has वार्त्रघ्ने in place of वार्त्रघ्नं । Bombay edition says बृहदारण्यके ।

IX. 1. 2 ; 75. 3 ; 97. 1—'हिरण्यपाणिरभिषुणोति' ।

IX. 5. 2—तथा च श्रूयते–'अद्भ्योंऽशवो जायन्ते ततः सोमो जायते' इति ।

IX. 29. 2—'अयं वै ज्योतिर्यत्सोमः' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 5. 1—'मनो वै देवा मनुष्यस्य जानन्ति' इत्युक्तम् ।

X. 56. 1—'देवानां ह्येतत्परमं जनित्रं यत्सूर्यः' इति हि श्रुतिः ।

X. 56. 6—'अयं ह्याततन्तुर्यत्प्रजा' इति ब्राह्मणम् ।

X. 61. 10—'अदक्षिणानि सत्राणीत्याहुः' इति हि वचनं 'ये यजमानास्त ऋत्विज' इति ।

X. 85. 5—'वसन्ते वसन्ते ज्योतिषा यजेत' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 85. 5—'वायुगोपा वनस्पतयः' इति श्रुतेः ।

X. 88. 16—तथा च निगमान्तरम्–'उत मन्येऽहमेनमनयोर्हि शिरस्तोऽयं प्रातर्जायते' इति ।

X. 115. 8—'अन्नं वा आज्यम्' इति श्रवणात् ।

Class (iii) :—

I. 102. 6—तथा च शाट्यायनकं–'सिम इति वै श्रेष्ठमाचक्षते' । This again comes as a passage from Vājasaneyaka in RV. VIII. 4. 1.

VIII. 91 ; X. 38. 5 etc. Passages from Śāṭyāyana Brāhmaṇa.

V. 40. 8—स्वर्भानुमायया सूर्यस्यावृतिर्ह्रीग्द्रविके समाम्नाता–'स्वर्भानुश्चासुरः सूर्यं तमसाविध्यत्तस्मै देवाः प्रायश्चित्तमैच्छन् तस्य यत्प्रथमं तमोऽपाघ्नन् सा कृष्णाविरभवत् यद् द्वितीयं सा फल्गुनी यत्तृतीयं सा वलक्षी यदध्यस्थादपाकृन्तन्' इत्यादि ।

Class (iv) :—

III. 34. 1—तथा च स्मृतिः–'चैत्रमासे तपेदिन्द्रः' इति ।

III. 56. 4—'मेषादिस्थे सवितरि यो यो मासः प्रपूर्यते चान्द्रः ।
चैत्राद्यः स ज्ञेयः' इति स्मृतेः ।

V. 61. 8—'अर्धं शरीरस्य भार्या' इत्यादिस्मृतेः ।

VII. 33. 1—'चूडाकर्मणि दक्षिणतो वसिष्ठानाम्' इति स्मर्यते ।

VII. 82. 2—स्मर्यते च–'ओजो नामाष्टमी दशा' इति ।
Max Müller has ओजः साष्टमी दशा ।

X. 85. 2—'प्रथमां पिबते वह्निर्द्वितीयां पिबते रविः' इत्यादिस्मृतेः ।

X. 107. 1—'चैत्रमासे तयोरिन्द्रः' इति स्मरणात् ।
Bombay edition has तथा इन्द्रः in place of तयोरिन्द्रः ।
cf. III. 34.1.

Class (v) :—

I. 88. 1—तथा चाहुः–'सर्वा स्त्री मध्यमस्थान्न पुमान् वायुश्च सर्वगः ।
गणाश्च सर्वे मरुत इति वृद्धानुशासनम्' इति ॥

II. 12 Intro.—तान् दृष्ट्वा निर्जगामेन्द्रो यज्ञाद्गृत्समदाकृतिः ।

This seems to be a quotation even though it forms part of a statement in prose. See Nītimañjarī p. 136 (Benares edition).

II. 28 Intro.—इदमेकादशर्चं तु वारुणं भयपापनुत् ।
ऋणदारिद्र्यदुःस्वप्ननाशनं चेति शुश्रुम ॥

IV. 27. 1—अत्रैष श्लोकः पठ्यते—

'श्येनभावं समास्थाय गर्भाद्योगेन निःसृतः ।
ऋषिर्गर्भे शयानः सन् ब्रूते गर्भे नु सन्निति' ॥

IV. 24. 9—अत्र ऋग्द्वये सम्प्रदायविद्भिः पूर्वाचार्यैः केचित् श्लोकाः पठ्यन्ते । त एव लिख्यन्ते—

अल्पं यः परिगृह्णाति मूल्यं पण्येन भूयसा ।
स क्रेतारं पुनर्गच्छन्न विक्रीतस्त्वयं मया ॥१॥

इति ब्रुवन् कामयते पुनर्मूल्यस्य पूरणम् ।
स विक्रेता पुनर्मूल्यं भूयसा न प्रपूरयेत् ॥२॥

हीनं न लभते वस्नं यदा विक्रीतवान् पुरा ।
यथासमयमेव स्यात्तयोर्न पुनरन्यथा ॥३॥

अयं विक्रय एवेति समयश्चेत्कृतो भवेत् ।
अथ मूल्यार्थमेतत्स्याद्विचार्यैव तु निर्णयः ॥४॥

इत्येवं समयोऽकारि तदा मूल्यं प्रपूर्यते ।
तस्मादादौ मया कार्यः समयोऽत्रेति चिन्तयन् ॥५॥

वामदेवो वशीकृत्य शक्रं स्तोत्रेण भूयसा।
विक्रीणन् समयं चक्र इन्द्रं क इममित्यृचि ॥६॥
अतश्च द्वृच एकार्थो भूयसा वस्नमित्ययम् इति।
See Nītimañjarī p. 163

VI. 47. 20—अत्रोक्तम्–

'अरण्ये निर्जने गर्गो देवान् भूमिं बृहस्पतिम्।
इन्द्रं चास्तौत्स्वरक्षार्थमृचा मार्गच्युतोऽनया' ॥ इति।

This passage has been quoted by Dyādviveda in his Nītimañjarī (p. 213).

VI. 9. 2—एतच्च सम्प्रदायविद्भिरुक्तं—

'वैश्वानरस्य पुत्रोऽसौ परस्ताद्दिवि यः स्थितः।
छन्दांस्यध्वरवस्त्रस्य स्तुतशस्त्राणि तन्तवः ॥

यजूँषि चेष्टाश्चोतुः स्याद्वस्त्रं वातन्वमध्वरः।
परः परः स्थितः सूर्यः पिताग्निः पार्थिवो मतः' ॥ इति।

VI. 20. 5—तथा चोक्तं–

'कुत्सायेन्द्रोऽसुरं शुष्णं जिघांसुः कुत्समात्मनः।
सारथिं कल्पयित्वास्य शत्रुं शुष्णमहंस्ततः।
कुत्सस्य रक्षां बहुलां चकारेत्यनयोच्यते'।

VII. 104. 12—अत्र केचिआहुः—

'हत्वा पुत्रशतं पूर्वं वसिष्ठस्य महात्मनः।
वसिष्ठं राक्षसोऽसि त्वं वासिष्ठं रूपमास्थितः ॥

अहं वसिष्ठ इत्येवं जिघांसू राक्षसोऽब्रवीत्।
अत्रोत्तरा ऋचो दृष्टा वसिष्ठेनेति नः श्रुतम्' ॥

IX. 13 Intro.—पवमानगुणः सोमो विज्ञेयः काश्यपावृषी।
इति विद्यादनुक्तेऽपि लाघवाया दृह्लच्युतात् ॥

X. 62. 7—शौनकः—

ऋषयोऽङ्गिरसस्तुष्टा यद्दुर्मनिवाय तु।
तत्पुण्याय च कर्मणि ये यज्ञेनेत्यकीर्तयत् ॥
Bombay edition has कर्मणि in place of कर्मणि।

X. 62. 8 Intro.—शौनकः–

'सावर्णिना च यद्दत्तं मानवाय महद्वसु।
तदुक्तं सूक्तशेषेण प्र नूनं जायतामिति' ॥

X. 85. 22—'विश्वावसुर्नाम गन्धर्वः कन्यानामधिपतिर्यतः।
लभामि तेन कन्याम्' इति हि मन्त्रः।

Class (vi) :—

I. 64. 8 etc.—ऐतिहासिकाः—

I. 88. 1—पौराणिकास्त्वाचक्षते मारीचात्कश्यपात्सप्तगणात्मका एकोनपञ्चाशत्संख्याका मरुतो जज्ञिरे इति।

II. 12 Intro.—अन्ये त्वन्यथा वर्णयन्ति, अपरे त्वेवं कथयन्ति।
See Nītimañjarī p. 136

V. 52. 17—अदितिगर्भे वर्तमानं वायुमिन्द्रः प्रविश्य सप्तधा विदार्य पुनरेकैकं सप्तधा व्यदारयत् ते एकोनपञ्चाशन्मरुद्गणा अभवन्निति पुराणेषु प्रसिद्धम् ।

VI. 9. 2—आत्मविदः—

VI. 42. 2—अन्य आह

VII. 57. 3—कश्चिदेकवाक्यतामाह

VII. 87. 4—अपर आह

VIII. 33. 6—श्रवः श्रयन्त्यस्मिन्निति व्युत्पत्तेः श्मश्रु युद्धमिति वृद्धा वदन्ति ।

VIII. 33. 17—तथा चाहुः–'प्लायोगिश्चासंगो यः स्त्री भूत्वा पुमानभूत् स मेध्यातिथये दानं दत्वा' इति ।

VIII. 96. 14—केचिदिष्यामि वो मरुत इति पठन्ति ।
Bombay edition says शाखान्तरे ।

Class (vii) :—

V. 41. 7—ईषिः प्रापणकर्मा स्यादुपप्राभिः समन्वितः ।

This seems to be a quotation.

VI. 1. 13—अत्र भरतस्वामी वसुतात इत्येकपदं सप्तम्यन्तं चकार ।

See Sanskrit notes in the Poona edition of Ṛgveda, Vol. III.

SANSKRIT SECTON

THE PĀRIJĀTA AND THE MADANA-PĀRIJĀTA

By

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In the *History of Dharmaśāstra* (Vol. I, p. 309) the *Pārijāta*, often quoted by the *Kalpataru* and the *Ratnākaras* of Caṇḍeśvara, was assigned to a period between 1000 and 1125 A.D. and it was pointed out that the *Pārijāta* quoted by the *Kalpataru* was altogether a different work from the *Madana-pārijāta.* The *Madanapārijāta* was assigned to a period between 1360 and 1390 A.D. in the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I, p. 389. In a recent case before the Patna High Court[1] a passage of the *Madana-pārijāta* assumed importance and incidentally the date of the *Madana-pārijāta* came in for discussion. Mr. Justice Dhavle, himself a Sanskrit scholar, after quoting the views of Ghose, Sarvadhikari and myself about the date of the *Madana-pārijāta* ultimately left the question of date undecided (p. 579) but remarked, 'we have had lawyers on both sides in this case who are familiar with Sanskrit and *none of them,* though invited to do so, has referred us to any quotation in the *Ratnākara* or the *Chintāmaṇi* from *the Pārijāta*, which is not to be found in the *Madana-pārijāta.*' Among the lawyers engaged in the case was the eminent Sanskrit scholar and antiquarian, the late Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. It becomes necessary to examine this question very carefully in view of the failure of eminent scholars and lawyers to shed light on it by setting forth some passages or opinions attributed to the *Pārijāta* in early works like the *Ratnākaras* of Caṇḍeśvara and to search for them in the *Madana-pārijāta* and to show from this investigation that the *Pārijāta* quoted by the *Kalpataru* and Caṇḍeśvara is different from the *Madana-pārijāta*. A detailed or extensive examination of all passages cited from the *Pārijāta* (which are several hundred in number) cannot be attempted here within the space allowed, nor is it necessary to do so. The passages may be divided into three classes: (1) Those in which certain views are attributed to the *Pārijāta* which are not found in the *Madana-pārijāta;* (2) those in which the *Madana-pārijāta* holds views or gives explanations which are opposed to or different from the views or explanations attributed to the *Pārijāta* ; (3) those in which certain views or texts are stated to have been not mentioned in the *Pārijāta* which are yet found in the *Madana-pārijāta.*

[1] Vide Kamla Prasad *vs.* Murli Manohar, 13 Patna 550 at p. 578-580.

In this paper *V. R.*, *Kṛ. R.* and *Gṛ. R.* respectively stand for the *Vivādaratnākara*, the *Kṛtyaratnākara* and *Gṛhastha-ratnākara.*; *M. P.* stands for *Madana-pārijāta*.

I. Passages in which certain remarks are attributed to the *Pārijāta* which are not found in the *Madana-pārijāta*:

(*a*) The *V. R.* quotes (on p. 465) a *sūtra* of Śaṅkhalikhita '*sa yadyekaputraḥ syād dvau bhāgāvātmanaḥ kuryāt*' and notes (on p. 466) that the *Pārijāta* explained '*ekaputra*' as '*jyeṣṭhaputra*' But this explanation is not found in the *M. P.*

(*b*) The *V. R.* on p. 476 refers to Manu IX. 125 (that among sons born to a man from wives of the same caste there is no seniority due to the seniority of wives in accordance with the dates of marriage, but there is seniority among sons according to the date of birth) and states that Lakṣmīdhara holds that the special share given on partition to the eldest son is to be given to that son, who though younger in age (than other sons) is the son of the eldest among wives and that the *Pārijāta* also accepted the same view.[1] There is nothing in the *M. P.* corresponding to this.

(*c*) The *V. R.* (p. 505) quotes several verses of Kātyāyana on property impartible by its very nature, one of which is 'pastures, ways and clothes on the body, *prayojya* and the materials used by craftsmen (such as cotton) are not divisible according to Bṛhaspati' and then states that according to Halāyudha '*prayojya*' means 'money lent as a debt', while '*prayojya*' means 'a book and the like' according to the *Pārijāta*.[2] In *M. P.* (on p. 685) the first quarter about a debt consigned to a document is quoted, but nothing is said by way of explaining *prayojya*.

(*d*) The *V. R.* (p. 589) quotes Manu IX. 190 (the widow of a sonless deceased person should secure a son through a Sagotra and should hand over

[1] लक्ष्मीधरेण ज्येष्ठापुत्रस्य कनीयस एव ज्येष्ठत्वप्रयुक्तोद्धारव्यवस्थापनाच्च । पारिजातस्याप्येवं परिग्रहाच्च ॥ वि० र० p. 477

[2] धनं पत्रनिविष्टं तु धर्मार्थं यन्निरूपितम् । ········गोप्रचारश्च रथ्या च वस्त्रं यच्चांगयोजितम् । प्रयोज्यं न विभज्येत शिल्पार्थं च बृहस्पतिः । प्रयोज्यं प्रयुक्तमृणमिति हलायुधः । प्रयोज्यं प्रयोगार्हं पुस्तकादि तन्न विभज्येत मूर्खादिभिरिति पारिजातः । वि० र० p. 505.

to that son whatever wealth may have been that of the deceased) and adds the view of the *Pārijāta*[1] that the widow should not herself take the wealth. The *M. P.* does not say anything about Manu IX. 190.

(*e*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 147) says that certain texts of Devala (on *Śauca*) were explained by the *Pārijāta*[2] as applicable only to women, Śūdras and persons whose Upanayana had not yet been performed. In the *M. P.* (pp. 44-50) there is a section on *Śauca* in which, though many of the verses on *Śauca* quoted from the Smṛtis in *Gr. R.* are also cited, this explanation about the passages of Devala is not found.

(*f*) On *Snāna* the *Gr. R.* (p. 195) quotes Yāj. I. 159 that one should not bathe in the reservoir of another without taking out five lumps of clay (or vessels of water) and observes that this applies only when the reservoir has been dedicated to the public and that this is the view of the Prakāśakāra, of the *Pārijāta*[3] and of Śrīdatta. In the *M. P.* (p. 243) Yāj. I. 159 is quoted but there is no such explanation of that verse as is ascribed to the *Pārijāta*.

(*g*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 205) quotes a verse which reads '*srotaso vai naraḥ snātvā sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate*' and remarks that the *Pārijāta* reads '*srotasi*' for '*srotasaḥ*' in that verse. That verse and the reading noted is not found in the *M. P.*

(*h*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 249) quotes a verse of Vasiṣṭha on Japa (26. 13) and then sets out the explanation of the *Pārijāta* that one who has mastered the whole Veda should repeat texts from his Veda, one who has learnt only a portion of the Veda of his school should mutter the Puruṣasūkta and

[1] तत्र मनुः। संस्थितस्यानपत्यस्य·······प्रतिपादयेत्॥ अनपत्यस्य मृतस्य पत्नी सगोत्राद्देवरसपिण्डयोरन्यतरस्मात् अपत्यमुत्पाद्य अस्मै मृतस्वामिस्वत्वोपलक्षितं रिक्थजातं दद्यान्न स्वयमाददीतेति पारिजातः। वि० र० p. 589.

[2] पारिजाते तु देवलवचनानां चतुराश्रयेषु स्त्रीशूद्रानुपनीतविषयत्वाद् व्याख्यातम्। तत्र संख्योदरश्रुतेः। उदकविषयं वा। गृह० र० p. 147

[3] अत्र च परनिपानं प्रतिष्ठितं विवक्षितं, अप्रतिष्ठिते चौर्यापत्तेः। परकीयनिपानेषु अपेयं सलिलं भवेत्। इति वाक्याच्चेति प्रकाशकारादयः। एवमेव पारिजाते श्रीदमाह्निके च। गृह० र० p. 195

the like, and one who knows only the Gāyatrī should repeat verses from some Purāṇa.[1] This is wanting in the Japa section of the *M. P.*

II. Passages where the explanation of the *Pārijāta* differs from that of the *M. P.*

(*a*) After quoting Nār., (Dāyabhāga, verse 7) that the husband of the girl is the father of the Kānīna, Sahoḍha and Gūḍhaja sons and declaring them to be entitled to a share in his wealth, the *V. R.* (p. 565) mentions the explanation of the *Pārijāta* that if the girl's father (i.e. maternal grand-father of the Kānīna and Sahoḍha) be sonless, then the Kānīna and Sahoḍha become his (i.e., maternal grand-father's) sons, but if the maternal grand-father has a son, then the Kānīna and Sahoḍha belong to the husband of their mother and that if both the maternal grand-father and the husband are sonless, then they become the sons of both. The *M. P.* (p. 652) on the other hand says that the Kānīna becomes the son of the husband when the girl is married, but if she is not, then the Kānīna belongs to the maternal grand-father.[2]

(*b*) In the *Vyavhāraprakāśa* of Mitramiśra (p. 524) it is stated that the view of several digests such as the *Smṛticandrikā*, the *Madanratna*, *Kalpataru*, *Ratnākara* (of Caṇḍeśvara) and the *Pārijāta* was that the mother succeeded as an heir after the father. But the *M. P.* (p. 672) on the other hand holds the view that the mother succeeds as heir before the father.[3]

(*c*) The *Gr. R.* (p. 140) after quoting Manu IV. 46-47 forbidding the answering of the calls of nature

[1] अत्र समस्तवेदाध्ययनवतां आदावरभ्य वेदपाठेन स्याध्याय: करणीय: । एकदेशाध्यायिना पुरुषसूक्तादिपाठेन सावित्रीमात्राध्यायिना पुराणपाठेनेति व्यवस्थेति पारिजात: । गृह० र० p. 249

[2] नारद: । कानीनश्च सहोढश्च गूढायां यश्च जायते । तेषां वोढा पिता ज्ञेयस्ते च भागहरा: स्मृता: । सहोढो गर्भजात: । अत्रापुत्रो यदि मातामहस्तदा तस्य पुत्र: कानीन: सहोढश्च । सपुत्रश्चेतदा वोढु: । उभयोरपुत्रत्वे चोययोरिति पारिजात: । वि० र० p. 565 तत्र वोढुरिति उपादानात् विवाहिता चेत्तदा वोढुर्नो चेत् मातामहस्येत्येतदवगम्यते । मद० पा० p. 952 वोढु: refers to मनु IX. 172

[3] तस्मात् स्मृतिचन्द्रिकामदनरत्नाकरकल्पतरुरत्नाकरपारिजातकारप्रभृतीनां बहूनां पितुरभावे मातु: पुत्रधनाधिकार इत्येव सिद्धान्त: । व्य० म० p. 524., ततश्च प्रथमं माता गृह्णाति तदभावे पिता ।। मद० पा० p. 672

on *parvata* and *parvata-mastaka* says that according to the *Pārijāta* both *parvata* and its top are mentioned for the purpose of conveying that where it is impossible to avoid answering such calls of nature on a mountain, at least the top of the mountain should be avoided. On the other hand the *M. P.* (p. 43) does not first read '*parvata-mastaka*' (but '*na bhasmani, na gomaye*') in Manu IV. 47; then notices the reading '*parvata-mastaka*' and remarks that *parvata-mastaka* is employed to indicate that more blame attaches to answering calls of nature on a mountain summit than on a mountain.[1]

(*d*) After quoting Dakṣa II. 9 that the morning bath is commended because it yields seen and unseen rewards the *Gr. R.* 180 cites the explanation of seen and unseen rewards from the *Pārijāta* which do not agree with the explanation given by the *M. P.* (p. 62) of the same.[2]

(*e*) The *Suddhitattva* (ed. by Jīvānanda, 1895, page 398) says that *Sāpiṇḍya* of brothers and the like based on the offering of Piṇḍas in Śrāddha was propounded by the *Matsya-purāṇa* and by Baudhāyana and was so explained by the *Kāmadhenu*, *Hāralatā*, *Kalpataru*, *Pārijātakāra* and others. But the *M. P.* (pp. 129-131) explains at great length that *Sāpiṇḍya* is based on connection or continuance of particles of the same body, that this theory is simple and easy of application, while the theory of Sāpiṇḍya based upon the offering of Piṇḍas is vitiated by cumbrousness (*Kalpanā-gaurava*).[3]

[1] यत्र पर्वतेष्वशक्यो परीहारस्तत्रापि मस्तकवर्जनार्थमिति पारिजातः। गृह० र० p. 140., न च पर्वतमस्तके इति पाठे पूर्वक्तपर्वतग्रहणेनैव तन्मस्तकसिद्धावपि पुनर्ग्रहणाद् दोषाधिक्यं द्योत्यते। तद्भाष्ये तु अत्यन्तार्तस्य पर्वते दोषाभावप्रतिपादनार्थयित्युक्तम्। मद० पा० p. 63

[2] प्रातःस्नानं प्रशंसन्ति दृष्टादृष्टकरं हि तत्। नित्यत्वाज्जपादिद्वारा परलोकशुद्धिरिति पारिजातः। गृह० र० p. 180., दृष्टं मलापनयनादङ्गशुद्धिः। अदृष्टं नित्यत्वेन पापक्षयः। मद० पा० p. 62

[3] लेपभाज इत्यादिवाचनिकेर्थे सापिण्डये एकशरीरावयवान्वयरूपस्वकपोलरचितार्थानवकाशात् निर्वाप्यपिण्डसम्बन्धेन भ्रात्रादीनां सापिण्डयस्य मत्स्यपुराणबोधायनाभ्यां पूर्वमुक्तत्वात् कामधेनुहारलताकल्पतरुपारिजातकारादिभिस्तथैव व्याख्यानत्वाच्च। शुद्धितत्त्व, p. 394., अथैवं मन्यसे एकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयित्वमेकपिण्डदानक्रियान्वयान्वयित्वं चेति निमित्तद्वयमिति न कल्पनागौरवमिति। तर्हि अस्मत्पक्षेपि एकमेव निमित्तमिति ततोपि लाघवम्। तच्चैकशरीरारावयवायन्वायित्वमेव। मद० पा० p. 130

III. An interesting passage in which a text is stated not to have been mentioned in the *Pārijāta* which as a matter of fact is found in the *M. P.* is as follows :

The *V. R.* (p. 499) states that in a certain *saṁhitā* a verse ascribed to Hārīta is quoted (viz., that when one member of a joint family recovers by his own labour land that once belonged to the family but was lost to it, the other members get a share therein after giving one-fourth to the acquirer) but that this is improper, since that verse is not contained in the *Smṛtimahārṇava*, the *Kāmadhenu*, the *Kalpataru*, the *Pārijāta* and other works. The *Dāyatattva* after quoting the words of the *V. R.* argues that *V. R.* is not correct since the same verse (ascribed to Śaṅkha) is found in the *Dāyabhāga*, the *Mitākṣarā* and other works. That verse is quoted in the *M. P.* (p. 684) as from Śaṅkha and is also explained.[1]

In the *Kṛtyaratnākara* the views of the *Pārijāta* are quoted several times on matters which are not dealt with in the *M. P.* at all ; e.g., *Kr. R.* p. 31 (that even Pancarātra and Pāśupata Śāstras are authoratative when they do not contradict the Veda), p. 54 (about general rules on Vrata), p. 59 (about the Devatā of a Mantra when it is not expressly stated), p. 61 (explanation of a passage from the *Brahmapurāṇa* about a *samidh* of Aśvattha), p. 66 (about the requirements of proper *kuśas*), p. 92 (about Homadravya).

The above discussion will, it is hoped, convince scholars that the *Pārijāta* is entirely different from the *Madanapārijāta*. It is further to be noted that the chronological position of the two referred to above makes their identity impossible.

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[1] यच्च संहितायां हारीतः—पूर्वनष्टां तु यो भूमिमेक एवोद्धरेच्छ्रमात् । यथाभाग लभन्तेऽन्ये दत्वांशं तु तुरीयकम्—इति वाक्यं लिखति स्म तच्च स्मृतिमहार्णव-कामधेनु-कल्पतरु-पारिजातप्रभृत्यलिखनादयुक्तमेव । वि० र० p. 499., भूमौ तु विशेषयति शङ्खः । पूर्वनष्टां····तुरीयकम्-एतद्वचनं स्मृति·········लिखनादयुक्तमेवेति रत्नाकरः । तन्न । दायभागमिताक्षराप्रभृतिधृतत्वात् । दायतत्त्व, p. 177

THE *BHĀGAVṚTTI* AND ITS AUTHOR.

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The investigations covering over a century by Western scholars like Goldstücker, Bohtlingk, Kielhorn, Aufrecht and Eggeling have lighted many a dark spot in the history of the evolution of grammatical literature of ancient and mediaeval India and the untiring labours of indigenous scholars trained in traditional methods have resulted in editions of several classical works in the field and have aroused the curiosity and research activities of devoted workers. But it would be idle to contend that our teaching and research have ceased to be compartmental and selective, as it had been some centuries ago, [1] when the *Pradīpa* of Kaiyaṭa and the *Padamañjarī* of Haradatta were regarded as having a determining factor and the last say in the field of Panini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī* and Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, with this disparaging difference that while in those days the contributions of great masters that were becoming more and more unfamiliar were recorded and discussed, we seem to be oblivious and callous about them. How could we otherwise explain the total and absolute ignoring of epoch-making works in the ambitious manuals of histories of Sanskrit literature,[2] based on monographs[3] by experts, the enterprising but all the while advertising *Descriptive Catalogues* of manuscripts[4] and the hopelessly inadequate bibliography[5] of authorities cited in some of the very recent editions of grammatical

[1] As for example in the *Puruṣakāra* by Līlāśuka (13th century A.D.) (Trivandum Sanskrit Series No. 1) in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* of Sīradeva and in the later manuals by Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita.

[2] As in Kieth's *Sanskrit Literature* (1927), p. 430.

[3] Belvalkar's *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar* is an instance in point.

[4] Vide the *Triennial Catalogues of Sanskrit Manuscripts* (published from Madras) and the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS.* in the collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (vol. VI) dealing with Grammar. H. P. Sastri in his introduction (p. xxxvi) names the *Bhāgavṛtti* and has no remarks to offer.

[5] A curious instance is afforded by the list in the Kashi Sanskrit Series edition (1937) (No. 103) of the *Mādhavīya Dhātuvṛtti* which does not include the *Bhāgavṛtti*, which has been quoted several times in the work but which includes in another appendix editors of present times, and describes therein the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Saraṇadeva (published long ago in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series) as a *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*.

works prepared according to so-called modern methods? The *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] has suffered severely[2] from such a calamity and in spite of the laudable activities of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, culminating in the bringing to light of the *Kāśikavivaraṇa-pañjikā* of Jinendrabuddhi, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama[3] and the *Dhātupradīpa* of Maitreya-Rakṣita by the late Prof. Srisa Candra Chakravartin, has not secured the prominence it so richly deserves, nor even merited a mention[4] amongst the world of scholars. That the work was widely known and highly appreciated is evident from the abundant citations and references not merely in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*[5], but amongst others, also in the *Durghaṭavṛtti*[6], the *Padamañjarī*[7], the *Paribhaṣāvṛtti* of Śīradeva[8], the *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa* of Śripatidatta, the *Pañjikā*[9] of Trilocanadāsa, the *Sūtras*[10] of

[1] It is a pity that no MSS. of this work has as yet been discovered. This is also true of the *Anunyāsa*, which may help to determine many knotty points in relation to this topic. (vide f. n. 4, p. 14).

[2] In spite of its being recognised as a great work in traditional literature like those of Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta: vide *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* under √कित् (भ्वादि) and the last paragraph of this paper.

[3] This work (pub. 1917) should have brought into prominence the usefulness of the *Bhāgavṛtti* as no other work could have so done.

[4] D. C. Bhattacharya in his *Paninean Studies in Bengal* (Sir A. Mukherji Silver Jubilee Commemoration Vols. Orientalia vol. I) is the only scholar to note this work and dilate on its importance.

[5] The avowed object of its author Puruṣottama is clear from its closing verse:

काशिकाभागवृत्त्योश्चेत्सिद्धान्तं बोद्धुमस्ति धीः ।
तदा विलोक्यतां भ्रातभर्षावृत्तिरियं मम ॥

(p. 573, V. R. S. edn.). The actual citations in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* by name from the *Bhāga* , are about three dozen in number. From citations in other works like the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, and the *Kātantrapariśiṣṭa*, these in reality would come up at least ten times that number.

[6] The number of citations in the *D.V.* is no less than twenty-five including the one in p. 3 where धातुवृत्तै should read भागवृत्तौ. The misprints in the *D.V.*, [which are many (e.g. पारंपर्येणोक्तो विषयोऽयं प्रतिषेधस्य in p. 35 should be पारंपर्येण । अतोऽविषयोऽयं प्रतिषेधस्य, चन्द्रिकायां; in p. 14 should be चण्डिकायां; केचित् in p. 116 should be क्वचित्] and more of general information regarding the subject, which was not available to the learned editor then, have rendered a new edition of the work (now out of market) imperative.

[7] Under 1.3.67. (p. 351) II. 1.16; V. 3.12; VI. 1.9. The two works seem to have much in common, e.g. as under I.1.11. (p. 63), I.3.62 (p. 244).

[8] e.g. pp. 10, 12, 79, 109. (Benares edn.)

[9] आख्यातप्रकरणम्२।७६।३८. Trilocana (circa 1200) by-the-by regards the Vṛtti and the Ṭika by Durgasiṁha to be of the same standing.

[10] e.g. कृति षष्ठी वेति भागवृत्तिः ।

Kramadīśvara, the *Vṛttis* of Jumaranandin and Goyīcandra,[1] The *Supadma-makaranda*[2] of Viṣṇu Miśra and the *Bhāṣā-vṛttyarthavivṛti of* Sṛṣṭidhara, as well as in the *Puruṣakāra*,[3] the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*[4] and the *Siddhāntakaumudī*[5] (and the *Prauḍamanoramā* thereon) and very likely also in the *Prakriyākaumudī* of Rāmacandra. The texts of the latter category seem to know the work indirectly. From the citations and references in the works of the former list, all of which are widely prevalent and read in Bengal, it would not be hazarduous to assume that the *Bhāgavṛtti* itself had a wide circulation in East India and might have its inception there. Because of certain reasons to be noted hereafter, it could not claim to have undivided allegiance as the representative of Panineau grammar from scholars outside E. India and particularly from the writers that heralded the Marhatta revival. Even in Bengal from about the close of the 14th century (1400 A.D.) it ceased to have the dominating influence it exercised in the preceding centuries with some, because of its strict rigidity and with others, because of their aversion to the Paninean system, as is clear from the observations of Rāyamukuṭa[6] and Śrīpatidatta[7] so much so that Panini's system became synonymous with the *Kaśikāvṛtti*[8] of Jayāditya and Vāmana and the *Bhāgavṛtti* was ousted out of existence altogether.[9]

[1] The views of the Kaumāra school are noted in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* and the *ST*. of Sarvānanda. Maitreya in his *Dhātupradīpa* (closing verse) does not refer to them. H. P. Sāstri's dating (*Des. Cat.*, Vol. VI) is therefore hardly tenable; that of Keith may be accepted (*Sanskrit Literature*, p. 432) as probable.

[2] No less than twenty citations and references to the *B. V.* are found in this work (a complete Ms. of which is with the writer of this paper).

[3] Pp. 16, 89, 94, 110.

[4] e.g. under √हन, √शप्, √चि, √कित्,

[5] e.g. in the आत्मनेपदप्रक्रिया in connection with आ + हनु; in connection with √वम् ।

[6] Under पांडुर—पांडुरोऽसाधुरिति भागवृत्तिकृतो दुर्ज्ञानं जयादित्यं प्रति वाम्यमात्रजनितम् ।

[7] In connection with मणीव । कश्चित् त्रिमुनिसमुपेक्षणात् नेदमाद्रियते ।.. यद्यपि दिवर्थे दिवमिति निश्चितं तथाप्योकारनिवृत्त्यर्थमाह—दिवौकसः । तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता बिमलमतिनाऽ—(with a bit of irony) प्येष निपातितः ।

[8] In the works of all post-Kaiyaṭa writers Vṛtti stands for the *Kaśikā*. With late non-Paninean Bengali writers the views of the *Kaśikā* are the standard view of Pāṇini: वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनं शपथ इति पाणिनिमतमवलम्ब्य (Kavirāja on II. 2. 76. 12).

[9] The *Vaiyākaraṇasarvasva* composed in 1809 at the request of Colebrooke in Calcutta, purporting to be a gloss on Pāṇini does not know the *Bhāgavṛtti* (S. C. Chakravarti. in Introduction to the *Nyāsa*, pp. 17-18).

The citations and references prove it beyond doubt that, as may be inferred from its title, the *Bhāgavṛtti* is a running *Vṛtti* on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, divided into two parts[1], the *Chandobhāga* and the *Bhāṣābhāga*, as we find in the *Siddhāntakaumudī*[2], with this difference that while in the latter work, the arrangement as in the later authorities on non-Paninean systems as to topic-division is followed, the former follows the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* arrangement in toto. This is clear from its alternative[3] title the *Aṣṭakavṛtti*[4], which incidentally points to the fact that its author, though he had before him recasts and adjustments of the Paninean system (as in the *Kalāpa* as explained by Durgasiṁha), which did away with the Vedic portion, chose to continue the whole of Paninean structure. There is no denying the fact that whatever might have been the effects of such a method on Vedic studies in the land of its inception, a method which made a virtue of necessity, the Vedic portion of the work became atrophied, as is evidenced from lack of references to it in later literature on the subject. It might have been,—and this alone can lend significance to its title—a pioneer work in this direction, unlike earlier works like the *Māthariवṛtti*[5] and the *Kāśikāvṛtti*, which indicate their places of origin, the *Satīvṛtti*,[6] or the *Keśavavṛtti*[7] which points to its author, and their commentaries and continuations (as in the *Nyāsa* of Jinendrabuddhi). The *Bhaṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama which dealt only with the non-Vedic portions and the *Mitākṣarā* of Annambhaṭṭa,[8] which is the shortest

[1] cf. in गोयीचन्द्रः—अतएव भाषावृत्तौ भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृत् भाषावृत्तिकारश्च क्वसुकानज्विधानलक्षणं न लक्षितवान् (in connection with Pāṇini III. 2.107). In *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (pp. 4, 5, 200....) we read : शे इति सूत्रं छन्दोभागः । ' 'अत्र लेट : पंचसूत्री छन्दोभागः ।......नित्यग्रहणमेकवृत्तौ सार्थकम् ।......(and the note thereon). ईदूतौ चेति सूत्रश्छन्दोभागः (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, under I.1.19—p. 5 V.R.S. edn.).

[2] The *Bhāg. V.* as in the *S.K.* notes the *istis* or Vārttikas and sometimes the units of the Gaṇas as well. Vide f.n. 1 (p. 9), 3 (p. 13), 1 (p. 14),

[3] S.C. Chakravartin's conjecture of Its Sing's भेदवृत्ति being a reference to the *Bhāgavṛtti* is an idle surmise.

[4] अष्टकवृत्तिकृत् referred to by श्रीपतिदत्त in कातन्त्रपरिशिष्ट in connection with Pāṇini I.4.59 (vide pp. 53 and 563 of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* V.R.S. edn.).

[5] Under *Kāśikā* 4.3.101 and *Bhāṣāvṛtti* 1.2.57.

[6] A commentary on the Uṇādi-*śūtra*. In Ujjvaladatta's *Uṇādivṛtti* (chap. III.15) we read. :— एतत सूत्रं सतीवृत्तौ न दृश्यते ।

[7] In *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (VIII.4.20), *Tantrapradīpa* I.26, I.4.55.

[8] This work which aimed apparently at adjusting the views of the Sūtra (the *Kāśikāvṛtti*) with those of the *bhāṣya* refers to the *Bhāgavṛtti* in the passage (pp. 138-39, Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares, No. 33 :) भागवृत्तिकृन्मते (printed as भगवन्मते)..गन्तेत्येव भवितव्यम् ।

vṛtti known as yet, are also significant names. The former in E. Indian nomenclature is also styled the *Laghuvṛtti*,[1] as distinguished from its source of inspiration the *Bhāgavṛtti*, which is bigger, more ambitious, more intensive and more elaborate. The *Bhāgavṛtti* is frequently distinguished from the *Ekavṛtti* or the *Kāśikā*[2]. Owing to their inception primarily to the exigencies of the moment, such works could not but become practical manuals dealing with grammar from the standpoint of literary evolution and devoted little space to clumsy details[3] (like the derivation of farfetched forms) or abstruse doctrinisation (*tarka-garjana-prakriyā*). As a practical manual in the Paninean system, it vies with the *Mitākṣarā* and the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*, which latter furnishes the golden mean and has very many claims of being recognised as the model work for beginners and students of Sanskrit literature in general as well.

Though the method of approach here is eminently practical, it is very strict in its assessment of the purity or otherwise of current and older literature. The well-known grammarian-philosopher Bhartṛhari and Durgasiṃha, the celebrated author of the *Vṛtti* (and the *Ṭikā*[4] thereon) on the *sūtras* of the Kalāpa

[1] पुरुषोत्तमदेवेन लघ्वी वृत्तिर्विधीयते ॥ in the opening verse of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*. Under this title the work is often referred to by writers of the *Kalāpa* (e.g. Susenacarya Kaviraja, Trilocanadāsa etc.).

[2] Sṛṣṭidhara Cakravartin in his commentary on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* under 1.1.16:—एकवृत्ताविति काशिकायां वृत्तावित्यर्थः। एकशब्दस्य मुख्यार्थत्वात् काशिकायां मुख्यवृत्तौ छन्दस्यपि व्याख्यानात्; भागवृत्तरेन्यस्यां वा। सा हि द्वयोर्विवरणकर्त्री।

[3] cf. the adage: किरति चर्करीतान्तं पचतीत्यत्र यो नयेत्। प्राप्तिज्ञं तमहं मन्ये प्रारब्धस्तेन संग्रहः॥ चर्करीतान्त=यङ्लुगन्त। प्राप्तिज्ञः=सूत्रकाराभिप्रायज्ञः—स हि शब्दानुशासनशास्त्रवित्॥ (Vide V.R.S. edn. of the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* p. 518 f.n. 41). The यङ्लुगन्तगs as a class are not admitted in non-Vedic Sanskrit by the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti*.

[4] Belvalkar has challenged the identity of the Tikākāra with the Vṛttikāra. The evidences adduced are those of difference of faith and the description in the *Ṭikā*: as भगवान् वृत्तिकारः are easily refuted. The *namaskāra* verses: देवदेवं प्रणम्यादौ सर्वज्ञं सर्वदर्शिनम्। कातन्त्रस्य प्रवक्ष्यामि व्याख्यानं सार्ववर्मिकम्॥ and शिवमेकमजं बुद्धमर्ह्यग्रं तं स्वयंभुवम् कातन्त्रवृत्तिटीकेयं नत्वा दुर्गेण रच्यते॥ in the *Vṛtti* and *Ṭikā* respectively make little difference and may point to the author being a Buddhist as is generally supposed. The MS. evidence hardly proves the second point—the epithet भगवान् is not found in all MSS., Two MSS of the Dacca University Collection, one of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and one of a private collection, do not contain word. It crept subsequently because of the scribes inadvertence. The colophon evidence (इति दौर्गसिंह्यां वृत्तौ........इति दुर्गसिंहविरचितायां टीकायां........) in all cases and the reference in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* and the *Ṭikāsarvasva* [both of the 12th century) where कातन्त्रटीका is ascribed to दुर्गसिंह (T.S.S. Part III, pp. 303, 304) and the verses quoted are exactly found in the present *Ṭika*, giving supplementary information based on the system of Pānini, on which Durga's scholarship was unassailable] are sufficient to establish this.

system, serve as its two models; the laxity of treatment and the flexibility of principles of Jayāditya and Vāmana[1] who were influenced by the rather lenient Candragomin, come in occasionally for caustic comment. Indeed the indebtedness of the *Bhāgavṛtti* to the masters Bhartṛhari[2] and Durgasiṃha[3] is considerable and differences from their views do very seldom occur. Both of them are staunch supporters of the Bhāṣyakāra and it is on the *trimuuimata* view[4] that our author places

[1] For differences of view between the two Vṛttikāras, reference may be made to their *Vṛttis* on I.3.21., I.2.73, I.4.77, II.1.30, II.3.12, IV.2.38, IV.1.10, II.4.74, VI.1.144, VIII.4.11 and 12 etc. We cull two of these remarks of the *Bhāgavṛtti* for prominent attention :—I. 3. 21 वार्त्तिक—शपेरुपलंभने प्रकाशने कथने वर्त्तमानादात्मंनपेदं भवति । देवदत्ताय शपते देवदत्तं यत्किंचित्प्रकाशयतीत्यर्थः । वाचा शरीरस्पर्शनमित्यदः कस्यचित्काव्यम् (i.e. is pure invention or reverie). (*Bhāgavṛtti* as cited by Puruṣakāra p. 94; the printed *Mādhavīyavṛtti* under √शप् gives practically the same, though a bit more corrupt reading). VI.1.144 Vārttika—the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (pp. 10809) introduces it thus: इह सातत्यशब्दंप्रसंगादागतभाष्यवाक्यार्थं गृहीत्वा कस्यचित् श्लोकः (of the author of the *Kāśikā* ?): लुंपेदवश्यमः कृत्ये‥ ॥ सूत्रार्थे केचिदनुस्वारस्य च लोपमिच्छन्ति । मास्पचनं मास्पाक इति । तत्तु तन्त्रभाष्यवाक्यस्याभावात् सन्दिग्धमिति भागवृत्तिः ।········II.4.74—'इह चकारेण बहुलग्रहणमनुकृष्यते न तु छन्दसीति । तेन भाषायामनच्यपि यङ्लुक् : लालपीति वावदीतीति जयादित्यः । चकारात् 'बहुलं' छन्दसीति सर्वमनुवर्त्तते । तेन बाहुल्यादनच्यपि च्छन्दस्येव यङ्लुक् । भाष्ये तु हुश्नुग्रहणात् ज्ञापकत्रलात् बोभवीत्येव पदं भाषायां साधु नान्यत् ।

[2] The *Bhāgavṛtti* is proved from references to be following Bhartṛhari in many cases (e.g. I.3.21 Vārttika हरतेर्गतताच्छील्ये. Vide *Durghatavṛtti* III.2.188; मतिबुद्धि-पूजार्थेभ्यश्च VII.3.34 (vide citation in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* p. 117.)

[3] The *Bhāgavṛtti* follows Durgasiṃha even sometimes when the *Bhāṣya* has no instructions to offer (e.g. under II.3.12 on which topic commentator Goyīcandra in his gloss on the *Saṃkṣiptasāra* says :—षष्ठ्यां निर्दिष्टयामुत्सर्गसिद्धा कर्मणि द्वितीयैव भवतीत्यर्थः । सामान्येनैव कृति षष्ठी न भवतीति जयादित्यमतम् । ····कृति षष्ठी वेति भागवृत्तिः ।····चतुर्थी बाधित्वैवेति शंकानिरासार्थं वाग्रहणम् । Durga says in this connection :—कश्चिदाह चतुर्थी न वेति सिद्धे द्वितीयाग्रहणं कृद्योगषष्ठीबाधनार्थम् । ग्रामाय गन्ता ग्रामं गन्ता इति । न पुनरेवं शिष्टप्रयोगा दृश्यन्ते । (By the by was Durga referring to Jayāditya or quoting (आह) someone else? Can it be Jinendrabuddhi? The printed text of the *Nyāya* (p. 406) leaves out this portion of the Vṛtti for comment though Haradatta admits it. Again under I.1.11 Jayaditya reads the Vārttika मणीवादीनां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः । Durga reads मणीवादीनां प्रतिषेधः कैश्चिदिष्यते with no further remark, the *Bhāgavṛtti* adds to this :—इवार्थे वकारोऽयम् । The *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 4) adds: इवार्थे वकारोऽयमित्यन्ये । Durgādāsa in his commentary on the *Mugdhabodha* remarks :—मणीवादिषु सन्धिर्नित्यमिति कालापा वैकल्पिकमिति क्रमदीश्वरः । So under VI.1.64 and VI.1.I.31.... कनिन्प्रत्ययान्तेन दिव ओको येषाभिति भागवृत्तिः (cited in *Durghaṭa* under VI.I.1.31) Durga says: स्वरेऽप्युत्वं प्राप्तमनेन व्यावर्त्तते दिवाश्रयो दिवौकस इति येन स्यात् ।

[4] cf. तथा च—यद्विस्मृत्तमदृष्टं वा सूत्रकारेण तत्स्फुटम् । वाक्यकारो ब्रवीत्येवं तेनादृष्टं च भाष्यकृत् ॥ अत एव च पाणिनीयमेतत् त्रिमुनिव्याकरणं वदन्ति सन्तः । (*Padamañjarī* Vol. I, p. 7) (Pandit edn).

greatest reliance. The dictum यथोत्तरं मुनीनां प्रामाण्यम् is however the plank on which have relied all prominent writers on Pāṇini, including Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita; nay it has been the watchword for many writers on other systems as well. The author of the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (in his introduction) and elsewhere informs us :

कल्पयन्तु खला दोषं किं तैर्यदयमुद्यम: ।
मुनित्रयगिरामर्थमनस्त्वविदुषः प्रति ॥ (v. 16)

and in season and out of season boasts of his strictly following the *Bhāṣyakāra* view. This respectful attention of the *Bhāgavṛtti* to the words, not merely to the spirit of the *Bhāṣyakāra* leads him to what would appear to many as unjustifiable justification of such forms as परिपद्‌ब्लान्महात्रह्मैः[1] (which ordinarily is read as पर्पिद्वलान् महाव्रह्मैः) in the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* IV. 12, a violation of metrical rules intolerable to all and sundry: moreover with its preference for the views of Durgasiṁha, who because of his personal-religious leanings as also of the time during which he lived (9th Century), had a soft corner in his heart for Buddhist poets like Aśvaghoṣa, who uses संयति प्राक् परिपद्‌वलान्, strictly in conformity with the rule of Pāṇini (V. 2. 112), the *Bhāgavṛtti* cannot but support the form in contrast with the form पर्षद्वल. We read in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (p. 329) :—

इह, तु नवाक्षरैकपादोऽपि वृत्तभेदोऽस्यास्तीति यथा प्रधाने कर्मण्यभिधेये लादीनाहुर्द्विकर्मणाम् इति भागवृत्तिः The usually known form for this *Vārttika* which is read as under the *sūtra* अकथितं च (I. 4. 51) is प्रधानकर्मण्याख्येये. The prose portion of the *Bhāṣya*, however, reads अभिधेये ज्ञापकसिद्धि., it is resorted to by him only when the Bhāṣyakāra himself supports such forms by his own example. The dictum of the Mīmāṃsakas श्रुतानुमितयोः श्रुतसम्बन्धो बलीयान् or its equivalent न चोदाहरणमादरणीयम् has launched him into unfavourable comments on the uses of poets. 'अपशब्द एवायम्'—'चिन्त्यमेतत्' are frequent expressions of his opinion.[2] The elasticity of the grammarians' views in deference to uses (यावन्ति लक्ष्याणि तावन्ति लक्षणानि) ill fits in with the demands of a *sastra*[3], which grammar certainly is[4]

[1] Jayamaṅgala and Bharata Mallika both accept this reading, however. The latter introduces on this point the justification (of the *Bhāgavṛtti*) as recorded in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*.

[2] As in connection with आजघ्ने विषमविलोचनस्य वक्ष : (under I.3.28); कण्डूति in the use in the *Udāraraghava* (as cited in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva* part II p. 311 and in the *D.V.*).

[3] Cf. अर्थप्रयुक्ते शब्दानां प्रयोगे समुपस्थिते । धर्माय नियमः शास्त्रे प्राङ्मुखत्वादिवद्भवेत् (*Padamañjarī*, Vol. I, p. 10).

4. There seem to be certain peculiar exceptions as when the *B. V.* justifies forms like त्वेमतुः and तन्द्री in which latter case it comments :—'तन्द्री प्रमीला इति त्रिकाण्डीपाठात् साधुत्वम्'

(प्रत्यक्षं शास्त्रमनुमेयः प्रयोगः or अन्तरंगं शास्त्रं बहिरंगः प्रयोगः). While explaining *Sūtras*[1] he is very careful about utilising weak weapons like योगविभाग, व्यवस्थितविभाषा[2], प्रसज्यप्रतिषेध[3] as handy ways of नञ् uses, often at service in the armoury of other commentators and while discussing forms used, he maintains a grave and dignified form of detachment which has tried to exercise a chastening influence on late authors. The usual devices of पदसंस्कारपक्ष[4], of आगम[5] in its twofold forms of Vedic usage and the usage of later *ṛṣis* like Vyāsa and even of still later निरंकुश writers,[6] of विवक्षा[7] and अनित्यता are very rarely, if at all applied by him to test the purity of forms. This form of interpretation of grammar, which the *Kāśikā* used only as convenient illustrations, Jinendrabuddhi as ways of justification and Durgasiṁha as innocent

[1] Cf. पदच्छेदः पदार्थोक्तिर्विग्रहो वाक्योजना । पूर्वपक्षसमाधानं व्याख्यानं पंचलक्षणम् ॥ Sṛṣṭidhara Cakravartin in his opening commentary on प्रकृति in लैकिकानां प्रकृतिप्रत्यय ············ in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*) ; also :—उपोद्घातः पदं चैव पदार्थः पदविग्रहः । चालना प्रत्यवस्था च व्याख्या तन्त्रस्य षड्विधा ॥ (in Suṣena's gloss on Durga's Vṛtti). Note however, in this connection Bhagāvṛttikṛt's view on प्राप्तापन्ने च द्वितीयया (II.2.4) where अ च is the प्रश्लेष as has been also adopted by Kaiyaṭa and other later writers.

[2] This however is resorted to by him in exceptional cases as under I.3.45 (citation in the *D.V.*).

[3] e.g. in connection with VII. 3.34 ; III.2.124 so also Durga नञा निर्दिष्टस्थानित्यत्वात् ······ (कृत्प्रथमपाद । ३) the *Siddhāntakaumudī* in connection with the latter *sūtra* remarks : तेन प्रथमासमानाधिकरणेऽपि क्वचित् ।

[4] This has been resorted to e.g. under I.1.15 (vide *Durghaṭavṛtti*). The पदसंस्कारपक्ष and वाक्यसंस्कारपक्ष are thus succinctly explained :—पदसंस्कारं शास्त्रमिति कस्यापि दर्शनं वाक्यसंस्कारमित्यन्ये । पूर्वस्मिन्दर्शने पदान्येव पृथक् क्रियन्ते पश्चाद्वाक्यघटनेति । निष्पन्नं पदे पश्चाद्वाक्यघटनायामपि न निवर्त्तते, निष्पन्नत्वात् । (Goyīcandra in तिङन्तपाद)

[5] The two forms are छान्दसा अपि क्वचिद् भाषायां प्रयुज्यन्ते and नेयं स्मृतिर्भगवद्व्यासप्रभतीन अधिकृत्य कृता । ते हि भगवन्तो वाग्विषये स्वतन्त्राः (vide the *Bhāṣya* on VII.2.52 a अनुन्यास under I.3.29 ; VII.1.93). Forms like 'त्रियम्बकं संयमिनं ददर्श' 'तच्चैनं समगच्छत' 'कृष्णस्य सखिरज्जुनः' are thus explained :—the *Bhāgavṛtti* is scrupulously against this view as is explained by his partition of the *Chandobhāga* from the *Bhāṣābhāga*—his non-sanction of the क्वसु, कानच् for non-Vedic literature and his resort to the particle व in explaining the use in the *Mahābhārata* verse of मणीव under I.1.11.

[6] As in अथ कथं मा वालिपथमन्वगाः (इति भट्टिः), स्वच्छन्दमनुवर्त्तन्ते न शास्त्रमृषयः किल ॥ (*Padamanjñarī*, vol. II, p. 668).

[7] विवक्षा हि शब्दव्युत्पत्तेः कारणं न पुनर्वस्तुतः सत्ता explained to be significant in connection with I.3.36, I.3.40 and resorted to in cases like 'विनिन्युरेनं गुरवो गुरुप्रियम्' 'नभः समाक्रामति नष्टवर्त्मना ······ ।' on which the *Bhāgavṛtti* remarks :—'अपशब्दोऽयम्' (*D.V.* cited under 1.3.40) 1.3.3.

dabbling has been turned in the *Bhāgavṛtti* as an instructive and interesting corrective[1]. There are certain hobbies of his[2] over and above those which the Bhāṣyakāra supports, such as those dealing with णत्व and षत्व which can only be explained by the peculiarities of the forms prevalent in his own land.

The differences which crop up between the *Bhāgavṛtti* and the *Kāśikāvṛtti* or its followers (the जयादित्यपरंपरा in the language of Goyīcandra—Sūtra 126 of Subantapāda) are often vital and extend to their modes of assessment of शिष्टप्रयोग (some of which have been already noted). The relative importance of उत्सर्ग and अपवाद, which has formed the bone of contention and has given rise to different and divergent Paribhāṣas is an instance in point. The *Bhāgavṛtti's* resorting to तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय for which he has the support of his two masters Bhartṛhari and Durga, is challenged on the plea of abundance of शिष्टप्रयोग to the contrary by Anunyāsakāra and Maitreyarakṣita with a statement (ज्ञापकं सामान्यापेक्षम्[3]). The resort to flexibility of the *sūtras* so that by अनुवृत्ति the *Bhāṣābhāga* can be made at one with the *Chandobhāga* as attempted by Jayāditya-Vāmana (viz. with reference to क्वसु, कानच्, यङ्लुक्) on the lines of the Candra school, the real scope of the वाऽसरूपविधि (III. I. 94), the extension of the volatile expression बहुलम् and similar other subterfuges are noticeable in the *Kāśikāvṛtti* and these have led to serious differences of the *Bhāgavṛtti*; with the Nyāsakāra and his followers (the Naiyāsikas)[4]—for whom Maitreyarakṣita

[1] कथं पुनरिदमाचार्येण पाणिनिनाऽवगतमेते साधव इति···। पाणिनिरपि स्वकाले शब्दान् प्रत्यक्षयन्नापिशल्यादिना पूर्वस्मिन्नपि काले सत्तामनुसन्धत्ते। एवमापिशलिः। अनादिश्चायं संसारः। कथं पुनरस्मदादीनां सर्वलक्ष्यदर्शित्वं, माभूदस्मदादीनाम्, अस्मद्विशिष्टानां महर्षीणां संभवति यस्य वा ईश्वरानुग्रहः स एव प्रत्यक्षयति। (*Padamañjarī*, vol. I. pp. 6-7).

[2] The preference of श where according to orthodox view the *Bhāṣya* has स (e.g. in) सीक् for the derivative from which (सीकर शीकर) *vide* Bhānuji on *Amarakoṣaṭīka* and Sarvānanda in *Ṭīkāsarvasva*] with an apologetic tone for justification of श) as in connection with bhāṣyavārttika under VI.1.64 and rules for absence of णत्व as under VIII.4.11, VIII.4.15 and 38, which the *Bhāgavṛtti* shares with Durga mark him out as coming under the influence of Prakrit usages and betraying his East Indian extraction.

[3] Kaiyaṭa, Haradatta and the *Mādhvīyadhātuvṛtti* side themselves with Bhartṛhari and the *Bhāgavṛtti*.

[4] For such differences vide *Kāśikā* in relation to the *Bhāgavṛtti* under II.1.30 and III.1.101 (the ref. by Goyīcandra to the Bh. V.) I.4.77, II.4.74, IV.2.38 and VI.1.144 (vide citations in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti*) the *Nyāsa* as under I.1.59, I.3.21 and II.2.6 (all cited in D.V.) ; the *Tantrapradīpa* of Maitreya as under III.1.1 ; III.2.188 ; III.3.56 and 102 ; VIII.1.12 ; VI.4.111 (यत्तु रक्षितेनोक्तम्·· तत्, मन्दधियां सुखप्रतिपत्तये as in the *D.V.*).

has a veiled respect. The Anunyāsakāra, who came between the Nyāsakāra and Maitreyarakṣita, has serious differences with the *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] even in minor details and thus can not presumably in any justifiable way be identified with the Bhāgavṛttikāra. The futile attempts of scholars to pick up the name of the Anunyāsakāra merely on speculative grounds[2] said to establish his connection with the *Nyāsoddyota*[3] have been as misdirected[4] as the absurd suggestion of the identification of the Bhāgavṛttikāra with Bhartṛhari on the careless statement of a late commentator on the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* (17th century) which itself arose from distortion and wrong attempts at preserving the text of writers like Maitreyarakṣita, Śaraṇadeva and Goyīcandra.[5] This was to certain extent natural, for as we have noted above, the *Bhāgavṛtti* became a mere name or a symbol at least from the 14th century in India outside Bengal and in Bengal even from about the 16th century, when due to extraneous considerations as much as to his stupendous contributions Maitreyarakṣita[6] enjoyed all honours and recognition superseding the *Bhāgavṛtti* in popular favour.

[1] For some of these vide the *Bhāsāvṛtti* III.2.1. (and *Durghaṭavṛtit's* remarks there under II.2.12; I.3.16 ('.*V*.)—citation), iii.3.56, a *Ṭīkāsarvasva* evidence is clear and decisive under II.2.2 अर्धं नपुंसकमेव . समप्रविभागे वर्त्तते नान्यलिंगमिति भागवृत्त्यादिः । अर्धा शाटी अर्धं वस्त्रम् अर्धः कम्बल इत्यनुन्धासः) ।

[2] Aufrecht (*Catalogus Cat.* vol. I) regards Maitreyarakṣita's work and *Anunyāsa* as identical.

[3] S. C. Chakravartin's speculations about the *Nyāsoddyota* cited in the *Mādhavīyadhāturvṛtti* and by Mallinatha in relation to the *Anunyāsa* (one may add the *Nyāsaratnamatī* referred to in the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*) are also of a similar nature (p.19 Introduction to his edn. of the *Nyāsa*, 1923).

[4]. Similarly misdirected has been the endeavour to identify him with Vimalamati on the slender authorty of the *Kātautaraparisiṣṭa* (already quoted), which on the face of it bears a different meaning.

[5] Under VIII.4.68 भागवृत्तिर्भर्त्तृहरिणा श्रीधरसेननरेन्द्रादिष्टा विरचिता । (a jumble of incorrect statements). S. C. Chakravartin (*Bhāṣāvṛtti*, Introduction, pp. 32, 229) relies on this. Maitreya (*Tantrapradīpa* VIII.3.21) : भर्त्तृहरिणा चास्य नित्यर्थनैवोक्ता । तथा च भागवृत्तिकृता प्रत्युदाहरणमुन्यस्तं तन्त्रे । उतं तन्त्रयुतम् । the underlined portion in this might have misled Sṛṣṭīdhara. Saraṇadeva under I.3.21 हरत गति इति तु भागवृत्तिः । गतविधप्रकारास्तुल्यार्था इति भर्त्तृहरिः । Goyīcandra: अतएव भाषाभागे भागवृत्तिकृन् . भाषावृत्तिकारश्च क्वसुकानज् विधानलक्षणं न लक्षितवान् ।

[6] Says Sīradeva (p. 95 in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti*) :—बोद्धव्योऽयं रक्षितः बोद्धव्याश्च विस्तरा एव मैत्रेयग्रन्था विद्यन्ते । (cf वृत्तिन्यासं संमुद्दिश्य कृतवान् ग्रन्थविस्तरम् । नाम्ना तन्त्रप्रदीपं यो विवृतास्तेन धातवः ।। In the *Dhātupradīpa* in one passage (p. 5) Sīradeva has : स्वमतिमहिम्ना प्रागल्भ्यादनुन्यासकारो व्याजहार—(obviously a fling at him).

This only serves to prove the continuity and vigour of grammatical studies in E. India after the time of Vāmana and Jayāditya right up to Puruṣottama towards the middle of the 12th cent.; the towering personalities before the author of *Bhāgavṛtti*[1] being Jinendrabudhi and Durga, who chose to write on a system which, because of its shortness (कातन्त्र) was becoming popular in part of the land. Durga strove hard to check the tide of the Naiyāsika band of writers, who with their affiliation to the *Kāśikāvṛtti* had managed in course of time to score a triumph with Jinendrabuddhi as their finished product. The author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* carried the torch and was a strict and rigid a follower of the *Trimunimata*. With the next important writer, the Anunyāsakāra,[3] a reaction had set in and the leanings towards the Naiyāsika view were clear. Maitreyarakṣita[4] by his versatility and clear adjustment tried a compromise, though he too had a soft corner in his heart for the *Kāśikā*[5] and continued the जयादित्यपरंपरा, as Goyīcandra often notes. Puruṣottama in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* recorded the views of divergent schools, with a definite bias towards the *Bhāgavṛtti* and Śaraṇadeva seems to follow suit. Sīradeva, Padmanābhadatta[6] and late writers like Rāyamukuṭa[7] acclaimed Jinendrabuddhi and Maitreyarakṣita as the very best representatives of Paninean system and Sṛṣṭidhara Cakravartin (16th century A.D.) commenting on the *Bhāsāvṛtti* known for its anti-*Nyāṣa* views

[1] Belvalkar's remark "Between Bhartṛhari and Kaiyaṭa we have no names of any consequence to mention (p. 41 *Systems of Sanskrit Grammar*). This period was confined to systems of grammar outside the Paninean school" (p. 42) is therefore not justified.

[2] A reference to the *Vṛtti* and the *Tīkā* (e.g. in connection with क्वसुकानच् under कृत् चतुर्थपादप्रथमसूत्र and यंङलुक् २य पाद ७७ सूत्र, २।६२, ५।२६४ and the comments of the *Panjikā* prove this.

[3] He was not far removed in point of time from Kaiyaṭa as none of them seems to know the views of the other (e.g. as under II.2.10 ; for *Anu's* text see *D.V.* p. 35).

[4] Puruṣottama does not mention him by name in the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* but he is cited in his two other works, the *Lalitaparibhāṣā* andthe *Jñāpakasamuccaya*. He may be taken to have lived not earlier than 1100 A.D.

[5] cf. *Tantrapradīpa* (under VII.1.12)—न हि भाष्यकारमतमनादृत्य सूत्रकारस्य कश्चनाभिप्रायो वर्णयितुं युज्यते ।····यद्यप्येवं तथापि नैयासिकैः पृथक् सूत्रकारस्य क्वचिदभिप्रायो वर्ण्यत इति तन्मतेनोक्तम्' ।····

[6] तङि नियमादन्यत्र दृशेबुद्ध्यर्थत्वात् नित्यं कर्मत्वमिति जिमेन्द्रबुद्धिपादाः । (in *Supadmavyākaraṇa*—Kārakaprakarana) vide *Nyāsa* on i.4.52.

[7] Vide Bhānuji (N. S. edn.)—pp. 6b, 13a, 12b etc. for strictures on this अपाणिनीय attitude of Rāyamukuṭa, who, more often than not, relies on Maitreyarakṣita.

appeals to experts in that work to offer his commentary a favourable reception.[1]

The recorded tradition of the commentators on the *Kalāpa* regards Durga as posterior to Jinendrabuddhi, and this is borne out by the corroborative evidence from the *Vṛtti* itself.[2] The lower limiting dates of the *Bhāgavṛtti* therefore reach to 900 A.D. Haradatta (1140 A.D.) cites from the *Bhāgavṛtti* Kaiyaṭa (circa 1050) seems in all probability to know the *Bhāgavṛtti*.[3] Thus the *Bhāgavṛtti* roughly can be placed about the close of the 10th century (circa 1000 A.D.).

The veil of mystery and sanctity that surrounded the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* has stood in the way of discovering its author. A half-verse citation[4] in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* may prove to be helpful in this matter. The expression नमस्कृत्य मुनित्रयं has an exact parallel in the introductory verse of the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*[5] and seems intended to cover both parts of that presumption. The characterisation प्रविभज्यन्ते is the distinctive characteristic of the *Bhāgavṛtti* noted by the successive generations of scholars both of the Paninean system and outside it.

[1] न्यासग्रन्थार्थतात्पर्यपर्यालोचनशालिभिः। बोध्योऽयं करुणावद्भिः कृतिभिर्मे परिश्रमः ॥ (verse 3 in the introduction to the *Bhāṣāvṛttyarthavivṛti.*)

[2] E.g. in the *Tīkā* on sūtra 14 (Sandhivṛtti) we read : स्वस्य स्वस्य स्थानस्यान्ते तिष्ठन्त्यत्यन्तः स्था उच्यन्ते।····तथा च ईषत्स्पृष्टा अन्तःस्था इति। Suṣeṇa Kavirāja adds :····इति जैनेन्द्राःतदनुसम्मत इत्याह्—तथा चेषदिति Vide the *Nyāsa* (p. 59). In the *Tīkā* on sūtra 27 (संधिवृत्ति)····वत्सरर्णम्····इत्यन्ये। The commentary on this reads : अन्ये इति चन्द्रगोमिकाशिकाजिनेन्द्रबुद्धिप्रभृतयः। इदन्त्वयुक्तम् पातंजलशकटायनादिभिवेत्सितरस्यैवेष्टत्वात्। Vide the *Tattvabodhinī* (on *Siddhānta-kaumudī*) on this Vārttika under एत्येधत्युठ्सु। The *Vṛtti* evidence under *Kalāpa* II.76.55 where Durgasiṃha cites from Jinendrabuddhi is decisive.

[3] E.g. in connection with II.2.4 (for अकारप्रश्लेष vide *Bhāṣāvṛtti* and *Durghaṭavṛtti* under this) VIII.1.12 (the *Tantrapradīpa* (V. R. S. MSS......... on this suggests that the *Bhāgavṛtti's* strictures are negatived by Kaiyaṭa, the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* follows the *Bhāgāvṛtti* (p. 522). Bhaṭṭoji remarks (*P.M.*) : अत्र केचिद् द्वितीयादीनामेवेदं स्वादेशविधानम्। अतएव उत्तरदलेऽपि द्वितीयादय एव न तु प्रथमा। तत्राप्येकवचनमेव न तु वचनान्तरम् इति दुर्गपरिशिष्टाभरणादिषु अर्वाचीनग्रन्थेषु स्पष्टम्। (We may add that the Bhāgavṛttikāra is of the same view and that the *Ābharaṇa* is the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* Grammar of Bhoja. Does Bhoja know the *Bhāgavṛtti* by the by ? The printed *S. S. K.* (Madras Univ.) does not throw any light on this. एतच्चसर्वमपाणिनीयम्। Kaiyaṭa says here (p. 22 Kriparam Śarmās' edn. of the *Mahābhāṣya* with *Pradīpa*)—वार्त्तिकेषु कर्मधारयवदिति न सम्बध्यत इति सुब्लोपादि न भवति।····

[4] इन्दुना प्रविभज्यन्ते नमस्कृत्य मुनित्रयम् (p. 43 under II.3.16).

[5] मुनित्रयं नमस्कृत्य तदुक्तीः परिभाव्य च। वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीयं विरच्यते ॥

The other citation from Indu[1] in the *Durghaṭa* exactly fits in with the distinctive views of the *Bhāgavṛtti* in relation to the वाऽसरूपविधि as noted by Puruṣottama and ascribed to him by specific mention (under III,3.56), which was distinctly against the पारायण view, noted and accepted by Maitreya (under I.4.25) and in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* (under √भी p. 109). The principle of interpretation involved turns round the उत्सर्ग and अपवाद aspect, on which, following the तक्रकौण्डिन्यन्याय as under III. 2. 88 the *Bhāgavṛtti* has distinct views as different from the rest of the scholars. That Indu wrote a *Vṛtti* on the Sūtras of Pāṇini is evident from at least three citations in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti*[2]. Rāmacandra (circa 1400) in his *Prakriyākaumudī* under V. 4. 135 and 136 cites a *vārttika* which he locates in a certain work (ग्रन्थान्तर). His grandson Viṭṭhala in the *Prasāda* explains[3] the reference by naming the work as इन्दुमती वृत्तिः. The Vārttika in question which is not found in any of the other well-known *Vṛttis*, is based on the supplementary verses in Durga's commentary[4] on the *Kalāpavṛtti*, which verses, as we have noted before, are recognised to be of Durga[5] and authoritative as well by Sarvānanda in the

[1] Under III.3.58 : कथं क्रियते सारसंग्रह इति ?····क्तल्युट्तुमुन्खलर्थेषु वाऽसरूपविधिर्नास्तीत्यत्र भावल्युटो (wrongly printed as नास्तीति । तत्र भाव····) ग्रहणमिति प्रत्ययसूत्रे (३।१।१) 'एरच्' (३।३।५६) इत्यच् प्रवर्त्तते इति इन्दुनोक्तम् । रक्षितेन तु सामान्येन ल्युट् गृहीता (? । तन्मने बाहुलकादच् (in connection with III.1.1). (This extract from Indu however does not tally word for word with that attributed to him in the citation in the *Paribhasavṛtti* (vide f. n. 4. p. 14).

[2] (i) Under हाक् p. 199 जुहोत्यादि—'अपादाने चाहीयरुहोः' (५।४।४५) रित्यत्र न्यासे····कर्मणि लकारादय इति प्रपंचेन समर्थितम् । संप्रदानसूत्रे कैयटेऽप्येवमुक्तम् । इन्दुरपि स्वयमेव हीयत इति प्रतीतेः कर्मकर्त्तरि लकारोऽस्त्वित्याशंक्य जहातेः कर्त्तृस्थक्रियत्वात् कर्मण्येव लकार इति । हरदत्तस्तु ···कर्मकर्त्तर्य्येव लकार इति (ii) अत्रावध्वंसनमेव करणमितीन्दु —श्रीभद्रौ (नामधातुवृत्ति p. 31) (iii) कैयटे तु····हरदत्तोऽपि····इन्दुरपि गुप्तिजावनुदात्तेत्तौ न कितिः,····इति···· एवं बहुभिर्महाग्रन्थैर्विरोधात्····आभरणादयुक्तं यत्किंचित् । under कित्—श्वादि), Incidentally this suggests Indu to be earlier than the Ābharaṇakāra (i.e. Bhoja),

[3] Under 3.4.135 Rāmacandra reads a Vārttika : आगन्तुकस्यैकवचनान्तस्य वा' । Viṭṭhala on this : इत्वं वा इत्यर्थः । तथोक्तमिन्दुमत्याम्—'आगन्तोरेकवचनाद्वा' Under V.4.136 Rāmandra has : वेति ग्रन्थान्तरे । Viṭṭhala on this : ग्रन्थान्तरे इति—तत्रेन्दुमन्यां विकल्प उदाहृतः । सूपोऽल्पो यस्मिन् सूपगन्धि भोजनं सूपगन्धं वेति The optional reading which is found in the Oxford Ms. of the *Prasāda* is 'इन्दुमित्रेण विकल्प.... ।' obviously a better reading.

[4] Under धेन्वनडुहादयश्च in Taddhita : अल्पार्थविगमेऽपीह विभाषा दृश्यते बुधैः ।····तथा स्वादिभ्य (i. e. सु, सुरभि, उत्, पूति) आगन्तो सुगन्धं च सुगन्धि च ।··'

[5] The authors cited in the *Ṭīkā* include Vyāghrabhūti, *Bhāṣya*, Bhaṭṭa (Kumārila), Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya, Srutapāla none of whom are late authors. Keith also regards the two as identical (*Sans. Literature*, p. 431).

Ṭīkāsarvasva. Śaraṇadeva[1], who seems to know of it, has not the courage to admit it, perhaps on the assumption that it was अपाणिनीय, a charge levelled against Durga, the author of the *Bhāgavṛtti* and others by later scholars like Bhaṭṭoji Dikṣita. The name इन्दुमती वृत्ति if that indeed be the form of the word, may have like the कैशवी[2] वृत्ति, taken its origin from the name of the author इन्दु (इन्दुमित्र) the normally expected form being ऐन्दुमित्री वृत्ति, and can be explained on the analogy of doubtful form like जैनेन्द्र and कैयटकार[3], long in vogue amongst scholars and writers on grammar. Sīradeva in a passage in the *Paribhāṣāvṛtti* apparently takes Anunyāsakāra to be synonymous with Indumitra, and this would go against such a tentative identification. But the verse in citation (which might have for its earlier half इह पाणिनिसूत्राणि छन्दोभाषाप्रभेदतः। mentions two distinctive features, which are hardly applicable to the *Anunyāsa,* which also is far from our ideas about a *Vṛtti,* ascribed to Indu or associated with him, being more or less a dissertation on the *Nyāsa,* which itself is a *Vivaraṇapañjika* on the *Kāśikāvṛtti.* Moreover the occasional lenience of the *Anunyāsa* and its leanings towards the Naiyāsikas' view have so frequently been noted that it becomes hazarduous to regard him as an all-round supporter of Munitraya.[5] Sīradeva, however, is not noted for the sobriety and accuracy or consistency[6] of his views; and the passage in question might also have been wrongly transcribed, (leaving out two words) by the scribes. In any case the form तथा च or तथा हि, as we have noted in the

[1] p. 92 *D. V.* सुगन्धिरिति प्रमादपाठ एव। लक्ष्यपरत्वात्प्रायिकं वार्त्तिकमित्यन्यः। (This authority is certainly later than him who accepted the *vārttika* noted in इन्दुमती वृत्तिः Was it the Anunyāsakāra ?)

[2] (Aufrecht *Cat. Cat.* vol. I, Oudh 64).

[3] e.g. *D. V.* under ii.2.6 :—अतएव भागवृत्तिकृत् (wrongly printed as कृता) अनेकेषामिति जैनेन्द्रेनोक्तम्। (a reference to Jinendrabuddhi) पाणिन्यमरजैनेन्द्रा जयन्त्यष्टादिशाब्दिकाः। जैनेन्द्र is used for जिनेन्द्र (बुद्धि). Kaiyaṭa (name of the author) is almost always called Kayaṭakāra in the *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti.*

[4] pp. 79-80 एतस्मिन् वाक्ये इन्द्रमैत्रेययोः शाश्वतिको विरोधः। तथाहि प्रत्ययसूत्रेऽनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्—प्रतियन्त्यनेनार्थानिति प्रत्ययः। (This is the reading in the *Nyāsa* also) एरच् इति। अत्र पुंसि संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण (३।३।११८) इति वा घ इति। मैत्रयः पुनराह—पुंसि संज्ञायामिति घप्रत्यय एव।...Should we read—सूत्रे इन्दुमनुसृत्य अनुन्यासकार उक्तवान्। D. C. Bhattacharyya relying on this identifies Anunyāsakāra with Indumitra (*Paninean Studies in Bengal*—Sir A. Mukherji Silver Jubilee Volumes, Orientalia; vol. I).

[5] e.g. on I.2.41 (as in the *P. V.*) III.2.188; (as cited in *D. V.*) II.2.12 (as in *D.V.*).

[6] *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* under Nāmadhātu, p. 46 एवं च एतदर्थं...परिभाषेयं नित्या अन्यत्र क्वचित् प्रवर्त्तते इति व्यवस्थाशून्यं सीरदेववचनं नाश्रयणीयं भवति।

case Bhartṛhari vs. Bhāgavṛttikṛt has been rather loosely used. In the present state of our knowledge and in the absolute absence of any manuscript-material to guide us (the editing of the *Tantrapradīpa*[1] for which fairly sufficient manuscript material is available may however prove to be helpful in this matter) we shall have to rest with this tentative identification, which is plausible and possible too.

[1] Of the 32 sections of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* about 16 are preserved in MSS. at Rajshahi in collections of the Varendra Research Society and of the Rajshahi College (Kumudinikanta Collection). We have also one manuscript in the Govt. collection of the Asiatic Society of Bengal (which the writer of this paper has not been fortunate to inspect) described in the *Descriptive Catalogue* (1931) as "complete."

VIDYĀPATI, A MAITHILA WRITER ON DHARMAŚĀSTRA

By

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N. B.—See p. for abbreviations used in this paper.

The late Rai Bahadur Manomohan Chakravarti in his big paper covering 96 pages on the 'History of Smṛti in Bengal and Mithilā'[1] devotes almost three pages (pp. 390-92) to Vidyāpati Upādhyāya and refers to twelve works of the same, of which six are on Smṛti, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī*, *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Varṣakṛtya*, *Vibhāgasāra* and *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, while the rest six on other topics, viz. *Kīrtilatā*, *Bhūparikramagrantha*, *Puruṣaparīkṣā*, *Kīrtipatākā*, *Padāvalī* and *Likhanāvalī*. Chakravarti says that of these twelve works the *Kīrtipatāka* is an amatory poem in Maithili, in the time of Śivasiṃha, and that one characteristic feature of Vidyāpati's works is that they were written under the patronage of one or other member of the royal family of Kāmeśvara; and that in some instances the works were even attributed to them. He then cites the instances of the three Smṛti works, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī* and *Śaivasarvasvasāra* having been attributed by Vidyāpati to the queens Viśvāsadevī, Dhīramatidevī and Viśvāsadevī respectively. Chakravarti fixes 1395 A.D. to 1440 A.D. as the period of the literary activity of Vidyāpati.

Mr. Basanta Kumar Chatterji is perhaps the second scholar to write an informing and comprehensive paper[2] on Vidyāpati, covering 32 pages. Chatterji has first described all the above works of Vidyāpati except his *Padāvalī* and then dealt with the *Padāvalī* at great length. Though it seems that Chatterji has consulted the same MSS. of the works of Vidyāpati and arrived at the same conclusions as done by his predecessor, Chakravarti, yet he has dissented from the view of the latter in assigning the period of the literary activity of Vidyāpati, which in his opinion[3] extends from about 1405 to about 1448 A.D. One conclusion of Chatterji is, however, highly reasonable and supported by the twelfth introductory verse of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra*, one of the Smṛti works

[1] *J. A.* S.B., vol. XI (1915) pp. 311-406.

[2] *Journal of the Department of Letters, Calcutta University*, vol. XVI (1927), pp. 23-54.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 33.

of Vidyāpati. It is to the effect that 'the title of the work (i.e. *Śaivasarvasvasāra*) is most probably *Śambhuvākyāvalī* as given in the 12th verse[1] and not *Śaivasarvasvasāra* as given in the 11th.[2] Compare the titles *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and *Dānavākyāvalī*. The work is compared to a wish-granting creeper in the last verse which gives the name of the work as *Śambhoḥ vākyāvalī*.'[3] Though Chatterji's paper on Vidyāpati is highly reasonable, informing and accurate, yet one or two minor errors have crept into it. For example, he says on p. 32 that the *Dānavākyāvalī* 'is attributed to *Dhīravatī*, the elder queen of Narasiṁhadeva.' The name of the elder queen of Narasiṁhadeva, to whom the *Dānavākyāvalī* is attributed, was not Dhīravatī but Dhīramati.[4]

Though Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane has utilised the Deccan College MS. (No. 368 of 1891-95) of the *Dānavākyāvalī* of Vidyāpati in the chapter on Dāna in his *History of Dharmaśāstra* (*vol. II*),[5] yet he has devoted no separate section to Vidyāpati in the first volume[6] of his above work. Mr. Kane has not, however, omitted Vidyāpati from treatment in his first volume, but collected all possible facts relating to his works and personal history in a nearly full column on pp. 739-40 (Appendix B) of the same. He has also added short notes on the six Smṛti works of Vidyāpati on pp. 538, 561,[7] 564, 618, 621 and 642 respectively in Appendix A of the same. From the above seven notes in the two Appendices we can gather that 'Vidyāpati flourished between 1375 and 1450 A.,D, was a voluminous and versatile writer, wrote in Maithili also and on moral tales (as in *Puruṣa-parīkṣā*, *Bhūparikramaṇa*) and composed the following six works on Dharmaśāstra, viz. *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, *Dānavākyāvalī*, *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*, *Varṣakṛtya*,

1 प्रमाणमूला नवपल्लवाटचा सपुष्पिका रम्यफलोपपन्ना ।.
अभीष्टसिद्धयै विवुधैरुपेया **वाक्यावली** कल्वलतेव शम्भोः ॥

* * * *

2 विज्ञाऽनुज्ञाप्य विद्यापतिकृतिनमसौ विश्वविख्यातकीर्तिः ।
श्रीमद्विश्वासदेवी विरचयति शिवं शैवसर्वस्वसारम् ॥

3 Footnote, p. 31, B. K. Chatterji's paper on Vidyāpati.

4 Vide colophon of the Deccan M. S. (No. 368 of 1891-95) of the *Dānavākyāvalī*, which reads ०श्रीध (श्री ?) रमति-विरचिता (दा) नवाक्यावली सम्पूर्णा ।

5 Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, 1941

6 Published by the same, 1930.

7 The 71st forme (covering pp. 561-68) of the *History of Dharmaśāstra*, vol. I., has beed wrongly paginated as 559-66 and so pp. 559 and 562 are really pp. 561 and 564.

Vibhāgasāra and *Śaivasarvasvasāra*. His *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* is mentioned by Govindānanda and Raghunandana (in *Prāyaścittatattva*). His *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* mentions *Ratnākara* and was his last work. His *Varṣakṛtya* is mentioned in the *Malamāsatattva* of Raghunandana and he is mentioned in the *Kṛtyatattvārṇava* of Śrīnātha. Mr. Kane says in his entry against the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* that it has been printed in Calcutta in 1909. The *Śaivasarvasvasāra* was, however, published from Darbhanga in 1897. Since the publication of Mr. Kane's first volume of the *History of Dharmaśāstra* in 1930, only the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of the remaining four Smṛti works of Vidyāpati has been critically edited and published by Dr. J. B. Chaudhuri from Calcutta in 1940. The *Puruṣa-parīkṣā* was published earlier in 1888-89 from Darbhanga and in 1927-28 from Bombay. The printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* contains reference[1] to another printed edition of the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* from Sylhet in 1934. But I have been able to secure a copy of neither the Calcutta nor the Sylhet edition but have consulted a copy of the Darbhanga edition of 1900-1 of the same.

The *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* has been published along with the *Dvārakā-pattala* of a lady, Bīnabāyī by name, in a single volume with very confusing pagination, as on account of continuous pagination with the latter work the former begins from p. 43 and the Introduction and the text run upto p. 314, while the appendices and indexes consist of 136 and 55 pages respectively, with separate paginations, and at the end of the volume there is a joint list of abbreviations, a general index etc. of the two works covering 43 pages with another separate pagination. There are also joint dedication, foreward, preface and contents of the two works in the beginning of the volume covering 12 pages, marked with Roman numerals. The reason for the joint publication of the two unconnected works by separate authors is that they form in a single bound volume, vols. III and IV of the editor's series entitled "The Contribution of women to Sanskrit Literature," as according to the editor, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* like the *Dvārakā-pattala* is also the production of a woman, the queen Viśvāsadevī of Mithilā and not of Vidyāpati, the contemporary poet and scholar of the same place. So we find that the printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* consists of 506 pages and the text portion[2] alone covers 208 pages. Though the present edition of the *Gangāvākyāvalī*

[1] Footnote, p. 119 (Appendix portion).

[2] Based on three MSS., two belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and the third to the India Office, London.

which is a work on Dharmaśāstra, was published just a decade after the publication of Mr. Kane's epoch-making *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, yet the learned editor has nowhere mentioned Mr. Kane's great work in his bulky volume consisting of 506 pages in the *Gaṅgāvakyāvalī* portion alone. Curiously enough, the same scholar, who has critically edited for the first time the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of Vidyāpati and must have, therefore, consulted the learned papers on the same author by Chakravarti and Chatterji, has also nowhere mentioned the names of those pioneer scholars who have tried to dispel the cloud of obscurity hanging over Vidyāpati and his works. The Introduction of the printed edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* covers 64 pages and is nothing but a synopsis of the entire work, while the six appendices consist of the following six topics:—

(1) Further references, variant readings and notes.

(2) Some remarks on the quotations in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(3) Description of the MSS. of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(4) Some remarks on the authorship of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*.

(5) The Royal family of Mithilā.

(6) Some well-known Smārtas who have quoted the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*: Mitra Miśra, Raghunandana and Vācaspati Miśra.

The exhaustive Introduction and the copious appendices and indexes have made the edition of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* highly useful. But though the learned editor has mostly identified the quotations in the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in the original works, cited parallel quotations from other digests including those of the great Bengal digest-writer Raghunandana, described him and his works and reproduced some ten quotations from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in several works of the same, yet he has nowhere identified these quotations in the printed text of the *Gagṅāvākyāvalī*, which circumstance would have really 'testified to the great merit and popularity' of the work.

Before proceeding to trace the quotations from the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* in several works of Govindānanda and Raghunandana, it will not be out of place here to give a short account of the literary life of Vidyāpati and discuss the authorship of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* which is ascribed by Dr. Chaudhuri to the patron queen Viśvāsadevī of Mithilā and not to Vidyāpati.

Vidyāpati adorned the courts of as many as nine rulers of Mithilā, viz. Kīrtisiṁha, Bhavasiṁha, Devasimha, Śivasiṁha,

Padmasiṁha, Viśvāsadevī, Harasiṁha, Narasiṁha and Dhīrasiṁha, as will be evident from the following facts :—

(1) The *Kīrtilatā* was composed by Vidyāpati during the reign of Kīrtisiṁha to commemorate his victory over Aslan.[1]

(2) Vidyāpati refers to Bhavasiṁha as king in verse I of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra* and eulogises Devasiṁha in verse 2 of the same and also in verse I of the *Puruṣaparīkṣā*. The *Bhūpārikramaṇa* of Vidyāpati was composed at the instance of the latter king.[2]

(3) Vidyāpati frequently refers in his *Padāvalī*[3] to Rūpanārāyaṇa, another name of Śivasiṁha and to his wives, Lakhimā Devī, Sukhamā Devī, Madhumatī Devī, etc.

(4) Vidyāpati refers in verses 5 and 6 of his *Śaivasarvasvasāra* to the succession of Padmasiṁha to the throne of Mithilā after his brother Śivasiṁha.

(5) Vidyāpati says in verses 8 and 12 of the *Śaivasarvasvasāra* that Viśvāsadevī was the wife of Padmasiṁha and ruled Mithilā with great success, was a devotee of Śiva and ordered Vidyāpati to compose a work on Śiva called *Śaivasarvasvasāra*.

(6) The *Vibhāgasāra*[4] of Vidyāpati refers to the name of Harisiṁha, which was another name of Harasiṁha.

(7) The *Dānavākyāvalī*[5] and *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[6] of Vidyāpati refer to Narasiṁha or Nṛsiṁha, *alias* Darpanārāyaṇa.

(8) The *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[7] of Vidyāpati was composed at the instance of Dhīrasiṁha, also known as Rūpanārāyaṇa.

[1] P. 2 of the *Kīrtilatā*, ed. by MM. Haraprasad Shastri, Calcutta 1924-25

[2] Verses 2 and 3, MS. No. 79, Descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, Vol. IV.

[3] *Vidyāpatir Padāvali*, ed. by Nagendranath Gupta, Calcutta (1909-10). Pada 21, p 15–रूपनारायण इ रस जानथि सिवसिंह मिथिला भूपे । See also the land-grant, *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, p 190, 2nd column, and Vidyāpatir Padāvalī Nos. 52, 186 and 467.

[4] MS. No. 329, *Descriptive catalogue of (Sanskrit) MSS. in Mithilā*, Vol, I. (Smṛti) :—राज्ञो भवेशाद्धरिसिंह आसीत्तत्सूनुना दर्पणारायणेन ।
राज्ञा नियुक्तोऽत्र विभागसारं विचार्य विद्यापतिरातनोति ॥

[5] *op. cit.* MS. No. 192.

[6] V. 3,

[7] V. 6.

Dr. Chaudhuri says that the fact of Vidyāpati's adorning the courts of as many as eight[1] rulers of Mithilā 'is indeed unique in the history of the world; this, however, became possible as many of them reigned only for short periods.'[2] As Vidyāpati's first work *Kīrtilatā* was composed just after his first patron king, Kīrtisiṁha, ascended the throne of Mithilā after the assassination of Gaṇeśvara by Aslan in 1367-68 A.D., so it seems to have been composed in *c.* 1370 A.D., when Vidyāpati must have been at least twenty years old. Again as Śrīnivāsa's *Setudarpaṇī* was composed about 1438 A.D.[3] at the instance of Dhīrasiṁha, the last royal patron of Vidyāpati who must have been nearly ninety years old by that time, so we see that the period *c.* 1370 A.D.—*c.* 1440 A.D., assigned by Dr. Chaudhuri to Vidyāpati's literary activity, compares favourably with that assigned by Mr. Kane to the same, viz. 1375-1450 A.D. Vidyāpati was the grandson of Jayadatta, who was the son of Dhīreśvara, uncle of Caṇḍeśvara, the great Mithilā digest-writer of the 14th century. So it is highly likely that Vidyāpati who was later than Caṇḍeśvara (1310-1360 A.D.) by two generations must have flourished by the time assigned by Mr. Kane and Dr. Chaudhuri, and not by that assigned either by Chakravarti or by Chatterji, referred to above. Though the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* is one of the three published Dharmaśāstra works of Vidyāpati and one of his best and most authoritative works, being quoted thrice by Govindānanda and about twenty times by Raghunandana who has also quoted the *Dānavākyāvalī* only once in the *Udvāhatattva*,[4] the *Varṣakṛtya* thrice in the *Malamāsatattva*,[5] only once in the *Durgotsavatattva* and once in the *Ekādaśītattva* and the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī* seven times in the *Durgotsavatattva*,[6] yet the second introductory verse in all MSS. and the colophon in almost all of the extant MSS. of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* ascribe the authorship

[1] Not eight but nine. Dr. Chaudhuri inadvertently omits Bhavasiṁha from his final enumeration, though he describes his career at great length on pp. 112-13. App. portion.

[2] *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, p. 120, Appendix portion.

[3] Though Dr. Chaudhuri says under the heading 'Dhīrasiṁha' on p. 120 (App. portion) that 'In 321 of the Lakṣmaṇa era i.e. 1438 A.D. the commentary *Setudarpaṇī* of Śrīnivāsa on the *Setubandha* was copied at his instance.', yet he says on p. 123 (App. portion) that 'The date of Dhīrasiṁha, the last royal patron of Vidyāpati, is also known; at his instance Śrīnivāsa's *Setudarpaṇī* was composed about 1430 A.D.,

[4] p. 138, Jīvānanda's ed. of Smrititattva, Vol II, 1895.

[5] p. 823, op. cit., Vol I., 1895.

[6] pp. 66, 81-82, 86, 93, 101, 102 and 103 op. cit., Vol I.

of the work not to Vidyāpati but to his patron queen Viśvāsadevī. The colophons in only two MSS.[1] of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* ascribe the work to Vidyāpati. But the following concluding verse occurs in every MS. of the same :—

Kiyan-nibandhamālokya Śrī-Vidyāpati-sūriṇā
Gaṅgāvākyāvalī devyāḥ pramāṇair-vimalīkṛtā

The purport of the verse is that 'the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* of the queen (Viśvāsadevī) has been rendered lucid by the scholar Vidyāpati with authoritative statements after consultation of some *nibandhas*.' All previous Sanskrit scholars have attributed the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* to Vidyāpati and the late Manomohan Chakravarti has drawn pointed attention to 'one characteristic feature of Vidyāpati's works that they were written under the patronage of one or other member of the royal family of Kāmeśvara ; and that in some instances the works were even attributed to them'[2]. But Dr. Chaudhuri ascribes it to Viśvāsadevī on the strength of the second introductory verse and colophon and explains away the concluding verse, quoted above, by interpreting it to mean that 'Vidyāpati rendered the help (to Viśvāsadevī) in course of the revision of the work' and adds 'So it is certain that Viśvāsadevī would not have been able to compose the work, if she were not sure of the materials at her disposal'.[3] Dr. Chaudhuri quotes on p. 107 (footnote 2) three references to the author of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* as 'Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra' by Govindānanda, a 16th century Bengal digest-writer, in two of his works, *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[4] and *Śuddhikaumudī*.[5] Though the Sanskrit word '*Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra*' is masculine and hence denotes a male author which may mean Vidyāpati, yet Dr. Chaudhuri explains the word away by saying that it is used in a general sense and that the gender is not designated. Though Dr. Chaudhuri admits Vidyāpati to be a great poet, scholar and the helper of Viśvāsadevī in her composing the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī, yet he says that 'it does not necessarily follow that Viśvāsadevī could not have been so learned as to compose the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*'[6]. He then adduces evidence to show that the royal family of Mithilā

[1] Vide *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit MSS. at the Sanskrit College Calcutta*, Vol II., p. 508 and R. L. Mitra's *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.* Vol III, p. 234 f., No. 1251.

[2] *J. A. S. B.*, Vol XI (1915), p. 391.

[3] p. 106, App. portion, *GV*.

[4] Edited by MM Kamalakrishṇa Smṛtitirtha, B. I., 1 02.

[5] Edited by the same, B. I., 1905.

[6] p. 107, App. portion *GV*.

including the ladies was very learned; and that Viśvāsadevī's sister-in-law Lakhimādevi, too, was a poetess of repute. I append below the following reasons for establishing the authorship of Vidyāpati of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* :—

(1) Not only the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* but also the *Dānavākyāvalī*, the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* which is the real title of the work '*Śaivasarvasvasāra*' and the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[1] are attributed to royal patrons, Dhīramatidevī, Viśvāsadevī and Dhīrasimha, respectively.

(2) The concluding verse[2] of the *Dānavākyāvalī* is almost identical with that of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and both these verses implicitly state that neither Dhīramatidevī nor Viśvāsadevī but Vidyāpati is the author of both the works.

(3) The twelfth verse[3] of the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* or *Śaivasarvasvasāra* is also similar in import to the above two concluding verses and explicitly makes Viśvāsadevī and not Vidyāpati the author of the work, though it implicitly ascribes the authorship to the latter.

(4) The *Madanapārijāta*, *Mahārṇava*, *Tithinirṇayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī*, four other digests, though ostensibly the works of the king Madanapāla and his son Māndhātā, were really composed by their protegee, Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa.[4]

APPENDIX A.

The *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* quoted in the works of Govindānanda.

(a) *Varṣakriyākaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

1. p. 97 = p. 176—यच्च जन्मसप्ताष्ट....दर्शनम् इति....गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारेण....वचनं लिखितं....।

2. p. 107 = p. 178—गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारस्तु....सूतके....विवर्जयेत्....नान्यदित्याह......।

(b) *Suddhikaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

3. p. 217 — p. 176—the same as that on p. 97 of *Varṣakriyākaumudī* with the simple change of सप्ताष्टजन्म *for* जन्मसप्ताष्ट ।

[1] V. 6.

[2] निबन्धान् सम्यगालोक्य श्रीविद्यापति-सूरिणा ।
दानवाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणै विमलीकृता ॥

[3] Vide footnote 289

[4] *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane. Vol I., pp. 381-4.

of the work not to Vidyāpati but to his patron queen Viśvāsadevī. The colophons in only two MSS.[1] of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* ascribe the work to Vidyāpati. But the following concluding verse occurs in every MS. of the same :—

Kiyan-nibandhamālokya Śrī-Vidyāpati-sūriṇā
Gaṅgāvākyāvalī devyāḥ pramānair-vimalīkṛtā

The purport of the verse is that 'the *Gangāvākyāvalī* of the queen (Viśvāsadevī) has been rendered lucid by the scholar Vidyāpati with authoritative statements after consultation of some *nibandhas*.' All previous Sanskrit scholars have attributed the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* to Vidyāpati and the late Manomohan Chakravarti has drawn pointed attention to 'one characteristic feature of Vidyāpati's works that they were written under the patronage of one or other member of the royal family of Kāmeśvara ; and that in some instances the works were even attributed to them'[2]. But Dr. Chaudhuri ascribes it to Viśvāsadevī on the strength of the second introductory verse and colophon and explains away the concluding verse, quoted above, by interpreting it to mean that 'Vidyāpati rendered the help (to Viśvāsadevī) in course of the revision of the work' and adds 'So it is certain that Viśvāsadevī would not have been able to compose the work, if she were not sure of the materials at her disposal'.[3] Dr. Chaudhuri quotes on p. 107 (footnote 2) three references to the author of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* as 'Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra' by Govindānanda, a 16th century Bengal digest-writer, in two of his works, *Varṣakriyākaumudī*[4] and *Śuddhikaumudī*.[5] Though the Sanskrit word '*Gaṅgāvākyāvalīkāra*' is masculine and hence denotes a male author which may mean Vidyāpati, yet Dr. Chaudhuri explains the word away by saying that it is used in a general sense and that the gender is not designated. Though Dr. Chaudhuri admits Vidyāpati to be a great poet, scholar and the helper of Viśvāsadevī in her composing the Gaṅgāvākyāvalī, yet he says that 'it does not necessarily follow that Viśvāsadevī could not have been so learned as to compose the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*'[6]. He then adduces evidence to show that the royal family of Mithilā

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[2] J. A. S. B., Vol XI (1915), p. 391.

[3] p. 106, App. portion, *GV*.

[4] Edited by MM Kamalakrishna Smṛtitīrtha, B. I., 1 02.

[5] Edited by the same, B. I., 1905.

[6] p. 107, App. portion *GV*.

including the ladies was very learned; and that Viśvāsadevī's sister-in-law Lakhimādevī, too, was a poetess of repute. I append below the following reasons for establishing the authorship of Vidyāpati of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* :—

(1) Not only the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* but also the *Dānavākyāvalī*, the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* which is the real title of the work '*Śaivasarvasvasāra*' and the *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*[1] are attributed to royal patrons, Dhīramatidevī, Viśvāsadevī and Dhīrasiṁha, respectively.

(2) The concluding verse[2] of the *Dānavākyāvalī* is almost identical with that of the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī* and both these verses implicitly state that neither Dhīramatidevī nor Viśvāsadevī but Vidyāpati is the author of both the works.

(3) The twelfth verse[3] of the *Śambhuvākyāvalī* or *Śaivasarvasvasāra* is also similar in import to the above two concluding verses and explicitly makes Viśvāsadevī and not Vidyāpati the author of the work, though it implicitly ascribes the authorship to the latter.

(4) The *Madanapārijāta*, *Mahārṇava*, *Tithinirṇayasāra* and *Smṛtikaumudī*, four other digests, though ostensibly the works of the king Madanapāla and his son Māndhātā, were really composed by their protegee, Viśveśvara Bhaṭṭa.[4]

APPENDIX A.

The *Gāṅgāvākyāvalī* quoted in the works of Govindānanda.

(a) *Varṣakriyākaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

1. p. 97 = p. 176—यच्च जन्मसप्ताष्ट....दर्शनम् इति....गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारेण....वचनं लिखितं....।

2. p. 107 = p. 178—गङ्गावाक्यावलीकारस्तु....सूतके....विवर्जयेत्....नान्यदित्याह......।

(b) *Suddhikaumudī* *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*

3. p. 217 — p. 176—the same as that on p. 97 of *Varṣakriyākaumudī* with the simple change of सप्ताष्टजन्म for जन्मसप्ताष्ट ।

[1] V. 6.

[2] निबन्धान् सम्यगालोक्य श्रीविद्यापति-सूरिणा ।
दानवाक्यावली देव्याः प्रमाणै विमलीकृता ॥

[3] Vide footnote 289

[4] *History of Dharmaśāstra* by P. V. Kane, Vol I., pp. 381-4.

APPENDIX B.

The works of Vidyāpati quoted in the works of Raghunandana.

I. *Gaṅgāvākyāvali.*

(*a*) *Tithitattva* G.V.

1. p. 157 = p. 178—तथा च....गङ्गावाक्यावल्योः स्मृतिः ।
'सुतके .... त्रिवर्जितम्' ॥

(*b*) *Srāddhatattva* G.V.

2. p. 259 = p. 301—गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम् । 'संवत्सरं..कारयेत् ॥..सूचितम् ।

3. p. 324 = p 116—'गच्छन्..........न संशयः' इति ।
भविष्यपुराणादिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ॥

4. p. 325 = p. 301—the same as that on p. 259 of the *Srāddhatattva.*

(*c*) *Prāyaścittatattva* G.V,

5. pp. 486-7=pp. 263-4—'स्वल्पसाध्ये ......तद्विमुच्यते' । इति
गङ्गावाक्यावलीधृतस्कन्दपुराणवचनात् ॥

6. p. 489 = p. 116—the same as that on p. 324 of *Sr. T.*
7. pp. 492-3 = p. 301—the same as that on p. 325 of *Sr. T.*
8. p. 496 = p. 116—व्यतीपातेन चन्द्रमा इति गङ्गावाक्यावल्युक्तपाठो....।
9. p. 499 = p. 207—गङ्गावाक्यावल्याम् 'गङ्गातीरे......भवेत्' ।
10. p. 499 = p. 207—गङ्गायामिति तीरपरमिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ।
11. p. 501 = p. 190—एतेन गङ्गावाक्यावल्युक्तं पृथक् तर्पणं निषिद्धम् ।
12. p. 502 = p. 212—'तस्मात्..........कनकदक्षिणाम्'
इति नन्दिपुराणादिति गङ्गावाक्यावली ॥

(*d*) *Malamūsatattva* G.V.

13. p. 749 = p. 158—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यां दक्षः 'चान्द्रेण..यथाविहितमाचरेत्' ।
14. p. 753 = p. 179—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि वारुणीस्नाने मधुकृष्णात्रयोदश्यामिति
वाक्यरचना ।
15. p. 764 = p. 180—गङ्गावाक्यावल्यामपि ज्यैष्ठे संवत्सरे इत्येव पाठः ।

(*e*) *Śuddhitattva* G.V.

16. p. 348 = p. 207—the same as the quotation 10 on p. 499 of *P.T.*

17. pp. 360—1= p. 137—'तीर्थे........नरः'......गङ्गावाक्यावल्यप्येवम् ।

2. *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*

D.S.T. D bh.

1. p. 66 = p. 16—न च नन्दिकाप्रतिपदिति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं
युक्तमिति वाच्यम् ।

2. pp. 81-82= p. 33—अतएव दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिणी कृत्यमहार्णवधृतेन देवीपुराणेन
पशुघातबलिदानयोः पृथक् फलमभिहितम् यथा 'देवीं....
शाङ्करम्' ।

3. p. 86 = p. 22—दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्याम् 'मूलं........जह्यात्' ।
4. p. 93 = p. 66—अत्र दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां स्वधापुजानन्तरं स्वाहापुजालिखनात्
5. p. 101 = p. 126—न च देवीविसर्जनानन्तरं दक्षिणेति दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्युक्तं
युक्तम् ।

6. p. 102 = p. 65—अत्र कल्पे प्रतिपदि कलसस्थापनं यजमानस्नानार्थं
दुर्गाभक्तितरङ्गिण्यां यदुक्तं तन्न युक्तम् ।

APPENDIX C.

Kṛtyaratnākara of Caṇḍeśvara quoted in *Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī*.

D. bh. *K.R.*

p. 19 = p. 362—कृत्यरत्नाकरे......'कन्यायां......महत्' ।

N.B.—The works of Raghunandana and the *Kṛtyaratnākara* of Caṇḍeśvara, referred to in the Appendices, have been edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara (*Smrititattva*, vols. I & II, 1895) and by MM. Kamalakrishna Smrititirtha (B.I., 1925) respectively.

ABBREVIATIONS :

B. I. = Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta.
D. bh. = Durgābhktitaraṅginī
D. S. T. = Durgotsavatattva
G. V. = Gaṅgāvākyāvalī
K. R. = Kṛtyaratnākara
P. T. = Prāyaścittatattva
Sr. T. = Śrāddhatattva

REVIEW OF *VĀṄMAYA VIVEKA* OF CINTĀMṆI MIŚRA

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Sanskrit learning and culture flourished under the benevolent patronage of the powerful Gajapati rulers from the 11th to 17th Century. Great scholars such as Jayadeva, Śatānanda, Śrīdhara, Vidyādhara, Viśvanatha, Rāmānanda Rāya, Gajapati Puruṣottama, Valabhadra Kavibhūśaṇa, Mārkaṇḍeya, and others were the flowers of Orissan culture.

Most of the works of the great scholars of Orissa are lost and some have not yet been published. In my search for manuscripts I fortunately came across a good number of rare and valuable gems. One of them is *Vāṅmaya-viveka*, a treatise in prosody, and the other is a one act drama named *Triśirovadha* (Vyāyoga). They were written by Ciñtāmaṇi Miśra.

In the colophon of *Vaṅmaya-Viveka* the author gives us an account of his ancestry of the three generations preceding him. Harihara Vājapeyī Citāgni, son of Sidheśvara of the Bhāradvāja family was his grandfather. He is styled by the author as an incarnation of the great poet Kālidāsa for his vast erudition. He was highly honoured by Govinda Vidyādhara, the then king of Orissa, who ruled from 1542-1549. His son Mṛtyuñjaya, the father of the author of Ciṇtamaṇi, took his residence near the Nīlācala, (the blue mount) the temple of Jagannātha, and was known in Orissa as Siudi Dīkṣita and was a profound scholar. The name of his wife was Śrī and they had a són named Cintāmaṇi.

In *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* Ciṇtāmaṇi Miśra says that he is himself the author of *Śambarāri Carita, Triśirovadha, Kādambarīrasa, Sabhāpramoda, Pakṣāvali, Kaṁsavadha, Kṛtyapuṣpāvali, Samitivarṇanam* and *Abhidhāna-Samuccaya* and a prose work in praise of Lord Vāsudeva.

In the prologue of the play *Triśirovadha* the author highly praises the king Cakreśa, better known as Cakā-Pratāpa, son of the king Govinda Vidyādhara, for constructing the *snānavedi* (alter for bath) for the lord Jagannātha. This play *Triśirovadha*, representing all sentiments, was staged at the direction of the king Cakreśa.

In the prologue the author says exactly what he has said about the parentage in the *Vāṅmaya-Viveka*. The king Cakā-Pratāpa referred to, reigned from 1549-1557 A.D.

The last verse of *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* states that it was written in Puri in the 4675th year of the Kali Yuga. 1943 A.D. being the 5044th year of Kali, the work was written about 1574 A.D. The work is divided into six chapters and contains 3200 verses consisting of definitions with illustrations, some of which are composed by the poet himself and the others are quotations from works written by his father, uncles and other writers of note. All the verses cited by the author relate to the praise of Lord Vāsudeva. He refers to the following writers in the colophon and seems to be acquainted with their points of view as well as with those of other eminent writers.

1. Piṅgala. 2. Kāśyapa. 3. Maṇḍavya. 4. Vyāsa. 5. Kohala. 6. Mataṅga. 7. Dattila. 8. Bharata. 9. Kumāra. 10. Sveta. 11. Kālidāśa. 12. Puruṣottama. 13. Kedārabhaṭṭa. 14. Sarveśa. 15. Yādavācārya. 16. Daṇḍi. 17. Bhoja. 18. Śrīpati. 19. Vaitālika. 20. Gaṅgādāsa. 21. Varāha. 22. Haribhaṭṭa. 23. Vahiniśapratāpa. 24. Somanāth Bhaṭṭa. 25. Author of *Chandomaṇika*. 26. Soma, the author of Vṛittamañjari. 27. Author of *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa*. 28. Svayambhū. 29. Author of *Hemacandra-Vṛtti*. 30. Āchārya Keśava. 31. Śrīnivāsa. 32. Rāghavānanda. At the end of the book the poet mentions the following works on Rhetoric and Prosody consulted by himself. 1. *Sūtra of Piṅgalanāga*. 2. *Garuḍa Purāṇa*. 3. *Chando-Viveka*. 4. *Chando-Mañjarī*. 5. *Vṛtta-Mañjarī*. 6. *Prākṛta Chando-Lakṣaṇa*. 7. *Vṛtta-Ratnākara*. 8. *Vṛtta-Muktāvali*. 9. *Vṛtta-Ratnāvali*. 10. *Laghu-pramoda-Kaumudī* and its commentary. 11. *Vṛtta-Kaumudī*. 12. *Śrutabodha*. 13. *Chando-Viciti*. 14. *Vṛtta Kārikā*. 15. *Sahitya-Darpaṇa*. 16. *Chando-Maṇikya*. 17. Works of Daṇḍi. 18. *Chando-Govinda*. 19. *Chando-Ratnākara*. 20. *Kohala*. 21. *Varāhīya*. 22. *Dīpikā*. 23. *Ratnamālikā*.

For a classification of prose and drama it seems that the poet consulted *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa* and the works of Daṇḍin. The other works most probably deal with Sanskrit prosody. Of these only a few have been brought to light and the others are not yet known.

Sanskrit verses are so varied in nature and form and their classification is so minute and elaborate that the science of Prosody admits of a separate study by itself. The subject by nature, is difficult and thus came to be neglected and, in consequence, works of many early writers have been forgotten or lost for good. Our author deplores this very much and seeks to restore this branch of study in a systematic and exhaustive manner.

Of the works mentioned above we are acquainted with but a very few. The little familiar book *Śrutabodha,* is ascribed to Kālidasa. It is doubtful if such an imperfect and rudimentary work could come from the pen of the great poet.

The *Chandas-Śutra* of Piṅgala is well known and the very science of Sanskrit prosody is said to have started with him. Kedāra Bhaṭṭa, son of Pavyaka, is the author of *Vṛtta-ratnākara.* Gaṅgā-Dāsa, son of Vaidya Gopāla-Dāsa, wrote *Chandomañjarī, Acyutacarita* a poem in 16 cantoes, *Dīneśa-Śataka* and *Kaṁsāri-Śataka.* He belongs to the 15th Century A.D. It is evident from *Chandomañjarī* that Puruṣottama is the preceptor of Gaṅgā-Dasa "इत्याह भट्ट स्वग्रन्थे गुरुर्मे पुरुषोत्तमः। It is written in *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* that Puruṣottama is the author of *Chandogovinda* and Sarveśa is the author of *Vṛttamuktāvali* and *Siko Rāmāyaṇa* from where our author quotes many examples. We are all acquainted with a variety of metres known as Vaitālika. According to our author Vaitālika is the author of *Prākṛta-Chandolakṣaṇa.* Perhaps the variety of metre is named after its author Vaitālika. Somanātha Bhaṭṭa is the author of *Chandovārtika.* Rāghavānanda is the author of *Chandoviveka* and *Uṣāpariṇaya.* Our author quotes many examples from his works. This Rāghavānanda may be the Rāghavānanda Mahāpātra, mentioned in *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa.* The author refers to Rāṭa Māṇḍavya, Sveta and Kāśyapa who are also mentioned in *Chandas-Sūtra* and *Chandomañjarī.*

Daṇḍin in *Kāvyādarśa* says :—"छन्दोविचित्यां सकलस्तत्प्रपञ्चो निरूपितः।" A special treatise bearing the name of *Chandoviciti* by some author is not known to us. Chapters XIV and XV of Bharata's *Nātya-Śāstra* go by the name of Chandoviciti. Yādavācārya's Bhāṣya on *Bharata-sūtra* is also called *Chando-viciti Bhāṣya.* Varāhamihira says "विपुलामपि बद्ध्वा च्छन्दोविचितिं भवति कार्यमेव तत्। श्रुतिसुखदवृत्तसंग्रहमिममाह वराहमिहिरोऽत्तः ॥" Works of all these go by the name of Chandoviciti. As our author refers to Chandoviciti along with the authors Daṇḍin, Bharata and Varāhamihira in the list of works, we are led to believe that a special treatise by that name may have been known to him. The author cites the opinion of Varāhimihira in the Chapter dealing with metre "ख ब्रह्ममात्रकेऽपि कघलघौ गुरुयुगान्तरस्थिते भवति मुखचपला-दीति मतं वराहमिहिरस्य यत् स आहैवम् "नानावृत्तै स्तन्नो मुखचपलात्वं क्षन्त्वार्याः।" This signifies that Varāmihira wrote a work on Prosody. As regards Bharata and Kohala's work on Prosody Reygnand says "Bharata treated the subject Chandoviciti in Chapters XIV and XV of *Nāṭya-Śāstra.* Bharata defines the tunes of a metre in quantities *Laghu* or *Guru.* Kohala has a section on prosody. According to Bharata and Kohala, whose main

sphere was histrionics, the rythm of the metre must appear to be a spontaneous effusion of the thoughts of sentiments of the actor on the scene" *La Martiniqo de Bharat*, August 2 Paris.

"Kohala was the immediate disciple of Bharata. Even according to Nātyaśāstra Kohala was to write a treatise on Prastāratantra. But Kohala's work is lost, but for a fragment that is available, Tālādhyāya. A study of the citations there indicates that Kohala, though he followed Bharata in the main, improved upon *Nāṭya-Śāstra* in the details of classification. Dattila Kohalīya purports to be a narration by Kohala to Dattila and *Kohala-rahasya* by Kohala to Mātaṅga and these are epitomes of Kohala's works" *History of Sanskrit literature*, by Krishnachariar p. 820.

The author in *Vāṅmaya-Viveka* refers to the classification of dramas according to Kohala, Dattila and Mataṅga.

According to Rāghavānanda *Padyas* (verses) may not be four-footed ones चतुष्पदी and he includes even *Gūthās* in Padya. Our author does not subscribe to this view because it is not consistent with the opinion of the old authorities who assert that they are always four-footed. Like others our author divides metre into two classes Vaidic and Laukika (Classical). But he divides the classical literature into six classes as Padya, Gāthā, Kalika, Viruda, Gadya (prose) and Gīta (song).

The primary division of classical metres into Mātrā and Jāti is based upon the distinction that one has a definite relation to the aggregate of *mātrās* (morae), quite irrespective of the number or position of the syllabus in the *Padas* or quadrants; the other takes into account not only the number but also the order of succession of long and short syllables in successive quadrants.

Each of the two primary divisions may again be divided into five sub-classes :*sama* (even), *ardhasama* (semi-uneven)- *viṣama* (uneven), *asamārdha* (semi-even) and *upajāti* (hybrids). In the case of *Jāti* these five sub-divisions have a separate nomenclature. Writers such as Piṅgala and Gaṅgā-Dāsa divide the metres into three classes : even, semi-even and uneven. But as semi-uneven and hybrids could not be included in the latter, they should be, according to our author, five, not three. The semi-even are those in which alternate quadrants are alike but the odds differ from the even ; uneven (विषम) are those in which quadrants are dissimilar but semi-uneven (असमार्ध) are those in which first half is dissimilar to the second half. So semi-uneven is quite different from the rest. As regards semi-uneven (असमार्ध) our author cites three metres with examples

such as Priyā, Anaṅgakrīdā and Jyoti. "The hybrids उपजाति are analogous to the semi-even and uneven metres for mono-syllabic group, inasmuch as the variation affects a single syllable the first, others remaining constant: So this should be as a separate division. Thus the limit of the semi-even is $2^2—2$ or $4—2=2$, of uneven $2^4—2^2=16—4=12$, altogether fourteen" (XIX Introduction to छन्दःसारसंग्रह of Ghosh). Some count the number of hybrids to be fourteen "चतुर्दशभिदाः प्राहुरुपजाती स्तु केचन"; but even they are many according to our author. Some are of opinion that Upajāti (or Hybrid) consists of the same metre; but it is not correct, as we find examples of hybrids formed out of different metres in the works of old authors "अत्राहुरेके तु समानच्छन्दस्यदः स्यादिति तन्न युक्तम् । छन्दःसु भिन्नेष्वपि तत्प्रयोगा दृश्यन्त एते रचिताः पुरातनैः ।" Hybrids are generally formed by combining two or three characteristics of different metres having close relation. सन्निहितानां द्वित्रैर्लक्ष्मभिमश्रिमुपजातिः ।"

By the combination of the quadrants of Triṣtup or the combination of the quadrants of Atijagatī and Jagatī hybrids are formed but not by the combination of other metres.

These even metres (Sama-vṛttas) may be subdivided into two classes, Chandas and Daṇḍakas. Chandas are regulated by the number of syllables in different quadrants from one to 26 letters, but others which exceed 26 letters are known as Daṇḍakas. In the book under review 48 kinds of Daṇḍakas have been exhaustively described with examples.

As regards Gāthās our author does not agree with Halāyudha's reading of the Piṅgala's Sūtra अत्रानुक्तं गाथा, 8th chapter, 1st sutra. This reading gives rise to frequent contradictions and calls forth many an expression of apology from the authors. This has been justly pointed by Mr. C. M. Ghosh in his introduction to *Chandasāra-Saṅgraha* p. XIV, wherein he states : "The eighth chapter starts with the Sūtram अत्रामुक्तं गाथा. Then follows a description of eighteen individual metres placed in the same groups defined and explained with details and illustrated with examples exactly the same way as in his two preceding chapters. They are explicitly called Gāthā or the undescribed nevertheless. At the end of the 8th Chapter again there is left in the lumber room of gāthās as indefinite and innumerable remainder". एवमादीनि वृत्तानि कोटिशः प्रस्तारेषु महाप्र विप्रयोगेषु च दृश्यन्ते । विशेषसंज्ञाभावात्तानि शास्त्रनिर्देशं कृत्वा नोक्तानि, तानि गाथाशब्देन कथ्यन्ते । Halāyudha, the commentator of Piṅgala's *Chandas-Sūtra*, was not known to our author as he has nowhere referred to Halāyudha in his work. Our author adopts a different reading of the text, most probably a correct one. While defining Gāthā he says that it is of Mātrā metre and has no fixed quadrants,

and has been employed in languages (Prākṛt) other than Sanskrit and in support of his definition he cites the authority of Piṅgala's *Chandas-sūtra* that Gāthā should be in the impure tongue.

'गाया मात्रागणिता अनियतपादा असंस्कृतनिबद्धाः । अत्रामिद्धं गाथे त्याहपिङ्गलः फणिसूत्रम् ॥'

Some are of opinion that Gāthā is also used in Sanskrit and they cite the example of दश धर्म etc.

In *dvipadī-gāthā* there will be one quadrant. In *chatuṣpadī* two in *ṣaṭpadī* three and in *aṣṭapadī* four quadrants and so on. Where the quadrants are not even they cannot be definitely fixed. Our author described 97 kinds of *Gāthās* consisting of *dvipadī, tripadī, chatuṣpadī* and so on.

That (sound) which signifies the measure of time with pauses is called Tāla (syllabic instants) and a harmonious combination of sounds (Tāla) is called Kalā. A combination of syllabic instants or Kalās is called Kalikā. It has four divisions: Caṇḍavṛtta, Tribhaṅgī, Mātrikā and Sarbabhadrikā. Caṇḍabṛtta consists of 12 to 64 quadrants and Trībhangī consists of 8 to 16 quadrants and the rest consists of 10 quadrants and more and not too many.

With the growth of Sanskrit literature some classical poets, being not satisfied with the existing metres, introduced new rhythms and also excellent forms of blank verses and poetry known as Kalikā. But no standard works on Prosody, known so far, have taken any notice of it. But our author has given descriptions of different kinds of Kalikās in his work. According to some there may be Kalikās in prose as well. So our author has cited some examples from prose.

Then he defines *Virudas* in a peculiar way and finds fault with the old definition. He says that the word Viru means hostility in the Mahārāṣṭra language. As they are meant to engender fear in the hearts of the enemies, they are known as *Virudas*. *Viruda* consists both of prose and poetry. This has not been clearly dealt with by the ancient writers on Prosody.

Then he speaks of *Cāṭu-Kāvya* which means a poem consisting of Kalikā verses and *Virudas* taken together. This has been divided into three as Sarvakala, Miśrakala and Vītakala, the good, the medium and the inferior. This *Cāṭu-Kavya* is also known as *Laghu-Prabandha*. This Sarvakala is divided into Pratāpāvali *Kīrtyāvali, Hārāvali, Aṣṭīkāvali, Vakrāvali,* Pañcavakrāvali and Smaradīpikā. According to language it is also divided into three classes in Sanskrit; it is called Śuddhā or pure in Prakrit it is Ārabhatī, in Sanskrit and Prakrit it is called Miśrikā. Regarding Guru and Laghu (heavy and short)

our author cites some rules that are not to be found out in any work on Prosody published as yet. At the end of the 2nd and the 4th quadrants a Laghu becomes Guru but Mammaṭa, the author of the *Kavyaprakāśa* does not subscribe to this view as he quotes "दृष्टे यत्र पतिन्त मूढमनसामस्त्राणि वस्त्राणि च and says that Ca at the end is a Laghu and so it is faulty. But our author finds fault with Mammaṭa and says that it is Guru. Viśvanātha Kavirāja, the author of *Sāhitya-Darpaṇa,* suggests that the defect will be removed by replacing Ca च by अपि. Our author sarcastically remarks by saying that he failed to understand what Visvanātha meant by this.

In showing the characteristics of Vaktrā, which is generally known as Anustubh, our author states some exceptions to the general rule. If the 6th letter be *laghu* in the first and the second quadrants, then the fifth will be *guru.* When the sixth letter is *guru* in an uneven quadrant, that is in the first and the third quadrants, then the seventh letter must be *guru.* But all the rules of Vaktrā are optional.

The author, after giving a classification of prose with illustrations, deals with dramas. Dramas are divided into ten Rūpakas and eighteen Uparūpakas as usual. This is according to the modern writers on Dramaturgy. Kohala says that Brahmā pleased Mahādeva and Pārvatī and obtained from them dramas in two parts known as Mārga and Nāṭya of twenty different varieties. Ten kinds of Nāṭakas are known as Nāṭyas, whereas Nāṭikā, Prakaraṇī, Bhānikā, Hāsikā, Dima, Vyāyoginī, Kalā, Utsāhavatī Citrā, Vicitrā, Jugupsitā for ten kinds of Mārgas. Again the Deśyas are sixteen in number; Dattila, Mātaṅga and Kohala by employing their own imagination divided these Deśyas out of the different dramas by permuting different *rasas* and experimenting with different actors. They are known as Saṭṭaka, Troṭaka, Goṣṭhi, Vṛndaka, Śilpaka, Hallīśaka, Ullāsaka, Rāsa, Śrīgadita, Nāṭya, Lāsaka, Prastāva, Lāsikā Saṁlāpaka, Preṁkṣaṇa and Sambhavya. This division is not given by other writers of dramaturgy and so this view of the old school is of great importance.

I have touched only a few important points of this work. The speciality of this work is that it deals exhaustibly with all the sections of Prodosy and with many other subjects such as dramaturgy, division of prose and poetry and also notes the views of the old and new schools of Prosody. It gives us information about many writers and works not yet known to the scholars of the present day. The work is of a unique character and its publication will be of great help to the scholars.

AN UNPUBLISHED COMMENTARY ON THE *DVĀDAŚA-MANJARIKĀ STOTRA* OF ŚAṄKARA

By

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All are agreed that the *Dvādaśamanjarikā Stotra* is a genuine composition of Ādi Śaṅkarācārya. Dr. Belvalkar writes in his *Vedānta Philosophy* (Basu-Mallick Lectures of the Calcutta University, 1929, at pages 221-222) as follows :— "Without arguing the pros and cons of each case we will now enumerate what we regard as very probably the genuine stotras of Śaṅkarācārya....(16) *Devādaśa Manjarikā* usually known as *Moha-Mudgara* in 12 stanzas beginning with मूढ जहीहि धनागमतृष्णाम्. (17) Bhaja Govinda Stotra called the Charpata-pañjarikā Stotra in 17 stanzas." A. B. Keith states : "There is no reason whatever to doubt that he (Adi Śaṅkara) composed such poems" (*History of Sanskrit Literature*, Oxford, 1928, page 216).

This poem is one of the most popular of the poems Adi Śaṅkara composed for the edification of humanity and some of its lines have become household words with the Hindus. To such an important work, Svayamprakāśa Yati has written a commentary. The professed aim of the commentator is to make the *Dvādaśamanjarikā Stotra* as a Prakaraṇa Grantha containing in a brief compass all the essential teachings of Advaita. The extreme simplicity and the most wide popularity of the poem has been evidently responsible for the commentary not having been printed so far.

I have secured 4 manuscripts from which I have arrived at the text. Two Manuscripts belong to the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. A third forms part of the recently acquired manuscript collections of the Madras University. The fourth belongs to the Mysore Government Manuscripts Library. The Mysore Manuscript states that the work was composed by Viśvanātha Paṇḍit but it is the same identical manuscript as the one composed by Svayamprakāśa. There are no manuscripts of this commentary available in Adyar Library at Madras and at the Government Manuscripts Library at Trivandrum and at the Tanjore Palace Library. Hence the 4 manuscripts are the only available manuscripts in the public libraries of South India.

The author Svayamprakāśa Yati is reputed to have been a Sanyāsin well versed in Vedānta who lived about 200 years ago on the banks of the Cauvery in South India. There are commentaries on the *Dakṣiṇāmūrti Stotra* of Ādi Śaṅkara, the *Advaita Makaraada* of Lakṣmīdhara and other minor works from the pen of Svayamprakāśa. Whether the author is one and the same has to be determined and my learned friend Dr. V. Raghavan, M.A., Ph.D. of the Madras University has undertaken for me this task in his valuable forword which he has promised for this work.

I shall attempt in this paper to place a few points including specimen extracts from the commentary which is to be published and which should be enjoyed by you as a whole.

Svayamprakāśa Yati is a Rāma Bhakta and has composed good invocatory verses in praise of Rāma in the beginning, in the middle (beginning of Śloka 7) and in the end of his commentary. A brief introduction states that Śaṅkara himself descended as an Avatāra on this earth for the uplift of humanity and wanted to teach Vairagya as Jnāna Sādhana and hence begins the 1st stanza of the Stotra.

Some specimen quotations from the commentary are given below:

(2) अर्थमनर्थं भावय नित्यं नास्ति ततः सुखलेशः सत्यम् ।
पुत्रादपि धनभाजां भीतिः सर्वत्रैषा विहिता रीतिः ॥

Svayamprakāśa after discussion concludes that this sloka teaches अर्थत्याग. His remarks are very illuminating on this vexed question as to the uses or functions of अर्थ.

" ननु कथं विषयेषु दोषदर्शनेन तत्त्यागो घटते । न हि मृगाः सन्तीति शालयो नोप्यन्ते । न हि भिक्षुकाः सन्तीति स्थाल्यो न अधिश्रीयन्ते । न हि अजीर्णतया आहारपरित्यागः । किं तु दोषमात्रं परित्यज्य गुणग्रहणं संभवति । यथा पलालं परित्यज्य धान्यादिग्रहणं, यथा मत्स्यार्थी शुक्तिशकलादीनि परित्यज्य मत्स्यान् एव गृह्णाति एवं तत्र तत्र विषयेषु दोषान् परित्यज्य विषया एव गृह्यन्तां इति चेत् न । उक्तदृष्टान्तबलेन ग्रहीतुम् अशक्यत्वात् । न हि विषसंपृक्तमधुक्षीरादीनि शिल्पिवरेणापि विभज्य ग्रहीतुं शक्यन्ते ॥"

The above is based on the famous passage in Bhāmatī (Catus-Sūtri) on Śaṅkara's *Brahma Sūtra-Bhāṣya.*

(6) नारीस्तनभरनाभीदेशं दृष्ट्वा मायामोहावेशम् ।
एतन्मांसवसादिविकारं मनसि विचिन्तय वारं वारम् ॥

This sloka is meant to teach Vairāgya and a reference to it again is on a par with the teachings of the रंहतिपाद of the *Brahma Sūtra.* A long discussion is appended in which the place of Janaka and Yājñavalkya in the scheme of Advaita

Mokṣa is described. Were they realised souls and the compatability of treating the whole world as Brahman and yet of ruling a kingdom is discussed. The grades of Jīvan-Muktas as defined in the *Jīvanmuktaviveka* of Vidyāraṇya are mentioned.

"मुक्ततारतम्यं विद्यारण्यैः बहुप्रपञ्चितम् । विस्तरभयाद् अत्र उपरम्यते ॥"

(8) कामं क्रोधं लोभं मोहं त्यक्त्वात्मानं पश्यत सोऽहम् ।
आत्मज्ञानविहीना मूढास्ते पच्यन्ते नरकनिरूढाः ॥

जीव-ब्रह्म-ऐक्यम् is fully explained under this sloka. आत्मज्ञान is described and the intermediate states prior to final absorption in Brahman are treated in great detail—the states of Hiranyagarbhopāsaka, Bhagavadupāsaka and Utkaṭadharmaniṣṭha. A short discussion as in the 4th Chapter of *Brahma Sūtra* is found with the dazzling pūrvapakṣas and the more brilliant Siddhānta. The unity of Śiva and Viṣṇu being phases of the same Brahman is discussed.

(12 कुरुते गङ्गासागरगमनं व्रतपरिपालनमथवा दानम् ।
ज्ञानविहीने सर्वमतेन मुक्तिर्भ भवति न जन्मशतेन ॥

In this last śloka, the main sheet-anchor of Advaita that Jñāna alone leads to Mokṣa is explained in detail. कर्म gets चित्त-शुद्धि and upāsana leads to चित्त-एकाग्रयम् and are auxiliary aids to Jñāna. The Samuccaya-vāda as found in the 2nd śloka of Yoga-Vāsiṣtha is discussed and finally explained as laying down the importance of Karma prior to the acquisition of Knowledge.

There is an extra śloka in all the manuscripts and here the author gives the various meanings of the word Śiṣya. In spite of साधनचतुष्टय one often does not get आत्मज्ञान and the same is due to the fact that like भर्तृ of the *Saṁkṣepā Sārīraka* he is व्याकुलचित्त. Finally the reasons as to why the आत्मसाक्षात्कार could not be obtained in other systems like the Cārvāka, Bauddha, etc., are mentioned.

The commentator finally closes with the description of आनन्द of the Jīvanmukta and its different shades.

Without much exaggeration I should state that Svayamprakāśa Yati has attempted to do what Madhusūdana Sarasvatī did for the *Daśa-ślokī* and what Sureśvara did for the *Dākṣiṇāmurtī Stotra.*

The commentator commands a vigorous style and has about 120 quotations and draws largely on the Upaniṣads and especially on *Panca-daśī* and *Jīvanmukta-viveka* of Vidyāraṇya. He styles as Acāryās not merely the Adi Śaṅkara the

Acārya but also Padma-pāda, Suresvara and the author of the *Samkṣepa Sārīraka.*

The śloka भज गोविन्दम् भज गोविन्दं भज गोविन्दं मूढमते has not been commented upon by Svayamprakāśa.

Unanimous is the tradition that the Adi Śaṅkara Bhagavat Pāda composed the Dvādaśamañjarikā Stotra at Benares. I am extremely happy to announce in this holy city that the commentary on the same is to be published.

As mentioned by me previously I have collected all the available manuscript materials available in South India. If you have any manuscripts of 'Svayamprakāśasa' commentary with you or if there are any manuscripts in the libraries here at Benares or Poona or elsewhere I shall consider it an obligation if you intimate to me the same so that I could utilise the same before the commentary is published. If there is any other commentary on *Dvāsaśamañjarikā* or *Mohamudgara* other than the one by Svayamprakāśa Yati. I request you to enlighten me about the same so that I may publish that commentary also.

THE DECLARATION OF A ŚARAYANTRĪ

By

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In his lectures on Poetical Training in Ancient Times delivered in Hindi in the Hindustani Academy at Allahabad during the year 1928-29, published later on under the title *Kavirahasya*, the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Doctor Sir Gangānātha Jhā has described a "Public Test of Highest Scholarship" that was prevalent in Mithilā till about a hundred and fifty years ago, but which has long since been dead though people of the older generation know it still by name. This test was held at the request of the Scholar himself who on succeeding in the test was said to have "taken up Śarayantra" and the scholar was thenceforth styled a Śarayantrī.

Though this word Śarayantra looks like a pure Sanskrit word, its exact meaning or its origin is shrouded in mystery and no Sanskrit lexicon mentions the word. Sir Monier-Williams has a word Śarayantrak which he explains, on the authority of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*, as the "string on which the palm-leaves of a manuscript are filed." In Mithilā, however, a Paṇḍita even to this day is said, in popular language, to have bound a book or manuscript with string when he knows it by heart and has no need to refer to it. "To take up Śarayantra", therefore, may be symbolical of having bound up all the Mss. with strings when the scholar would claim to know everything contained in all the Śāstras and has no need to look into any book whatsoever. It was, in fact, the claim of highest scholarship.

This interpretation of the term finds support from or is rather based upon what the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Doctor Sir Gangānātha Jhā says in the "Kavirahasya" (pp. 73-74). Let me give here the translation of the relevant portion of the book which is so very interesting:—

"The system of public test of scholarship was prevalent in Mithilā up to 150 or 200 years ago. Whenever a scholar got renown and rich rewards in foreign lands and came back home, he used to declare thus to the people of his own land, if he thought himself equal to the task. "I have come home back from foreign lands laden with glory and renown, but of what use is that damned glory which a scholar receives in a

foreign land which neither his foes can see nor his friends enjoy? I am, therefore, very solicitous of winning glory in my own land. The highest glory of scholarship in Mithilā has ever been of Śarayantra. It is my great wish that this test should be held in my case."

"The method of the test was like this. First of all, the scholars all over the country used to ask the most abstruse questions not in any one Śāstra but in all the Śāstras. All the questions must be properly answered in the assembly to the satisfaction of all present. When the scholars were thus satisfied, the public used to put questions. Anybody was entitled to put any question he liked. Everybody must be answered and answered to the satisfaction of all present. When every one present was thus satisfied, then only the honour of a Śarayantrī was conferred upon him. What this term Śarayantra really connotes is not known, but this custom is still known by its name."

It is, however, clear that the above description is based on tradition and that the late M.M. Sir Gangānātha Jhā had no document bearing on the subject before him when he wrote these lines. But only recently I chanced to find a piece of old paper written on both the sides in excellent Tirhutā (Maithilī) characters, in a bundle of paper mss. in the possession of Babu Ganeśa Jhā of the eastern part of my village of Ujān in the district of Darbhanga. There are eleven lines on the first page and four overleaf and the writing appears more than a hundred years old, though there is no mention to its writer or his date. Let me reproduce it here with an English translation of the same.

1 इयमान्वीक्षिकी विद्या दक्षिणामर्त्तेः प्रसादान्महामहोपाध्याय गोंढ़ि शर्म्मणा अलम्भि-
2 तत्रातुलं सुखमनुभवन्ती सा तच्छिष्यम्महामहोपाध्यायमाधवशर्म्माणमाश्रितवती बहुकालमव्यग्रै-
3 व व्यतिष्ठत माधवशर्म्मणाच्च नामतश्चार्थतश्च स्वसदृशेषु शिष्येषु महामहोपाध्याड़िआमा-
4 धवमिश्रेषु सर्म्पिता तच्छिष्येण महामहोपाध्याय शङ्करशर्मणा यज्ञपत्युपाध्याये सर्म्पि-
5 ता तेन च महामहोपाध्याय परशुरामशर्म्मशु स्थापिता ततोऽपि महामहोपाध्याय वाम-
6 देवशर्मणा शिष्येण समासादिता ततोपि विद्यानिधि-पदाङ्कितेन माध्यन्दिनमूर्द्धन्ये-
7 न महामहोपाध्याय पीताम्बरशर्म्मणा प्राप्ता तेनापीयमान्वीक्षिकी तेषु महामहोपाध्या-
8 य गोकुलनाथशर्म्मसु स्थापिता येहि सकलसिद्धान्तर्य्युक्त्या खण्डयतशिरोमणेर्म्मानमपने-
9 तुं सिद्धान्ततत्त्वप्रभृतीन् न्यायनिबन्धान् बहुशः प्रणीतवन्तः सर्व्वसिद्धान्तदीक्षा-गुरवोभूमौ व्य-
10 राजन् ततोपि महामहोताध्याय जगन्नाथद्वितीयेन जगन्नाथशर्म्मणा समासादिता तत-
11 श्च महामहोपाध्याय वंशधरशर्म्मणाऽलम्भि ततोपि दानसन्तानविनिर्जितकर्णेन महाम-

Overleaf :

1 होपाध्यायेन श्री रघुनाथशर्म्मणा प्राप्ता इत्थम्परम्परायाताः सर्व्वे गुरवो गृहीत-
2 शरयन्त्राः प्रसिद्धनामान एव तेषाम्परोक्षेपि मादृशा यद्यप्यत्र शरयन्त्र-

3 कर्म्मणि न थोगयस्तथापि अमुकाद्य (न्म ?) मया शरयन्त्रग्रहणङ्क्रियते तत्र तेषाविद्यमा-
4 नसज्जनानाञ्चानुग्रह एव शरणमिति शुभम्भयात्

महामहोपाध्याय
दत्तशर्म्मण इय (यं ?)
(वि ?) म्विज्ञप्तिः

Translation :—This learning of Logic was revealed to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gonrhi Śarmmā by the grace of Dakṣiṇāmūrti and She, the Lady Logic, while remaining there in utmost felicity, betook herself to his disciple M.M. Mādhava Śarmmā with whom she abode undisturbed for long. Mādhava Śarmmā made her over to his disciple, the revered M.M. Ariā Mādhava Miśra, who was exactly like himself not only in name but also in the true signification of the term. His disciple M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmmā made her over to Yajñapati Upādhyāya who saw her settled with the revered M.M. Paraśurāma Śarmmā. From him his disciple, M.M. Vāmadeva Śarmmā got her, from whom also she was received by M.M. Pītāmbara Śarmmā who was called Vidyānidhi, "Ocean of Learning", and who was indeed the Head of all the Mādhyandinas. From there this Lady Logic was lodged with that revered M.M. Gokulanātha Śarmmā, who to discredit Śiromaṇi, refuting with right reasoning all the previous conclusions, composed many theses on Nyāya, such as Siddhāntatattva, and who flourished on this earth with the reputation of being "the Master for the Teaching of All Right Conclusions." From him She was received by M.M. Jagannātha Śarmmā, who was the second Jagannātha and M.M. Vaṁśadhara Śarmmā got her from him. It was from him that M.M. Raghunātha Śarmmā received her—Shree (Glorious) Raghunātha, who by his series of Dānas (gifts) threw into shade the glory of Karṇa. This is a list of famous names, names of a succession of famous men who were all Masters and who had all taken up Śarayantra. Even when they are no more, persons like myself are not fit to take up Śarayantra. Nevertheless I do take up Śarayantra on this particular day and in this I rely on the blessings of those (departed souls) and the good wishes of all those who are present on the occasion. May success follow.

A perusal of this piece will show that this is the text of the (Vijñapti) declaration made by one M.M. Datta Śarmmā at the time of taking up Śarayantra, but the most important point is missing from this copy, namely, the date of that public test, the date on which M.M. Datta Śarmmā took up Śarayantra. The words in the text are अमुकाद्य "today *on this particular day*" and the particular date must have been spoken out there in the Assembly by M.M. Datta Śarmmā at the commencement

of the proceedings. It is, therefore, only a copy of the original declaration as prepared by M.M. Datta Sarmmā. To arrive at any conclusion regarding the date of the public test in which this declaration was made, we must look into the declaration itself and rely upon the internal evidence furnished by the names, many of which are, indeed, very famous.

There are, however, three or four points in this brief declaration that deserve our notice before any attempt is made to identify the Paṇḍitas mentioned in the list.

First of all, we have here before us a long line of Gurus, Masters, who imparted instructions in Ānvikṣikī Vidyā, by which is meant clearly the Nyāya Darśana, for which Mithilā has been famous since the days of Gautama. There are twelve names in the declaration, the 13th being M.M. Datta Śarmmā himself, and each succeeding Paṇḍita is said here to have received the Vidyā from the preceding one. Though it is not clear from the text if M.M. Datta received the learning of Nyāya from M.M. Raghunātha yet it could not have been otherwise as M.M. Datta was the son of M.M. Raghunātha, which I will show later on and as such could not have gone to others for learning. It is well-known that in old India, a कुल (line) was by birth and also by learning, i.e., teaching (विद्या) and here we have one, only one वंश, the family-tree of a line of गुरु's (Masters), of mediaeval Mithilā, which is said to have originated with Mahāmahopādhyāya Gonrhi Śarmmā and to which the famous Mahāmahopādhyāya Gokulanātha had the honour to belong. A Paṇḍita can have a student learned enough to take up Śarayantra generally after 20-25 years after himself, and judged from this standard the period covered by this line of Masters may safely be taken to be 250-300 years.

Secondly, the terms in which the thirteenth descendant of this family, M.M. Datta Śarmmā, eulogises his ancestors deserve our consideration. They were all Masters, famous Masters all of them and every one of them had taken up Śarayantra, says M.M. Datta. Nevertheless there are clear indications in the description of the Masters to show that all of them were not equally respectable or at least, did not command the same respect of the posterity. Of the 12 names as many as seven have adjective clauses to describe them and they are गुरु's—Masters Nos. 1, 2, 3, 8, 9, 10 and 12. Then there are three names of Masters Nos. 3, 6 and 9 which are used in the plural number, perhaps, to show special reverence to them. There are likewise three names of Masters Nos. 4, 7 and 11 that have the bare title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. Lastly there

is only one name, that of Master No. 5, which is used without any adjective whatsoever.

I shall have occasion to refer to all these adjectives when I attempt to identify them, but to me one thing seems clear from this declaration. Human nature is uniform both in space and time and it is not unreasonable to suppose that all these twelve Masters were not all of the same calibre, of the same eminence, of the same veneration, and though all of them had taken up Śarayantra in a formal assembly called for the purpose, the function itself could not have evoked the same interest, the same enthusiasm, the same spirit of rivalry in all the cases. A venerable old Paṇḍita with his students, students' students, and perhaps their students too, renowned, would not have been asked anything inconvenient and the whole function would have been what we would call only a tame affair, while a still-rising, self-confident young Paṇḍita declaring to take up Śarayantra in the flush of glory won in foreign lands, must have created a stir in the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā and scholars, mostly the contemporaries of the Śarayantrī, must have mustered strong in the assembly with their questions. Is it, therefore, improper to read in this Vijñapti (declaration) a distinction of some such sort in the different sets of words used with the different Masters?

Thirdly, the interesting account of the origin of this family arrests our attention. It is here claimed that the knowledge of Nyāya-Śāstra was revealed to Gonrhi Śarmmā by the grace of Dakṣiṇāmūrti, as a fruit of whose devotions extraordinary powers of expounding the Śāstras are promised in the Tantras. It is suggested thereby that Gonrhi Śarmmā did not owe his eminence to any Master, but who, nevertheless, challenged a public test and having silenced all took up Śarayantra. This knowledge, moreover, is personified throughout and is said to descend from the Guru (Master) to one of his many disciples, who perhaps with the devotions of Dakṣiṇāmūrti continued unimpaired, inherited the knowledge, Vidyā, kept up the tradition set up by the Guru, Master, and took up Śarayantra. For twelve generations the Vidyā thus resides in the family and the 13th descendant from that self-made devotee Naiyāyika Gonrhi Śarmā, claims in this declaration to be the present possessor of that Vidyā, to be the greatest Naiyāyika of his time as his predecessors were in theirs.

This takes us to the main problem of the identification of the Masters of this school, but this is beset with difficulties. All these are very common names and there is hardly any

family of Maithila Brāhmaṇas which has not produced one or more persons of these names. Had the family to which each of these Masters belonged been indicated or even the names of their fathers given, it would have been possible to identify them correctly, but in the absence of all that, one has to depend entirely on the chronology given here and just make an attempt.

Of the thirteen names given here there is, however, one name,—only one—which any educated Maithila can identify at once and that is the name of Gokulanātha who belonged to the famous Fanandah family of the Maithila Brāhmaṇas and was an inhabitant of the celebrated village of Mangarauni near Madhubani in the district of Darbhanga. This is the only light with the help of which one must try to reconstruct the history presented in this declaration. In one of his many works, Ekāvalī, (Ms. Darbhanga Raj Library) Gokulanātha says that it was composed for King Fateh Śāh, who can be identified with the famous Fateh Śāh of Garhwāl, a contemporary of Aurangzeb and who is said to have died in 1699 (Imperial Gazetteer, 1908 Edn. Vol. XI, pp. 212). Tradition places him in the reign of Mahārāja Rāghava Singh Bahādur who ruled over Mithilā from 1700 to 1739 A.D. I have, therefore, assumed, that M.M. Gokulanātha took up Śarayantra in the year 1700 on his return from Garhwal after the passing away of his great patron. Having thus fixed the date of the 9th Master of this school, if we go back to each preceding Master, we find that the Founder of this family must have flourished almost 200 years before Gokulanātha. This takes us to the days when the reins of the Government of Mithilā had not yet passed into the hands of M.M. Mahārāja Maheśa Thākur, the founder of the present Darbhanga Rāj, but when Mithilā was still ruled over by the kings of the Oinavāra family, the descendants of Siddha Kāmeśwara.

MASTER I: M.M. GONRHI MIŚRA (1490 A.D.)

Fortunately there is in the Raj Darbhanga Library an old palm-leaf ms. which is also noticed on pp. 453-454 of the first volume of the Descriptive Catalogue of Mithilā Mss. This is a copy of Śūdrācāra (The Daily Duties of Śūdra) by M.M. Gonrhi Śarmmā, who is called here a Miśra. In the long introduction to this work, the author praises very highly one Vāsudeva, very learned and very liberal, son of Ravikara, and he calls him, "the gem to adorn the head of the land of Mithilā" but he was not a king. It was under orders of this Vāsudeva, who was perhaps a Śūdra, that Gonrhi Miśra composed his

Śūdrācāra. About himself, however, he says very little except that he "vanquished in the Court of King Rāmabhadra renowned scholars—योऽजैषीन्नृपरामभद्रसदसि प्रख्यातसंख्यावतः are his exact words. Now Mahārāja Rāmabhadra with the Viruda (title) Rūpanārāyaṇa was the last but one king of the Oinavāra family, son of the famous king Mahārāja Bhairava Singh Harinārāyaṇa (S. N. Singh—*History of Tirhut*, pp. 78-79) Rāmabhadra himself was a celebrated scholar and in his court there were such renowned scholars as Vācaspati and Varddhamāna, though both of them were very old by that time. If it was the court of this king Rāmabhadra that the author of Śūdrācāra did vanquish, then really he must have been a gifted scholar, a man blessed with invincible divine powers. Here the story related in the Declaration fits in exactly. No wonder Gonrhi Miśra did create a school of his own towards the close of the 15th century and the 9th Master of that School, 9th in the descent from him, comes forward to challenge the scholars of Mithilā in, say, about 1700 A.D. I therefore identify the founder of this school, with the author of Śūdrācāra and the victor of the court of the scholar king, Rāmbhadra.

MASTERS II AND III: M.M. MĀDHAVA ŚARMMĀ (1520 A.D.,)
M.M. ARIĀ MĀDHAVA MIŚRA (1570 A.D.)

The next two names are the same and it is one of the commonest names. There is nothing to distinguish them except that with the first the Lady Logic is said to have lived long and the second is used in the reverential plural with the family title, Miśra, and is given another title Aria which does not seem to be a Sanskrit but only a vernacular term. The real significance of this is not clear to me but I take it to be a variant of or at least in some way connected with Alayī which is the name of an important family of Maithilā Brāhmaṇas and to which family the second Mādhava might have belonged. It is therefore purposely prefixed here to his name to distinguish him from his Master who also bore the same name.

Now as many as three Mādhavas are known to me in their works. First of all is the author of Divyadīpikā (Raj Darbhanga Library Ms., Noticed in the first volume of the Mithilā Mss., pp. 225-226, No. 208 and 209) who was the son of M.M. Khāntara Miśra. There is another palm-leaf ms. in the Darbhanga Raj Library called Pratyakṣālokadīpikā by Mādhava where also the same Khāntara with his three brothers Dinakara, Śrīkara and Śrīhari are eulogised. Both these Dīpikās, therefore, may be taken to be the works of the same Mādhava, Mādhava Miśra.

There is another ms. in the Raj Library, Adbhutadarpaṇa by name, which also is a work of Mādhava but this Mādhava calls himself the son of Raghunātha of the Budhabāla family and mentions Matinātha as his elder and M.M. Govinda as his younger brother.

There is yet another Mādhava with the surname Miśra, who in the opening verses of his Bhedadīpikā (R. L. Mitra, V. pp. 194 No. 1879) calls himself the son of Gadādhara and Śrīmatī.

There is still one more Ms. in the Darbhanga Raj Library called Durgābhaktitaraṅgiṇī, which is also by Mādhava, but here the author does not say anything about himself and hence it is impossible to identify him with any one of the three Mādhavas described above.

In this state of things I find myself unable to identify these two masters with any of these authors. I have only assigned a period of fifty years to the first Mādhava, the Master No. II, during which Lady Logic resided with him.

Master IV : M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmmā (1590 A.D.)

The next name Śaṅkara is equally, if not more, common and many Śaṅkaras are mentioned in the History of Dharma-śāstras by M.M. Kāne. At least three of them are quite well-known to me. First of all, there is the famous Śaṅkara, called Sanmiśra, the son of Ayāchee Bhavanātha Miśra and the author of Kaṇādasūtropaskāra, Vādivinoda, Gauri-Digambara-Prahasana etc. But he belonged to a generation or two older than even the founder of this school. Then there is another Śaṅkara, called Śaṅkara Jhā or Ojhā, the author of Smṛti-Sudhākara, of the family of Kuñjapallī, which is popularly known as Kujaulī. He mentions one Bhagīratha as his Master, and praises at length in the beginning of his work Emperor Akbar and Raja Todaramall. He must therefore be taken to be the disciple of the renowned author of the Jalada-Commentary on Udayanācārya's *Kusumāñjali*, the elder brother of the founder of the Darbhanga Raj M.M. Bhagīrath Thākur, who was also called Megha Thākur and a contemporary of Akbar. There is yet another Śaṅkara called Abhinava-Paṇḍita-Rājā who was the son of Paṇḍita-Rāja Raghunandana of the family of Baliāsa, the celebrated student of M.M. Maharaja Maheśa Thākur who accompanied him to Delhi and there helped his Master in getting the Raj of Tirhut. This Śaṅkara also must have been a contemporary of Emperor Akbar. Nevertheless, it is very difficult to say, without further light on the subject, if our Master IV M.M. Śaṅkara Śarmā is the one or the other of the last two

Saṅkaras or he is some other Śankara not yet known to me, but if he is either of the last two described above, then the date assigned to him is quite reasonable.

MASTER V: YAJÑAPATI UPĀDHYĀYA (1610 A.D.)

This is the only name in this list of 13 Masters which is not mentioned here with any title, not even the customary title of Mahāmahopādhyāya though as a Śarayatnrī he must be assumed to have been a M.M. also. But to me the reason of this omission is clear. Yajñapati is a very famous name in the annals of Nyāya Darśana. Śiromaṇi in his *Chintāmaṇi-Dīdhiti* quotes Yajñapati by name. There is in the Darbhanga Raj Library a very old ms. on palm-leaves which is a commentary called Prabhā on Gangeśa's Chintāmaṇi and is the work of Yajñapati, son of Śivapati of the famous family of Māṇdara. Śiromaṇi evidently quotes this Yajñapati who therefore must be taken to have flourished even before the founder of this school and hence cannot be our Master V. To avoid, therefore, any chance of mistaking our Yajñapati with the author of Prabhā, the older M.M. Yajñapati, he is mentioned here simply by name without even the customary title of M.M., the title Upādhyāya added to his name being only his surname. Nothing can therefore be said definitely of him.

MASTER VI: M.M. PARAŚURĀMA ŚARMĀ (1630 A.D.)

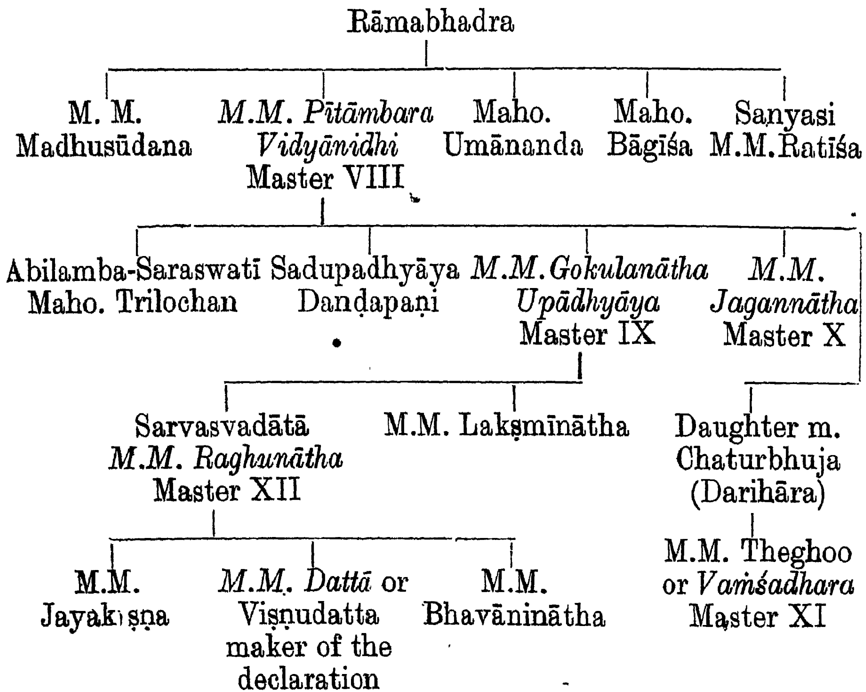
There is absolutely no data to identify the 6th Master of this school who is mentioned here in the plural number to suggest perhaps the old age to which he attained and the great veneration in which he was held.

MASTER VII: M.M. VĀMADEVA ŚARMMĀ (1660 A.D.)

His is a famous name. He belonged to the family of Sarisaba and was the son of M.M. Rucinātha. He was, moreover, the daughter's son of Vaidika Viśvambhara and daughter's daughter's son of M.M. Dāmodara Thākur, the elder brother of the founder of the Darbhanga Raj. Three of his works are known to me. They are (i) *Vaiśeṣika-Rahasya*, (ii) *Smṛti-dīpikā* and (iii) *Āhnika*. The last named work was written for the sake of Lālā Thākur who was the grandson of M.M. Mahārāja Subhaṅkara Thākur who died in 1617 A.D. It was the great grandson of this Lālā Thākur who in 1785, became the Mithileśa as Mahārāja Mādhava Singh Bahādur. The date therefore assigned to him in this chronology, i.e. 1660 A.D., fits in exactly with the history of the Khaṇḍavalā family of Darbhanga Rāj also.

MASTER VIII : M.M. PĪTĀMBARA ŚARMĀ VIDYĀNIDHI (1680 A.D.)

With this 8th Master of this school I seem to have come on surer grounds and the light here becomes sufficiently clear to identify with precision all the remaining six masters all at once. With this Vidyānidhi at its head, all the remaining five Masters of this school form not only one family by Vidyā (learning) alone, but by birth also and this declaration turns out to be the glorious page from the history of the Fanandaha family which dominated, ruled over, and shaped the intellectual life of Mithilā for more than a hundred years. I cannot do better than reproduce here the relevant portion of the genealogical table of the Fananadahas from which all these six Masters including the maker of this declaration will appear clearly to have been born in almost a single family. I have said almost because of the Master XI Vaṁśadhara who was Vidyānidhi's daughter's son and therefore of a different, Darihara, family.



It is not my purpose to extol in this paper the glories of the Masters of the Fanandaha Family, nor to write here a history of the Fanandahas. Only the life and times of the third son of Vidyānidhi, M.M. Gokulanātha Upādhyāya, will require more than one such paper to do justice to it. There is no longer the problem of identification; the point fixed has been reached and the age of the remaining masters can very

well be fixed. Let us now read therefore the declaration itself and see what virtues, excellences and exploits, the humble maker of this declaration claims for his father, grand-father and great-grand-father.

M.M. Pitāmbara has been called in the declaration "*Vidyānidhi-Padāṅkita*" (marked, decorated, with the title "Ocean of Learning"). It is exactly the phrase in the Maithilā Pañjī also. It seems, therefore, to have been the title by which he was known all over the country in his own days as Bhavanātha was known as Ayāchī and Jayadeva as Pakṣadhara even during their life times. Very possibly he was "decorated" with this title by the Assembly called to test him in Śarayantra. Anyway, the title shows the high position held by him in the realm of scholarship.

The other title, however, by which Pītāmbara has been distinguished, *Mādhyandina-Mūrdhanya,* is a new one. It means, "Head of the Mādhyandinas" who are popularly known as Vājasaneyins, followers of the Mādhyandina Śākhā of Śukla Yajurveda. I have not come across any scholar distinguished with this or a similar title. I therefore suppose that this phrase was coined by M.M. Datta Jha himself. The implications however are clear. Vidyānidhi is declared to have been the most orthodox follower of the Vedic Śākhā that he professed, the truest Brāhmaṇa of his times. This stress on Vedic learning is meant perhaps to distinguish him from his renowned son who is known all over Mithilā to have had Tāntrika leanings, though the declaration is silent about it.

MASTER IX: M.M. GOKULANĀTHA UPĀDHYĀYA

Even if Vidyānidhi was great as an "Ocean of learning" or as an orthodox Brāhmaṇa, he was greater for being the father of four such renowned sons, chiefly the ninth Master of the school of Gonrhi Miśra, still known all over Mithilā as Gokulanātha Upādhyāya. Lady Logic, without the appellation "Vidyā", is introduced in a new sentence, as if anew, to Gokulanātha by his own father and there is no other title to this Master except the customary Mahāmahopādhyāya and the reverential plural. Then follows a long description of the life's work of that great *savant* which is said here to have been threefold, namely,

(i) to discredit Śiromaṇi and with that end in view,
(ii) to compose a large number of theses chiefly on Nyāya, and
(iii) to teach as a true Master.

The first of these is mentioned so very clearly and unambiguously in the declaration that it seems to have been the one aim of the Master's life, indeed, the principle upon which the school was founded; and this reminds us of the story, so often told, of Jayadeva called Pakṣadhara, the Master and Raghunātha, called Śiromaṇi, the pupil. The pupil is said to have openly challenged the Master as a consequence of which he was driven away from Mithilā, but he seems to have carried away with himself the leadership in the speculations of Nyāya from Mithilā to Nuddeā where he refuted with force, in his commentary called Dīdhiti on Gaṅgeśa's *Chintāmaṇi* many of the conclusions of his Maithila Guru, Jayadeva, contained in the Āloka. This commentary Dīdhiti became in course of time so very popular and tended to supplant all the older works on Nyāya so very completely, that it became later on the life's work of not a single school but of many schools of Maithilā Naiyāyikās to refute the objections raised by Śiromaṇi. Side by side with this school of Gonrhi Miśra at least in its early stages, there was the school of the Ghusotaya-Thākurs of whom M.M. Madhusūdana composed his different *Kaṇṭakoddhāras*. But all was of no avail and within less than 200 years from the date of this declaration, no student of Nyāya in Mithilā is seen taught either Āloka or Darpaṇa much less the highly-praised Siddhānta-Tattva but only Dīdhiti with the various other commentaries Jāgadīśi, Māthurī, Gādādharī, etc. Nevertheless we have here in this declaration a clear hint as to the motive with which these old Masters worked during their days. Very possibly the school founded by Gonrhi Miśra, who was evidently a contemporary of Śiromaṇi, became the training ground in Mithilā for young Naiyāyikas in the art of refuting the arguments and conclusions of Dīdhiti, and it can very well be supposed that in his many theses M.M. Gokulanātha embodied the essence of all the speculations in the realm of Nyāya carried out during the previous two hundred years by all the eight Masters of Gonrhi Miśra's school, perfected and embellished by himself, the ninth Master.

This brings us to the many theses that Gokulanātha composed and they are so widely known that we need not pause here to describe them. His grandson, M.M. Datta Jhā, the maker of this declaration, names *Siddhāntatattva* as his magnum opus which is perhaps the same as *Siddhāntatattva-Viveka* (Aufrecht, II. 172 and R. L. Mitra, V. 201) or *Nyāyasiddhāntatattva* (Aufrecht, I. 158). Gokulanātha, however, was a most prolific writer and composed works,—and learned works they all are said to be—on almost every subject such as "Nyāya,

Vedānta, Literature, Poetry, Astrology and Rituals, so much so that there is a work of his called Pārasīprakāśa in which the Sanskrit equivalents of Persian words are given" (*Kavirahasya*, p. 74).

But more than anything else, Gokulanātha was famous as a Master and indeed in his days, his native home in the celebrated village of Maṅgarouni near Madhubani had veritably become in Mithilā the place of pilgrimage for all seekers of knowledge in all its branches, a University of the modern days, as Nuddeā was in Bengal or the holy city of Kaśī of eternal fame. All the famous scholars of those days had sat at his feet and even today there will be few Paṇḍitas, very few indeed, who, when they trace their descent-by-learning, do not betray their origin to Gokulanātha Upādhyāya.

The Śarayantra Test of Gokulanātha Upādhyāya has been very vividly described in the *Kavirahasya* on page 74. Tradition in Mithilā points him out as the last Śarayantrī, the last scholar of Mithilā, who was actually tested by the public. In the declaration on the other hand three more Śarayantrīs are described and the fourth is the maker of the declaration himself, an aspirant for that honour, who though fourth in descent-by-learning was only the grandson of Gokulanātha. Both can, however, be reconciled by taking the later Śarayantra Tests to have been held in the learned assemblies of Paṇḍitas in which the public took little or no interest. Anyway, the declaration is clear as to how the Guruship of this school descended from one master to the other for almost a hundred years after the passing away of Gokulanātha and all these Gurus, Masters, must be regarded as the leading Naiyāyikas of their days, if not the greatest in the whole of Mithilā.

It may be observed here that in the declaration one long and independent sentence has been given to describe Gokulanātha who is said to have "flourished" on this earth. Is it a hint from M.M. Datta to regard his grandfather as *the Master* among all the 13 masters of that school? Indeed, he is one of the proudest names in the annals of Maithila scholarship.

Master X: M.M. Jagannātha Śarmā

The Great Master is very possibly denied a long life. He does not live long enough to train his own son but he is survived by his younger brother whom he could train and polish, M.M. Jagannātha Śarmā, the 10th Guru of this school who is said in the declaration to have received Vidyā (Knowledge) from Gokulanātha. This Jagannātha must have been a scholar

of very high eminence, a really talented teacher to have kept up the tradition of the Great Master unimpaired, a worthly successor of the Great Master, because Maṅgarauni still continues to be a University. The school of Gonrhi Miśra does not pass away, does not even fade in glory with the passing away of the Great Master. Pupils are still trained here to celebrity; important works are still being composed here, and what appears more clearly in the next generation, this holy place, now almost a permanent resort of Vidyā, knowledge, attracts, Śrī (श्री) Grandeur, also. Really, Maṅgarounī has witnessed feats too kingly even for the Kings. But of this with the 12th Master.

Only one work of Jagannātha is known, a drama Atandracandrikā, which is said to have been composed for Raja Fateh Sāh, (Aufrecht, Vol. I, p. 196) indeed the same Fateh Śāh of Garhwal who patronised Gokulanātha also. So Jagannātha seems to have accompanied the great Master during his sojourn at Garhwal where he is said to have composed seven of his works of which Ekāvalī is only one. No other work of Jagannātha, however, is known.

In the declaration Jagannātha has been called the second Jagannātha. This is perhaps suggestive of the sanctity attaching to his name on account of the holiness of his life, the great veneration in which he was held all over the land by all, equally for his deep learning as for his noble living.

Master XI: M.M. Vaṁśadhara Śarmā

M.M. Jagannātha must have lived long to have succeeded to the Guruship on the passing away of his elder brother and then to have trained to such perfection our next Master M.M. Vaṁśadhara. His is a famous name. Aufrecht, I. 547) mentions three of his works of which Nyāyatattvaparīkṣā (R. L. Mitra, V. 193) contains in the two introductory verses very valuable information which tallies exactly with the story told by this declaration. Here Vaṁśadhara states to have begun learning Nyāya from Sūri (Sage) Gokulanātha which he perfected with his younger brother Jagannātha and both of them he calls his maternal uncles, *Mātulat* (from my maternal uncle) is his exact word. This Ms. was copied in 1187 fasli equivalent to 1780 A.D. The other work Vidhivāda (R. L. Mitra, No. 2362, Vol. VII, p. 132) does not throw any light on the subject.

M.M. Vaṁśadhara, who was also called Theghoo, appears from the Maithil Pañjīs to have been the son of Caturbhuja

of Dariharā family, and daughter's son of M.M. Pītāmbara Vidyānidhi. His family surname therefore must have been Upādhyāya or simply Jhā and the title Miśra added to his name by Aufrecht is perhaps reminiscent of his renown as a Vedāntin, because only the masters of both the Pūrva and Uttara Mīmāṁsās were called Miśras in Mithila originally. However, from the Pañjīs we gather that Vaṁśadhara had three sons, Citradhara, Dharaṇīdhara and Rudradhara and a daughter's son, Acala of the Budhabāla family and all four of them are styled Mahāmahopādhyāyas.

Master XII: M.M. Raghunātha Śarmā

M.M. Vaṁśadhara is said in the declaration to have imparted Vidyā, knowledge, to the son of Gokulanātha, our twelfth Master, who happens to be not only the father but also the Guru of the maker of this declaration. There is the word "Śrī" prefixed to his name. This may be taken to mean that Raghunātha was alive when his son challenged to take up Śarayantra as in Mithila it is a custom to use "Śrī" with persons alive. But this is improbable in face of the clear words of the declaration that the old Masters are no more. Thus it may have been used to suggest the kingly disposition of Raghunātha, the grandeur of his life.

But it is the other adjective clause that is significant and shows him a prince among scholars. Here Raghunātha is said to have "thrown into shade the glory of Karṇa by his series of Dānas, gifts." Maithil Pañjīs style him a *Sarvasvadātā*" maker of the gift of his all.". Tradition says that Raghunātha made "the gift of his all" not only once but thrice and this finds support from the phrase "*Dāna-Santāna*" ("series of Dānas") of the declaration. It is said that after performing the Dāna every time in a right royal fashion, Raghunātha left his native land, toured all over the country and by virtue of his noble birth and vast scholarship, plain living and high thinking, integrity of character and exemplary manners, he found patrons everywhere whom his fame, travelling before him, had captivated and who felt proud to confer riches upon him, which all he took to his native village of Maṅgarauni to give away in the strict *śāstric* manner. What a kingly disposition! What a clear realisation of the vanity of human possessions! What a love of one's birth place! This is why I have stated earlier that Maṅgarauni is justly proud of having witnessed such princely acts of charity as may perhaps be considered 'too kingly even for the kings.'

MASTER XIII : M.M. DATTA SARMĀ

M.M. Raghunātha had three sons, all of them Mahāmahopādhyāyas and evidently, the second of them, M.M. Datta Sarmā, was the most outstanding of all to have been nominated the Master of the school by their father who must have been their Master also, but which is not mentioned clearly in the declaration. This thirteenth Master of Gonrhi Miśra's school and 6th since the days when it was established permanently at Maṅgaraunī is an aspirant for the honour of a "Sarayantrī" and makes the declaration which is the subject of our present study.

The terms in which M.M. Datta Jhā, for so he must have been called, speaks of himself are full of humility. Even in the absence of the Masters of by-gone days, he, coming after so very many intellectual giants, feels himself too low to aspire for an honour so very much coveted by the Gurus of yore. He does not find himself equal to the task. But he must keep us the tradition of the school, must maintain the tradition of the family, must prove himself worthy of the rich legacy left to him and challenge the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā as the greatest Naiyāyika of his time as his predecessors had done in theirs. There can absolutely be no doubt that M.M. Datta Sarmā came out successful in the Test and was declared a "Sarayantrī", perhaps the last Sarayantrī, not only of the school of Gonrhi Miśra but of the whole Mithilā.

There remains now only the date of this declaration to fix, but it is not difficult to fix the dates of the Masters coming after Gokulanātha. This declaration was made by the grandson of the Great Master, who was, however, fourth in descent-by-learning from him. It cannot, therefore, be too wide of the mark if we take 80 years to have intervened between the Sarayantra Test of Gokulanātha and the making of this declaration. It is valuable to note in this connection that though M.M. Datta Jha did not leave behind any issue, his younger brother M.M. Bhavānīnātha has his great-great-grand children flourishing at the present day. This supports the date assumed for the declaration.

This is the Vijñapti of a Sarayantrī which we have read and this is the story in brief this declaration unfolds to us, which is corroborated in almost every detail from entirely different and independent sources. There are points which are not clear and require more light. But even as it is, it is a glorious page from the history of Mithilā, not the legendary

history of the prehistoric days but the true story of the Paṇḍita-land of Mithilā only two hundred years ago. And when we remember that it was not the only school of its kind, nor the most renowned, nor even the oldest, we are really filled with pride at the heights of eminence reached by these Maithilas in the realm of Vidyā, Knowledge or scholarship. What a strange contrast, it is nothing short of irony of Fate,—that the descendants of this race of scholars should have no place left to them even in their own home, that Mithilā, Maithila or Maithilī should not be recognised as such in the Province of Bihar.

P.S.—Since I submitted this Paper, I have come across another copy of the same Declaration in exactly the same words from the possession of one Pandit Modānand Jhā, a celebrated Pañjīkār, of Shivanagar in the district of Purnea. This lends support to my view, not then elaborated in my paper, that this was perhaps circulated by M.M. Datta Jhā, the would-be Śarayantrī, among all the renowned scholars of his day to apprise them of his intention to take up Śarayantra on that particular day.

DHANAÑJAYAAND ABHINAVAGUPTA ON ŚĀNTA RASA[1]

By

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Dhanañjaya and Abhinavagupta were contemporariesl. The former was older. He, therefore, did not come under the influence of the latter. He partly followed Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. But Abhinava is an avowed opponent of Bhaṭṭa Nāyaka. They differ on many fundamental points. The difference is particularly pronounced on the Number of Rasas. The former holds that there are only eight Rasas and denies the existence of Śānta in drama. But the latter takes great pain to establish the existence and presentability of Śānta in Drama.

The views on Śānta known to Dhanañjaya and his brother Dhanika:

(A) Rejection of Śama as Sthāyin.

1. Some reject Śānta Rasa, for the simple reason that Bharata has neither defined it nor has he stated the situation (Vibhāva), etc., in the context of which it is to be presented.

2. Others reject it on the ground that the Śama, which is supposed to be its basic mental state (Sthāyin) and which consists in the total uprooting of the beginningless desire and aversion, is impossible, because its condition, the absence of desire and aversion is impossible.

3. Still others included it in either Vīra or Bībhutsa etc. These three views are only summarily stated: they are not criticised. According to Dhanika and his brother, even if Śama be accepted to be independent basic mental state it does not admit of presentation in drama. For, it consists in the absence of actions of all types. How can then such a state of mind be presented in the drama the distinguishing feature of which is the presentation of action? Further, Rasa is nothing but a Sthāyin developed to its highest pitch. Such a state of Śama is naturally characterised by absence of pleasure, pain, anxiety, desire and eversion and coincides with the final emancipation. And because the final emancipation is nothing but

1. Summary of the original paper.

self-realisation and as such is unpresentable in words even according to Śruti, therefore Śānta, though it may somehow be presentable in poetry, cannot at all be presented in drama. Nor can the experience of Śānta be possible in the spectator. For, the aesthetic experience consists in the rise of a sub-conscious to the conscious, but no such sub-conscious mental state as is necessary for the experience of Śānta can exist in the spectator.

(B) Rejection of Nirveda as Sthāyin of Śanta

Dhanañjaya rejects Nirveda as the ninth Sthāyin. In so doing he seems to have taken it in the strict sense of self-dissatisfaction, self-disrespect or self-contempt (Svāvamānana). For, the definition of the Sthāyin, as a state of mind the continuity of which is not broken either by such states of mind as harmonise with it or even those which are antagonistic to it, does not apply to it; because its continuity is really interrupted by such transcient states as anxiety etc. He definitely refutes the view according to which the ground for its rejection as a Sthāyin is its incapacity to lead to any one of the well-recognised goals of human life. For, then, he says, we will have to reject Hāsa etc. also as Sthāyin, because they also do not lead to any goal. According to him, therefore, the view, which recognises Śānta to be an independent Rasa with Nirveda as its Sthāyin, is not sound.

Abhinava's criticism of the above theories

There were two recensions of the Nāṭya Śāstra, (1) earlier and (2) latter. The first is well reflected in the Chowkhamba edition in which the text on Śānta does not exist. The other is followed in the G.O.S. edition of the Abhinava Bharati in which it does exist. There is clear evidence in the Abhinava Bhāratī to show that Abhinava knew both the recensions. In his commentary, however, he follows the latter. In both there were stray remarks on Śānta such as "Kvacicchamaḥ" and "Mokṣe cāpi virāginaḥ".

The first view of the opponent of the Śānta is based on the latter recension. This, according to Abhinava, is untenable on the ground of both the experience and the text. It does not matter, he says, if Bharati does not define it. We have to admit Śānta because we experience it when all the desires and aversions for worldly objects cease. But there is Bharata's evidence also to show that he accepted it. For, even in the latter recension the statement "Kvacicchamaḥ" is found,

The implications of the second view are not quite clear. If however, it be supposed to imply that under no circumstance the worldly desires and aversions can be uprooted, it would mean that the fourth object of human life, the final emancipation is impossible, a view which very few Indian thinkers will be prepared to accept. But if it means that such a state is not possible in the spectator, it would mean that no aesthetic experience is possible. Fo such a state is involved in all.

Dhanañjaya's view that Nirveda is not a Sthāyin is very sound. And according to Abhinava, it is not a Sthāyin, not only when it is taken in the sense of self-dissatisfaction but also if it be understood to mean the consciousness that all the worldly objects are unfit for pursuit, the consciousness which is consequent upon the realisation of the Ultimate. The rejection of Nirveda as a Sthāyin in the first sense needs no argument. It is rejected as such in the second sense on the ground that such an admission would mean that the realisation of the Ultimate is the Vibhāva of Śānta, and because such a situation is unpresentable according to all authorities, the Śānta would cease to be presentable. The additional ground for rejection is that the second conception of Nirveda involves misconception of the causal relation between Nirveda and Tattvajñāna. For, Nirveda is the cause of Tattvajñāna and not the vice versa according to the well known authority of Patañjali.

There is fundamental difference between Dhanañjaya and Abhinava on Śama as the Sthāyin of Śānta. The former rejects it on the grounds stated above. But the latter accepts it under certain conditions.

There are two views of the opponent which Abhinava refers to : (I) Śama in the sense of total absence of all affections of the mind (tṛṣṇā asadbhāva) as a Sthāyin of Śānta : and (II) Śama in the sense of a state of mind before the rise of any affection due to external causes as a Sthāyin of Śānta. The former view is more or less identical with that of Dhanañjaya, as stated above and Abhinava agrees with Dhanañjaya that such a state of mind, being of the negative nature cannot be presented as a Bhāva. But he holds at the same time that if Śama be not taken in the negative sense indicated above, but in the positive sense of a state of mind consequent on the destruction of all mental affections, and, therefore, synonymous with Tattvajñāna, it surely admits of presentation as Sthāyin, of Śānta. From the second view of Śama he differs but slightly. According to him Śama, as absence of all mental affections preceding all affections (Prāgabhāva) is not the Sthāyin of Śānta, but as

freedom from all affections consequent on the destruction thereof is certainly the Sthāyin of Śānta. The latter position is sound inasmuch as it has the support of Patañjali who says "Vītarāga janmādarśanāt."

Abhinavagupta's theory of Śānta Rasa

His theory is very closely connected with the spiritual discipline and the philosophical doctrines of the Yoga system according to which Samādhi is of two kinds: (i) Samprojñāta and (ii) Asamprajñāta. The last stage of the former is reached when a Yogin concentrates on pure Sattva, perfectly-free from the impurities of Rajas and Tamas and Sattva being thrown into the back-ground the self-predominates. The consciousness at this stage is of mere Being (Sattāmātra). A Yogin, who finds satisfaction in this Samādhi is not able to realise the self. His Buddhi, however, merges into its origin, the Prakṛti, Hence he is called Prakṛtilaya.

Thus when Buddhi Sattva is reduced to mere residual trace and subordinates the residual traces of the objective cognitions, the state of total unaffectedness is reached. This state characterises Asamprajñāta Samādhi. It is in this state that the self attains Śama or is Śānta inasmuch as Buddhi Sattva, as mere residual trace, has continuous flow of pure Sattva, free from all affections whatsoever, not excluding even the consciousness of distinction between the Buddhi and the Self. It is because of this conception of Śama that Abhinava holds Śama, Ātman and Tattvajñāna to be synonymous.

In the initial stages the Śama is possible only so long as Asamprajñāta Samādhi lasts. But after a little practice of it, the Buddhi Sattva is so affected that it has a flow of Śama even after Samādhi is broken and the Yogin enters practical life (Tasyapraśānta vāhita saṁskārāt–3-10). This flow, however, is occasionally interrupted by the residual traces of the past objective experience, when they assert themselves. (Tacchidreṣu 4-27). A Yogin then behaves like an ordinary man in practical life.

Dhanañjaya, therefore, is right in holding that Śama, as presented above, does not admit of dramatic presentation. Abhinava, however still maintains Śama to be dramatically presentable, if the dramatist is able to find out a right type of hero. He holds that Śānta is never to be presented as the principal Rasa. It has always to occupy a subordinate position either to Vīra or Sṛngāra. Such a presentation is possible

(i) if the hero of the plot is a Yogin, who has practiced Asamprajñāta Samādhi and is at a stage immediately preceding Kaivalya, for, such a hero will naturally have the flow of pure Sattva even after rise from Samādhi; and (ii) if the portion of the hero's life chosen for dramatisation is that wherein the flow of pure Sattva is temporarily checked by the revival of the residual traces of the objective experience, so that he temporarily lives the life of a practical man pursuing a practical goal and achieving it. In such a presentation Śānta is related to the basic mental state involved in the achievement of the objective (Śṛṅgāra or Vīra) exactly as Śṛṅgāra is related to Hāsya. The Nāgānanda of Harṣa is a good illustration of such a presentation of Śānta Rasa.

AUTHORSHIP OF THE PORTION FROM THE PARIKARA ALAṀKĀRA UP TO THE END OF *KĀVYAPRAKĀŚA*

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The well-known verse:

"कृतः श्रीमम्मटाचार्यवर्यैः परिकरावधिः । प्रबन्धः पूरितः शेषो विधायाल्लटसूरिणा ॥"

lends support to the view of the old commentators that the portion from Parikara Alamkāra onwards was completed by another author whose name is given as Alaka or Alaṭa. That the fact of the joint authorship is concealed, is supposed to have been alluded to in the concluding verse of *Kāvyaprakāśa* इत्येषमार्गो etc. etc."

What leads us to assert this? The writer of the Vṛtti on the Kārikās from the Parikara does not show the same carefulness and accuracy as the writer of the earlier portion. Again Alaka seems to have been fond of mentioning the difference between Alamkāras of the allied nature. Let us examine all this in the light of the evidence furnished by the text:—

Vyājokti:—Vṛttikāra's explanation of the illustration is not correct. What is concealed is "पार्वतीविषया गूढारतिः" and not "पुलकवेपथ." *Alamkārasarvasva*-kāra observes "अत्र रोमाञ्चादिनोद्भिन्नः रतिभावः शैत्यप्रक्षेपेणापलपितः", again Vyājokti is differentiated from Apahnuti.

The reasons for discarding Hetu Alamkāra would have been appropriate at the time of commenting on Kāvyalinga. Instead of this, we find it mentioned along with Kāranamālā. Clearly this is an after-thought.

Anumāna, Kāvyalinga and Uttara are differentiated. Alaka shows also the distinguishing points of charm between Uttara of the second variety and Praśna-Parisamkhyā.

The special charm of contrast in the figure 'Virodha' in the form of "एकाश्रयनिष्टत्व" is not mentioned either in the Kārikā or in the Vṛtti on 'Virodha.' The definition of "Virodha" is too general and too vague to leave scope for Asamgati. Going out of his own way the new writer says, "विरोधे तु विरोधित्वम्···
··निदर्शितम्." This can be seen, he seems to say, even from the illustrations of his predecessor.

His definitions and treatment of Sama and Viṣama are not such as to give us an idea that one is exactly the reverse of the other. So his remark "समविपर्ययात्मा विषमः" is out of place.

In Mīlita, the most important point is "वस्तु निगूह्यते". The real point of charm is stated in the first verse of illustration itself as "मदोदयः न संलक्ष्यते." The Vṛttikāra misses this point and shows only what is "स्वाभाविक and साधारण". The same sort of inadvertance is to be found in the explanation of the second illustration of Mīlita. Contrast this with the explanation of the same offered by *Alamkārasarvasva*-kāra.

When commenting on the third variety of Viṣama, the new writer quotes the dictum of Bhāmaha : "सैषा सर्वत्र वक्रोक्तिः" etc. The writer of the earlier portion has nowhere given us any indication of Vakrokti being regarded as the basic principle of all the Alamkāras. On the contrary, the basic principle of all the Alamkāras according to Mammaṭa seems to be "वैचित्र्यम्", e.g., "वैचित्र्यं चालंकारः". This is also corroborated by his comments on Anumāna, Raśanopamā and Parikara.

The essential point in Tadguṇa is "वस्तु तद्गुणतामेति." The Vṛttikāra in the explanation of the illustration shows only "प्रगुण-वर्णता." Again he says "तस्य अप्रकृतस्य गुणः अत्र अस्ति", whereas this is not adhered to in Atadguṇa.

In his comments on the illustrations of Saṁsṛṣṭi, he explains the figures as "यमकानुप्रासौ" and "उपमोत्प्रेक्षे" whereas really they are "अनुप्रासयमकौ" and "उत्प्रेक्षोपम" respectively.

Paramparita-Rūpaka is, no doubt, accepted as Ubhayālamkāra. The reasons for mentioning it along with Arthālāmkāra are stated differently at two different places. "प्रसङ्गानुरोध" is quite different from "अर्थ वैचित्र्यस्योत्कटतया प्रतिभासनम्".

From all these arguments,—inaccuracies and inadvertance or negligence on the part of the new writer, explanations of the illustrations not in agreement with the Kārikā portion, disagreement in the view points of the earlier and later writers, fondness for noticing the differences between allied Alamkāras—we can conclude that the portion after Parikar Alamkāra is written by another hand. This is supported by such traditional verse as :—

"काव्यप्रकाश इह कोऽपि निबन्धकृद्भ्याम् कृतेऽपि कृतिनां रसतत्त्वलाभः।
लोकेऽस्ति विश्रुतमिदं नितरां रसालं बन्धप्रकारविचितस्य तरोःफलम् यत्" ॥

THE TRADITIONAL BASIS OF THE UDĀHARAṆAS IN THE KĀŚIKĀ AND THE MAHĀ-BHĀṢYA, AND THE MUTUAL RELATION OF THE TWO WORKS REGARDING THE SAME

By

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The importance of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya* in the field of the literature on the Pāṇinian Grammar is recognized on all hands and need not be demonstrated here. But that they have a unique importance from the point of view of the Udāharaṇas (or even the Pratyudāharaṇas) of the Sūtras has not so far, it seems, been shown in detail by any scholar. Similar is the case with regard to the question of the mutual relation of the two works from the point of view of the same Udāharaṇas.

It is a well-known fact that the one special feature of the modern works like the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, as contrasted with the *Kāśikā*, is their attempt at substituting new, in many cases sectarian, Udāharaṇas for those found in the older works like the *Kāśikā*.

The following few instances will suffice to prove this point :—

Sūtra	*Siddhānta-kaumudī*	*Kāśikā*
प्रकाशनस्थेयाख्ययोश्च (I. 3, 23)	गोपी कृष्णाय तिष्ठते	तिष्ठते कन्या छात्रेभ्यः ।
		तिष्ठते वृषली ग्रामपुत्रेभ्यः ।
वेः शब्दकर्मणः (I. 3, 34)	स्वरान् विकुरुते	क्रोष्टा विकुरुते स्वरान् ।
		ध्वाङ्क्षो विकुरुते स्वरान् ।
पञ्चम्यपाङ्परिभिः (II. 3, 10)	अप हरेः संसारः ।	अप त्रिगर्तेभ्यो वृष्टो देवः ।
	आ मुक्तेः संसारः ।	आ पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः ।
हीने (I. 4, 86)	अनु हरिं सुराः ।	अनु शाकटायनं वैयाकरणाः ।
		अन्वर्जुनं योद्धारः ।
यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी (II. 3, 9)	उप परार्धे हरेर्गुणाः ।	उप खार्यां द्रोणः ।
	अधि भुवि रामः ।	उप निष्के कार्षापणम् ।
		अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः ।
कृते ग्रन्थे (IV.3,116)	वाररुचो ग्रन्थः	वाररुचाः श्लोकाः ।
		हैकुपादो ग्रन्थः ।
		भैकुराटो ग्रन्थः ।
		जालूकः ।
तेन प्रोक्तम् (IV.3,101)	पाणिनीयम्	माथुरी वृत्तिः ।
		पाणिनीयम् ।
		आपिशलम् ।
		काशकृत्स्नम् ।

We need not here enter into an enquiry as regards the history of, or the influences that led to, the above tendency. That the tendency is there, is obvious. The new Udāharaṇas may have some doubtful practical advantage, in view of the religious and social atmosphere in which these modern works were written. But it cannot be denied that they lack that traditional basis which, as we shall show in the following, can be ascribed to the older Udāharaṇas.

As against the above tendency found in the works like the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, if we compare the Udāharaṇas of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, in the case of those very rare Sūtras that are in their regular order and proper place commented upon and illustrated through Udāharaṇas in the *Mahābhāṣya*, we find a clear agreement between the Udāharaṇas of the two works. We give in the following a few instances; for showing the contrast between the *Kāśikā* and the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, Udāharaṇas from the latter work also are shown here.

Sūtra	*Mahābhāṣya*	*Kāśikā*	*Siddhānta-kaumudī*
यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी (II. 3, 9)	अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः। अधि ब्रह्मदत्तः पञ्चालेषु।	अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः। अधि पश्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः।	अधि भुवि रामः। अधि रामे भूः।
अकथितं च (I.4,51)	पौरवं गां याचते।	पौरवं गां याचते।	बलिं याचते वसुधाम्। अविनीतं विनयं याचते
अनुर्लक्षणे (I. 4,84)	शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्।	शाकल्यस्य संहितामनु प्रावर्षत्।	जपमनु प्रावर्षत्।
आङ् मर्यादावचनें (I. 4, 89)	आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः।	आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेंः। आ पाटलिपुत्राद्वृष्टो देवः आ सकलाद् ब्रह्म। आ सांकाश्यात्। आ मथुरायाः।	आ मुक्तेः संसारः।
अन्तर्धौ येनादर्शनमिच्छति (I.4,28)	उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते	उपाध्यायादन्तर्धत्ते। उपाध्यायान्निलीयते।	मातुर्निलीयते कृष्णः।
अकेनोर्भविष्यदाधमर्ण्ययोः (II.3,70)	ओदनं भोजकः। ग्रामं गमी। शतं दायी।	ओदनं भोजकः। ग्रामं गमी। शतं दायी।	सतः पालकः। व्रजं गामी। शतं दायी।
तेन प्रोक्तम् (IV. 3, 101)	माधुरी वृत्तिः।	माथुरी वृत्तिः। पाणिनीयम्। आपिशलम्। काशकृत्स्नम्।	पाणिनीयम्।

The above comparison clearly shows that, as against the *Siddhānta-kaumudī*, the *Kāśikā* has been true to the tradition as regards the Udāharaṇas, or, at least, that the author (or authors) of that work had no desire or ambition to coin new Udāharaṇas.

Now let us go a step further and examine the question of agreement between the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, as regards the Udāharaṇas of those Sūtras that are not commented upon in their proper place in the *Mahābhāṣya*, but are only incidentally referred to, directly or indirectly only through their Udāharaṇas, in course of the discussions in the commentary on other Sūtras. As this examination has a direct bearing on the main point at issue, we shall here refer to rather a larger number of the instances.

Sūtra (only incidentally referred to in the Mahābhāṣya)	*Udāharaṇas in the Mahābhāṣya* (ed. Keilhorn)	*Udāharaṇas in the Kāśikā* (ed. Bhagavat-prasāda)
झलो झलि (VIII. 2, 26)	अवात्ताम् । अवात्तम् । अवात्त । (Mahā. on अइउण्)	अवात्ताम् । अवात्त ।
सप्तम्यां जनेर्डः (III. 2, 97)	उपसरजः । मन्दुरजः । (Mahā. I. 1, 3)	उपसरजः । मन्दुरजः ।
ऋदोरप् (III. 3, 57)	यवः । स्तवः । लवः । पवः । (Mahā. on ए ओङ । ऐ औच्)	यवः । लवः । पवः ।
ओर्गुणः (VI. 4, 146)	बाभ्रव्यः । माण्डव्यः । (Mahā. I. 1, 3)	बाभ्रव्यः । माण्डव्यः ।
झयो होऽन्यतरस्याम् (VIII. 4, 62)	वाग्घसति । त्रिष्टुब् भसति । (Mahā. I. 1, 50)	वाग्घसति । त्रिष्टुब्भसति ।
त्रान्तेवासिमाणवब्राह्मणेषु क्षेपे (VI. 2, 69)	कम्बलचारायणीयाः । ओदनपाणिनीयाः । घृतरौढीयाः । (Mahā. I. 1, 73)	कम्बलचारायणीयाः । घृतरौढीयाः । ओदनपाणिनीयाः ।
अकृत्सार्वधातुकयोर्दीर्घः (VII. 4, 25)	चीयते । स्तूयते । (Mahā. I. 2, 27)	चीयते । स्तूयते ।
अन्यपदार्थे च संज्ञायाम् (II. 1, 21)	उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् । (Mahā. I. 4, 1)	उन्मत्तगङ्गम् । लोहितगङ्गम् ।
उदकेऽकेवले (VI. 2, 96)	गुडोदकम् । तिलोदकम् । (Mahā. I. 4, 2)	गुडोदकम् । तिलोदकम् ।
वृन्दारकनागकुञ्जरैः पूज्यमानम् (II. 1, 62)	गोवृन्दारकः । अश्ववृन्दारकः । (Mahā. II. 1, 69)	गोवृन्दारकः । अश्ववृन्दारकः ।
पोटायुवतिस्तोक० (II. 1, 65)	इभ्ययुवतिः । आढ्ययुवतिः । (Mahā. II. 1, 69)	इभ (?) युवतिः ।
द्वन्द्व घि (II. 2, 32)	पटुगुप्तौ (Mahā. II. 2, 36)	पटुगुप्तौ
अजाद्यदन्तम् (II. 2, 33)	उष्ट्रखरौ (Mahā. II.2,36)	उष्ट्रखरम् ।
स्वामीश्वराधिपति० (II. 3, 39)	गोषु स्वामी । गवां स्वामी (Mahā. II. 3, 22)	गवां स्वामी । गोषु स्वामी
तुल्यार्थैरतुलोपमाभ्यां तृतीयान्यतरस्याम् (II. 3, 72)	तुल्यो देवदत्तस्य । तुल्यो देवदत्तेन (Mahā. II. 3, 22)	तुल्यो देवदत्तेन । तुल्यो देवदत्तस्य ।

अत आदेः (VII. 4, 70)	आटतुः । आटुः । (Mahā. III. 1, 36)	आटतुः । आटुः ।
राजाहःसखिभ्यष्टच् (V. 4, 91)	मद्रराजः । कश्मीरराजः । (Mahā. IV. 1, 1)	मद्रराजः ।
अचित्तहस्तिधेनोष्ठक् (IV. 2, 47)	आपूपिकम् । शाष्कुलिकम् । (Mahā. IV. 1, 85)	आपूपिलम् । शाष्कुलिकम् ।

This comparison also surprisingly shows an agreement between the Udāharaṇas of the *Kāśikā* and the *Mahābhāṣya*, which can be satisfactorily explained only by assuming the pre-existence of a common stock of the traditional Udāharaṇas, which was available to and was utilised by both the above works—an assumption also supported by the already referred to tendency of quoting the traditional Udāharaṇas found in the *Kāśikā*.

An examination of the whole of the *Mahābhāṣya* from the above point of view has convinced us of the truth of the statement that, unless forced by the circumstances (or logic) of the argument at issue, the *Mahābhāṣya* also, by an instinct as it were, quotes only the traditional Udāharaṇas for the Sūtras, either directly explained or only indirectly referred to.

That there was a thing like the traditional Udāharaṇas, not only in the case of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī-Sūtras*, but also in the other spheres of the Sanskrit literature, can be proved by the following arguments :—

(1) There is the expression मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणम्, occurring only once in the *Mahābhāṣya*, which to my mind clearly means a traditional Udāharaṇa or an Udāharaṇa which most probably has come down from Pāṇini himself. It occurs in the following passage :—

अथ निमित्तेऽभिसंबध्यमानें यत्तदस्य योगस्य मूर्धाभिषिक्तमुदाहरणं तदपि संगृहीतं भवति । किं पुनस्तत् । पट्व्या मृद्व्येति । (Mahā. I. 1, 57).

The comment of Kaiyaṭa on the word is as follows : "मूर्धाभिषिक्तमिति । सर्ववृत्तिषूदाहृतत्वात् ।"

(2) Passages like the following in the *Mahābhāṣya* in a way indicate the existence of a tradition regarding, not only the Udāharaṇas, but also the Pratyudāharaṇas :—

(*a*) नहि सूत्रत एव शब्दान् प्रतिपद्यन्ते । किन्तर्हि । व्याख्यानतश्च । ननु च तदेव सूत्रं विगृहीतं व्याख्यानं भवति । न केवलानि चर्चापदानि व्याख्यानं वृद्धिः आत् ऐजिति । किन्तर्हि । उदाहरणं प्रत्युदाहरणं वाक्याध्याहार इत्येतत्समुदितं व्याख्यानं भवति । (Paspaśāhnika, p. 11, ed. Kielhorn).

(*b*) लक्ष्यलक्षणे व्याकरणम् । लक्ष्यं च लक्षणं चैतत्समुदितं व्याकरणं भवति । किं पुनर्लक्षणं लक्ष्यं च । शब्दो लक्ष्यः सूत्रं लक्षणम् । (Paspaśāhnika, page 12).

(3) There is a tendency in the *Mahābhāṣya* according to which when a reference is made to a Sūtra, its Udāharaṇas also are generally referred to at the same time; e.g.

(*a*) हल्ग्रहणेषु च । किम् । आकृतिग्रहणात्सिद्धमित्येव । झलो झलि (८।२।२६)। अवात्ताम्। अवात्त। (Paspaśāhnika, p. 19).

(*b*) तस्यैतस्य लक्षणस्य दोषो वर्णाश्रयः प्र ययो वर्णविचालस्यानिमित्तं स्यात् । क्व । अत इञ् (४।१।९५)। दाक्षिः प्लाक्षिः। (I. 1, 39).

(*c*) तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्य (१।१।६६)। तस्मादित्युत्तरस्य (१।१।६७)। किमुदाहरणम्। इह तावत्तस्मिन्निति निर्दिष्टे पूर्वस्येति। इको यणचि (६।१।७७) दध्यत्र मध्वत्र। इह तस्मादित्युत्तरस्येति। द्व्यन्तरुपसर्गेभ्योऽप ईत् (६।३।९७) द्वीपम् अन्तरीपम् समीपम्। (I. 1, 66-67).

Moreover, the author of the *Mahābhāṣya* even when referring to the Udāharaṇas of Sūtras more than once generally always repeats the same Udāharaṇas, as if they were quotations from somewhere, or were reproduced from memory; e.g.

(*a*) आद्गुणः (६।१।८७)···वृद्धिरेचि (६।१।८८) खट्वा इन्द्रः खट्वेन्द्रः। खट्वा उदकं खट्वोदकम्। खट्वा ईषा खट्वेषा। खट्वा ऊढा खट्वोढा। खट्वा एलका खट्वैलका। खट्वा ओदनः खट्वौदनः। खट्वा ऐतिकायनः खट्वैतिकायनः। खट्वा औपगवः। खट्वौपगवः। (Paspaśāhnika, p. 23). The same Udāharaṇas, exactly in the same order, are again repeated in the *Mahābhāṣya* on I. 1, 1; I. 1, 50 and VI. 1, 87.

(*b*) ॠदोरप् (३।३।५७)····यवः स्तवः। लवः पवः। (Paspaśāhnika, p. 23). The same Udāharaṇas, in the same order, are again repeated in the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 1; I. 1, 50 and VI. 1, 87.

(*c*) आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः (३।२।३)···गोदः कम्बलदः। (Paspaśāhnika, p. 24). The same Udāharaṇas, in the same order, are similarly repeated in the Mahābhā. on I. 1, 3; VI. 1, 12 and VI. 4, 42.

This at least shows that, like the stock Udāharaṇas in Nyāya or Mīmāṅsā, there were also stock Udāharaṇas of the Sūtras of Pāṇini, which had their tradition at least going back to Pāṇini himself, if not to earlier grammarians.

(4) Udāharaṇas like दध्यत्र (Vātsyāyana. II. 2, 38), गोहितम्, गोसुखम् (Vātsyā. II. 2, 57) in the Nyāya-Vātsyāyana-bhāṣya also go to prove the same fact. The following passages of the *Mahābhāṣya*, having personal touches about Pāṇini, also show a continuity of tradition in many respects down from Pāṇini himself :—

(*a*) प्रमाणभूत आचार्यो दर्भपवित्रपाणिः शुचाववकाशे प्राङ्मुख उपविश्य महता प्रयत्नेन सूत्रं प्रणयति स्म···(I. 1, 1);

(b) आकुमारं यशः पाणिनेः (I. 4, 89);

(c) शोभना खलु पाणिनेः सूत्रस्य कृतिः (II. 3, 66).

(5) The *Aṣṭādhyāyī-Sūtras* are twice referred to in the *Mahābhāṣya* as Vṛtti-Sūtras and are contrasted as such with the Vārttikas; cf.

वचनप्रामाण्यादित्येव। किं वचनप्रामाण्यम्। कुगतिप्रादयः (२।२।१८) इति। अस्त्यन्य-देतस्य वचनस्य प्रयोजनम्। किम्। सुराजा अतिराजेति। न ब्रूमो वृत्तिसूत्रप्रामाण्यादिति। किन्तर्हि। वार्त्तिकवचनप्रामाण्यादिति। सिद्धन्तु क्वाङस्वतिदुर्गतिवचनात्प्रादयः क्तार्थे इति" (II. 1, 1, page 371), and "केचित्तावदाहुर्यद्वृत्तिसूत्र इति। संख्ययाव्ययासन्ना-दूराधिकसंख्याः संख्येये (२।२।२५) इति। अपर आह यद्वार्त्तिक इति।" (II. 2, 24). Nāgeśa explains वृत्तिसूत्रम् as "वृत्तियुक्तं सूत्रं वृत्तिसूत्रमित्यर्थः" (II. 1, 1).

The reference can be justified only if we assume that there existed from the very beginning a sort of a Vṛtti (i.e., Vyākhyāna in the above-quoted sense) on the Sūtras. Probably the word Vārttika itself, derived as it is from 'Vṛtti' (वृत्तौ साधु वार्त्तिकम्), pre-supposes the existence of a Vṛtti on the Sūtras.

(6) The above fact is also corroborated by the following reference to Kuṇi's Vṛtti on the Sūtras by Kaiyaṭa in his commentary on the Sūtra "एङ प्राचां देशे" (I. 1, 75); cp. "कुणिना प्राग्-ग्रहणमाचार्यनिर्देशार्थं व्यवस्थितविभाषात्वं चेति व्याख्यातम्।····अन्येन तु प्राग्ग्रहणं देशविशेषणं व्याख्यातम्··············। भाष्यकारस्तु कुणिदर्शनमाशिश्रियत्।". This at least proves clearly that according to Kaiyaṭa Kuṇi's Vṛtti pre-existed the *Mahābhāṣya*.

Happily we have another evidence which shows that the same Vṛtti was available to the author (or authors) of the *Kāśikā* and that the latter was based on that Vṛtti. The opening stanza of the *Kāśikā* reads as follows:

वृत्तौ भाष्ये तथा धातुनामपारायणादिषु।
विप्रकीर्णस्य तन्त्रस्य क्रियते सारसंग्रहः॥

The comment of the author of the *Padamañjarī* on this is as follows:—"तत्र सूत्रार्थप्रधानो ग्रन्थो वृत्तिः। सा चेह पाणिनिप्रणीतानां सूत्राणां कुणिप्रभृतिभिराचार्यैविरचितं विवरणम्।"

(7) Apart from the existence and continuity of the traditional (or stock) Udāharaṇas in the other branches of the Sanskrit literature, we have a very interesting piece of evidence in the *Mahābhāṣya* itself on this point. In the introductory remarks of the *Mahābhāṣya* we come across the four words—गौः, अश्वः, पुरुषः, हस्ती—in the passage: "शब्दानुशासनं शास्त्रमधिकृतं वेदितव्यम्। केषां शब्दानाम्। लौकिकानां वैदिकानां च। तत्र लौकिकास्तावत्। गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्ती··इति।"

Now these very words occur in the *Nirukta* in the following passage:—"अथ इति सत्त्वानामुपदेशः। गौरश्वः पुरुषो हस्तीति" (Nirukta I. 1).

Again we come across these very words in the *Aitareya-Brāhmaṇa* in the following passage:—"तस्मात् पशवो वज्रेणैव षोळशिना परिगता मनुष्यानभ्युपावर्तन्ते । तस्मादश्वो वा पुरुषो वा गौर्वा हस्ती वा परिगत एव स्वयमात्मनेऽत एव वाचाभिषिद्ध उपावर्तते ।" (*Ait. Br.* IV. 1).

This is an incontrovertible evidence for showing the very long continuity of the many Udāharaṇas—a continuity going back not only from one Ācārya to another Ācārya, but also from one branch of Literature to another branch of Literature.

CONCLUSION.

The above discussion proves, not only the importance of the *Mahābhāṣya* and the *Kāśikā* from the point of view of the Udāharaṇas of the Sūtras, but also the unique importance of the *Kāśikā*, even as contrasted with the *Mahābhāṣya* ; because while the *Mahābhāṣya* by its very nature has not commented upon all the Sūtras, the *Kāśikā* is a regular commentary on all the Sūtras and as such has preserved for us the old traditional Udāharaṇas for the same. In the above sense, *Kāśikā* is the only extant source for the traditional Udāharaṇas, probably going back to Pāṇini himself, if not to earlier Ācāryas. There will be no exaggeration in saying that the *Kāśikā* is a revised edition of Kuṇi's Vṛtti which pre-existed even the *Mahābhāṣya*.

The importance of the traditional Udāharaṇas we shall try to show elsewhere.

JURIDICAL ASPECTS OF THE GĀNDHARVA FORM OF MARRIAGE

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According to Prof. P. V. Kane (*History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. II, Part I, p. 519) "in the Gāndharva form the principal object was the gratification of carnal desires." J. Jolly (*Recht und Sitte*, p. 51) says that Gāndharva-vivāha is "die Liebesheirat ohne elterlichen Consens" (the love-marriage without the consent of the parents). Gooroodas Banerjee (*Hindu Law of Marriage and Strīdhana*, being the Tagore Law-lectures for 1878, p. 85) says that "marriages in this form, which depend merely upon the agreement of the contracting parties, resemble to some extent what are called Gretna-Green marriages, that is runaway marriages by persons governed by the English law at Gretna-Green and elsewhere in Scotland to evade the provisions of that law against ill-advised and clandestine marriages."—John D. Mayne (*A Treatise on Hindu Law and Usage*, Madras, 1900, par. 79) says that the Gāndharva-vivāha was contracted for the purpose of amorous embraces and proceeding from sexual inclination."

From the Smṛtis it is evident that the Gāndharva form of marriage is a voluntary (or spontaneous) (Mn. III-32, K. III-2, Kām. 26, G. IV-10) union (संयोग) (Mn. III-32, Ap. II-5, 12, 20, G. IV-10, B-1, 11, 20, 6, Sankh IV-6, VI. XXIV-23, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Kām. 26, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855) of a loving (willing) (G. IV-10, Vas. I-33, B. 1-11, 20, 6, N. XII-42) maiden (bride, girl, damsel, woman), (Mn. III-32, Ap. II-5, 12, 20, Vas. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 6, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. Gṛh. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855, Hār. Vīr. Saṁs. 856) and her lover (bridegroom) (Mn. III-32, Āp. II-5, 12, 20, G. IV-10, Vas. I-33, B. I-11, 20, 6, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Aśv. Gṛh. I-6, 5, N. XII-42, K. III-2, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855, Hār. Vīr. Saṁs. 856), or as VI (XXIV-23) expresses himself, a union between two lovers constitutes this form of marriage. Aśv. (I-6, 5) adds that this form of marriage takes place after a mutual agreement has been made. Similarly Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 855). This mutual consent or reciprocal attachment is the "essentiale negotii" of this form of marriage, according to Y. (I-61). For

the better understanding of this form of marriage some Smṛtis add that this form of marriage takes place through love (Āp. II-5, 12, 20, Śaṅkh. IV-5, Dev. Vīr. Saṁs. 855), or that it springs from desire and has sexual intercourse for its purpose (Mn. III-32). According to Vas. the lover has to take (Vas. I-33) a girl of equal caste (Vas. I-33), according to VI (XXIV-23) without the consent of mother and father and according to Dev. (Vīr. Saṁs. 855) to a sacred place.

Nār. and Gov. (ad. Mn. III-32) enter into a discussion of the question whether the prescribed offerings and wedding ceremonies are to be performed in the case of the Gāndharva-vivāha, Rākṣasa-vivāha and Paiśāca-vivāha. Relying on a passage of Devala and of the Bahvṛca Gṛhyapariśiṣṭa (Śaunaka) they are of the opinion that the "*homas*" must be performed, at least in the case of Aryan couples. But they hold with Manu's dictum (VIII-226) which restricts the use of the "Mantras" to women, married as virgins, saying that the Vedic nuptial texts must not be recited. From the comment of Medh, on verse 34 it would appear that opinions on the subject were divided, and that some held weddings with the recitation of "Mantras" to be permissible while others denied the necessity of any wedding.

Bāl. (ad. Y. I-61) says that in the case of the Gāndharva and other rites of marriage, in order to constitute the legal status of husband and wife, there the ceremonies of "*Homa*" and all the rest up to "Saptapadī" must be performed.

In this connection I would like to quote the definition of this form of marriage which we find in Kām. (Part 3, Ch. 5). We read there: "When a girl, who has been courted by a young man, is entirely his, he behaves with her in public as if she were his wife. He gets a consecrated fire from a Brāhmaṇa, strews the ground with holy grass makes an oblation to the fire, and gets married according to the religious regulations relative to this form of marriage. There are no witnesses. After the ceremony the man informs the girl's parents of the accomplished fact. Such a marriage before the consecrated fire is indisdoluble. All the other relations are also advised and their consent solicited. This is the ceremony of the Gandharvas."

From this sentence it can be seen that the Gāndharva marriage is only a concubinage till the formal wedding ceremony, which takes place without the consent of the girl's parents (See VI. XXIV-23). For instance in Pañcatantra (Textus

Ornatior, eine Altindische Maerchensammlung uebersetzt von Richard, Schmidt, Leipzig, Lotus Verlag, auch I, Erz. 8) we read that sexual intercourse with a married woman (adultory) is "a marriage concluded according to the Gāndharva-rite," similarly Pañcat. ibid. II-5. In the Ancient Indian Literature we can find many such examples in Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā, the story of Śakuntalā and Duṣyanta etc.

But a quite different point of view is found in Mn. (XII-44) where we read: "When the father of the girl, disregarding his own wishes, bestows his daughter upon a person whom the daughter likes and who reciprocates the girl's sentiments, the form of marriage, oh Yudhiṣṭhira, is called Gāndharva by those that are conversant with the Vedas". We see that according to Mn. it was a real form of marriage ; it was one of the highest forms of marriage, where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of a husband for the girl.

In Mn. III-26 we find the following sentence:

पृथक्पृथग्वा मिश्रौ वा विवाहौ पूर्वचोदितौ ।
गान्धर्वौ राक्षसश्चैव धर्म्यौ क्षत्रस्य तौ स्मृतौ ॥

i.e. "The Gāndharva-vivāha and the Rākṣasa-vivāha, the two Vivāhas mentioned above have been declared to be lawful for the Kṣatriyas indifferently if they are separated or combined" (identically M.Bh. Adi Parva 73, 12, 13).

We can see from this sentence that there exist two subdivisions of this form of marriage i.e. the Gāndharva-vivāha "combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha" and not combined with this form of marriage i.e. a "separate Gāndharva-vivāha."

A fine explanation of the Gāndharva-vivāha combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha can be found in Medhatithi's commentary on Mn. III-26, where we read "a girl living in her father's house, happens to see a boy living in the same house and having heard praises from messengers, falls in love with him, but not being mistress of herself she cannot meet him, and then she enters into a contract with her lover, requests him to take her away ; and the bridegroom, being possessed of great strength, carries her away after having 'killed and wounded' (her guardians) ; now in this case, since there is a 'voluntary union between the two' it fulfils the conditions of the 'Gāndharva' form, while, since he has carried her away, after 'having killed and wounded', the conditions of the 'Rākṣasa form are also fulfilled". Such a Gāndharva-vivāha combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha ("a blameworthy Gāndharva-vivāha") is nothing but a specific form of the Rākṣasa-vivāha and has

to be interpreted according to the rules prescribed for the Rākṣasa-vivāha although sometimes not all the essentiale negotii of this form of marriage can be clearly seen; see for instance in the Bhāgavata-Purāṇa for the story of the marriage of Rukmiṇī. Sometimes this kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha takes place after a mutual agreement of a boy and a girl against or without the consent of the father.

On the other hand we find quite a different form of marriage called also Gāndharva-vivāha (separated from the Rākṣasa-vivāha—a separate Gāndharva-vivāha). It is this form of marriage which we find in M.Bh. XIII-44 and which has to be considered as one of the highest forms where the father (guardian) had no more influence in the choice of the bridegroom for the girl.

. This kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha was contracted for the happiness of the girl and was a real marriage in which the consent of the father was not an essential negotii. But the father (guardian) of the girl was obliged—irrespective of whether the suitor was convenient to him or not, to bestow the daughter. He had to act only for the happiness of his daughter and not to look for his own advantage.

Dividing the Gāndharva-vivāha into these two kinds of forms of marriage, which division is based on the law-texts (Mn. III-26, M.Bh. Ādi Parva 73, 12, 13), we can understand the contradictory conceptions of the Gāndharva-vivāha and the contradictory rules concerning this form of marriage as, for example, the rules concerning the admissibility of the Gāndharva-vivāha to members of different castes etc.

The Gāndharva-vivāha does not belong to the orthodox forms of marriage. Accordingly the usual consequences of this fact apply to the Gāndharva-vivāha with the exception of the rules contained in the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra (IX-196, 197) according to which if a woman married according to the Gāndharva-vivāha (probably not combined with the Rākṣasa-vivāha) dies without issue her property i.e. the Strīdhana belongs to her husband and not to her father. Also according to the Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra* if the Strīdhana was used by the husband it should be "restored together with interest on it."

Concerning the "blameworthy Gāndharva-vivāha" it has to be pointed out that this form of marriage should be avoided according to Mn. (III-42) and Yama (Vir. Saṁs. p. 865) because it is a "blameworthy marriage."

This kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha is fit for the Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras (Mn. III-23) and according to other law-sources permitted to the Kṣatriyas (Mn. III-26, M.Bh. Ādi Parva 73, VI. XXIV-27, B. I-11, 20, 12, Panc. 10, 2526. See Śankh. IV-3).

On the contrary the second kind of the Gāndharva-vivāha i.e. the Gāndharva-vivāha separated from the Rākṣasa-vivāha is lawful for the Brāhmaṇa caste (Mn. III-23, 25, N. XII-44, G. IV-15).[1] But on account of the general character of this form of marriage based on love which does not know any caste differences, some recommend the Gāndharva-vivāha for all castes (B. I-11, 20, 16, N. XII-44).[2]

According to the law-sources we can say that the "blame-worthy Gāndharva-vivāha" was the rule and that is the reason that the Gāndharva-vivāha takes a low place in the list of forms of marriage. It takes the first place after the orthodox forms of marriage i.e. the fourth[3] place in the general list of the forms of marriage according to Āp. (III-5, 12) (after the Brāhma, Arṣa and Daiva) and Vas. (I. 29) (after the Brāhma, Daiva and Arṣa) and the fifth place according to G. (IV), B. (I. 11, 20), N. (XII. 38, 39), K. (III), (after the Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Arṣa and Daiva) and Aśv. Gṛh. (I. 6) (after the Brāhma, Daiva, Prājāpatya, and Arṣa). According to other sources it takes the second place after the orthodox forms of marriage i.e. the sixth place in the general list of the forms of marriage (Mn. III. 21), Y. (I. 59-61), Śankh. (IV-2), VI. (XXIV-8) (after the Brāhma, Daiva, Arṣa, Prājāpatya and Āsura).

This form of marriage is known to all law-sources.

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[1] The law-sources say "some say that...." (Mn. III-23, G. IV. 15). Another proof that there are two kinds of the Gāndharva-vivāha.

[2] It is another example of the high position of this form of marriage, although from the Indian view-point it was rather a humiliation of this form of marriage.

[3] Āp. and Vas. do not know one of the orthodox forms of marriage (Prājāpatya).

WERE WOMEN ENTITLED TO PERFORM ŚRAUTA SACRIFICES?

By

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Recently I have began to revise my article on "Dekkan of the Sātavāhana Period" which I contributed to the *Indian Antiquary* a quarter of a century ago. In that connection the Nānāghāt Inscription of Nāganikā is engaging my special attention. She is here credited with having alone performed a number of Vedic sacrifices as Bühler has, I now think, correctly interpreted, and not her husband Sātakarṇi in association with her consort Nāganikā as I then wrongly thought. Rapson[1] practically agrees with Bühler in saying that the inscription is a record of sacrifices performed and donations made by Queen Nāganikā, the wife of King Śātakarṇi, acting apparently as regent during the minority of her son Vedi-śrī. Bühler however admits that according to the Śāstras women are not allowed to offer Śrauta sacrifices, but that disabilities attaching to the sex are removed by the fact that the queen must have been ruling as guardian of her son, the prince Vēdiśri. The conclusion is agreed to by Rapson though he does not adduce any reason in support of it. Here two questions arise. The first is, whether Nāganikā was a widowed queen and ruled as a guardian during the minority of her son. And the second is: whether a woman could in any capacity whatever perform a Śrauta sacrifice or make a donation independently at any time in the period following the extinction of the Maurya rule, when the Smṛti ordinances were in the ascendant. The first question I do not want to discuss here because I confess that no clear evidence has been produced by Bühler or Rapson to show that Nāganikā was a widowed queen, acting as regent during the minority of her son. The text of the Nānāghāt Inscriptions, fragmentary as it is, tells us in my opinion, that at the time when it was engraved in the cave, Vediśrī, being the best of the princes (*kumāra-vara*) was a king and ruler of Dakshiṇāpatha, and, his father Śātakarṇi, husband of Nāganikā, was presumably the king of kings (*rāja-rāja*), as was the case with Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāsiṣṭhīputra Puḷumāvi, as is seen from Nasik Cave Inscription No. 2. I do not here

[1] *Cat. Ind. Coins, Andhras. W. Ksatrapas*, Intro. pp. XX and XLV:

want to enter into the controversy that may rage round this point. But what I want to repeat here is that there is no clear evidence that Nāganikā was a widowed queen or reigned as regent during the minority of her son Vēdiśrī. What is clear is that she is mentioned as a queen, and as a woman who has performed a number of Śrauta sacrifices. But is it permissible for a woman or even a queen to perform Vedic sacrifices according to the Smṛtis? Manu e.g. does not allow even the initiation of woman. "The nuptial ceremony" says he "is stated to be the Vedic sacrament for women (and to be equal to the initiation), serving the husband (equivalent) to the residence in (the house of the) teacher, and the household duties (the same) as the (daily) worship of the sacred fire."[1] Elsewhere he says: "For women there is no sacramental rite with sacred texts—thus the law is settled; women, being destitute of knowledge and not conversant with Vedic etxts."[2] Nevertheless, when the *Manu-smṛti* was being compiled, women did sometimes perform sacrifices. Why else should Manu lay down that "a Brāhmaṇa must never eat at a sacrifice that is offered by one who is not a Śrōtriya, or by a village priest (*grāma-yājin*), or by a woman . . ."[3] Thus Manu places a woman on the same footing as a non-Śrotriya, i.e., "a man who is a Brāhmaṇa but is not conversant with Vedic literature." Both, it seems, were in the habit of performing sacrifices in the time of Manu. But who could have performed sacrifices for them? Is this possible for anybody who is not a specialist in sacrificial knowledge and practice? He must surely be a Brāhmaṇa, and, I am afraid, for that specialisation, a Śrotriya also. *Manu-smṛti* was composed or was in the making when Hindu society was in a transitional state. At one time Manu is made to say that 'for women there is no sacrament', and at another time he admits that women can perform sacrifices though no Brāhmaṇa shall eat at these sacrifices.

We shall now turn our attention to another section of Sanskrit Literature, namely, to the 'Śrauta-sūtras, which deal with sacrificial literature, and which alone are the authority on the subject whether a woman is entitled to perform a Vedic sacrifice in her individual capacity. These are the Pūrva-mīmāmsā-sūtras composed by Jaimini alias Bādarāyaṇa and commented upon by Śabarasvāmin. Anybody who reads *Mīmāmsā-darśana*, VI. 1, 3, 6-16 will be convinced that woman

[1] *Manu-smṛti*, II. 67

[2] *Ibid.*, IX 18

[3] *Ibid.*, IV 205.

is perfectly entitled to the performance of any Śrauta sacrifice. The opposition is here led by Aitiśāyana. It is very difficult to say whether he was a Smṛtikāra at all. But he leads the opposition by saying that in Vedic text *Darśa-Pūrṇamāsābhyāṁ svarga-kāmo yajeta*, the word *svarga-kāmo* is in the masculine gender; therefore man, not woman, can perform a sacrifice. Bādarāyaṇa, that is, Jaimini, answers this question by saying that the term *svarga-kāma* denotes a collective class consisting of persons who have the one characteristic of possessing the desire to attain heaven by means of sacrifice, without any distinction being made between the individuals constituting that class. Hence even women are understood by that term and included in that class.

Many other arguments have been advanced against the capacity of women to perform Vedic sacrifices. One such argument, the most important of them, is that wealth is necessary for performing sacrifices and that men are possessed of this wealth, whereas women are not. Women are like chattels, as they are liable to be sold and bought. They are sold by fathers and bought by husbands. They have thus no right to the property of their fathers or to that of their husbands. The Vedic texts say that "a hundred chariots shall be given to the guardian of the bride; and (in the Ārsha form of marriage) one ox and one cow." This is apparently a price to induce the bride's father to part with his daughter and cannot be construed as a religious act. Again, it may be urged that a woman may perform sacrifices with wealth which she has earned by cooking food for others or by savings from the food given her. But as she is another's property, the acquisitions must belong to him. Whatever she does is in the service of her husband. Whatever may thus be acquired by her belongs to her husband. The Smṛti has it: "A wife, a slave and a son have no property of their own. Whatever they earn is the wealth of the man to whom they belong."

Such is the line of argument urged by the exponents of the opposite view. Bādarāyaṇa begins the reply with the curt remark that so long as the earnestness to obtain the fruit of the performance of a sacrifice is common to both males and females, it presupposes the capacity of a woman to own wealth. If, by slavishly conforming to the Smṛti, woman is made a dependent upon others and considered destitute of all wealth, then obviously the Smṛti is in conflict with Śruti. This is not right, this is not just. Therefore, if she is desirous of the fruit of performing a sacrifice, she ought to set the Smṛti at naught, possess herself of wealth and perform a sacrifice. Surely it is

impossible to see a greater disregard shown to the Smṛti when it is pitted against the Śruti. But, as a matter of fact, women are possessed of wealth, says Bādarāyaṇa. Thus at the time of marriage when the bride is presented to the bridegroom, the latter enters into the following agreement with the father of the bride: *dharme c-ārthe cha kāme cha na-āticharitavyā*, "she shall not be thwarted in the performance of religious acts (*dharma*), the acquisition of wealth (*artha*) and the fulfilment of legitimate desires (*kāma*)." When therefore the Smṛtis speak of the incapacity of the wife to possess wealth, that is very unjust and is antagonistic to the Śruti. Again, what is called the purchase of a girl, is not a purchase at all. It is a religious act, pure and simple. In the case of a purchase there is always the variation of price. The gift of a hundred chariots (*śatam-atirathaṁ*) does not vary and is a constant quantity, whether the girl is beautiful or not beautiful. Śabarasvāmī remarks that this may be a sale in conformity with the Smṛtis, but is opposed to the Śrutis. The Śrauta School therefore disapproves of it, and stands fast to the conclusion that the girls are not sold. There are Vedic texts also in support of the proposition that women have the capacity of owning and possessing wealth. Śabara quotes at least two. But thus much is certain, says he, that woman is the owner of *pāriṇāyya*, property received by her at the time of marriage. Śabara further remarks: *paty-aiva gatam-anumataṁ kriyatē*, "even that which is acquired by the husband is admitted (as hers)."

What is the upshot of the above discussion? The woman according to the Śrutis not only can have her own wealth but can also participate in the possession of her husband's wealth. She is neither bought nor sold at the time of marriage. And if she has but the desire of attaining the fruit of a Śrauta sacrifice, she can very well do so alone and on her own behalf or jointly with her husband if both so will it. If there is any Smṛiti which lays down an ordinance to the contrary, it has to be ignored, disregarded and completely set at naught. If such was once the state of things, it is no wonder if Nāganikā, wife of Śātakarṇi, could perform not one or two but several Śrauta sacrifices and make any number of donations in money, elephants kine and so forth, as is quite clear to any scholar who studies the Nāṇāghāṭ Cave Inscriptions.

A CARMELITE ORIENTALIST IN TRAVANCORE

By

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The contribution of Christian Missionaries in the promotion of oriental learning is a subject of fascinating interest to scholars and research workers. Nowhere in India have the Christian Missionaries received such encouragement and patronage in the pursuit of their labours as in the Hindu State of Travancore whose Rulers had always afforded great toleration to men of other religious faiths. Many of the Maharajas of Travancore have been men of letters and patrons of poets and scholars; and the most distinguished among them was His Highness Karttikatirunal Rāma Varmā (1758-1798 A.D.) who combined in himself the rare qualities of a good ruler and consummate scholar. His Highness had mastery in many languages such as Sanskrit, Persian, Hindustani and Malayalam and was conversant with some of the European languages such as English[1] and Dutch. His Highness also studied Portuguese from one Pietro De Vegas, a gentleman from Portugal. "He stood out among the princess of his time as an example in many ways and his fame spread to many countries. He was the Rama Raja of whom the French, English, Mysorean and Carnatic correspondence had spoken."[2]

The Maharaja patronised and supported Christian Missionaries with parential generosity.[3] One of those scholars who commanded the respect and admiration of His Highness was an eminent Carmelite friar Rev. Fr. Paulinus who came over to Travancore from Italy. "Fra Paolino da san Bartolemeo" was his Christian name and his work of voyage to the East Indies is of absorbing interest and contains much valuable historical information.[4] Fr. Paulinus was born in Germany on the 23rd April 1748. His baptised name was John Philip Verdin. He had his early education at Prague and he studied some of the oriental languages at Rome. On the 21st of July 1769 he took the sacred oath and joined the Missionary order.

[1] History of Travancore *by* P. Sankunni Menon, p. 268.

[2] Malabar and the Dutch *by* K. M. Panikker, p. 95.

[3] Travancore State Manual, Vol. I *by* V. Nagamaiya, p. 387.

[4] The Church History of Travancore *by* C. M. Agur, p. 421

After his religious education was completed he was sent over to Malabar at his own discretion. In A.D. 1777 he reached Varapula in Travancore and stayed there for more than 13 years. During this time he came to understand intimately the manners and customs of Malabar and wrote many descriptive articles about them.[1] His writings are considered to be of immense use for the understanding of the history of Malabar and its Society.

Fr. Paulinus[2] visited His Highness the Maharaja on the 20th June 1780 and consigned the divine message of the Pope Clement XIV (dated 2nd July 1774) to His Highness which was sent in recognition of the kindness and consideration shown by the king to his Christian subjects, whose disabilities were abolished by him. His Highness accepted Fr. Paulinus as his Guru and in return the Carmelite Friar acknowledged His Highness as his preceptor in Sanskrit studies. With a view to the learning of English, Portuguese and Malayalam, the Maharaja asked Fr. Paulinus to write a grammar on these languages. The work was completed in 1784 and was dedicated to the Maharaja on the 21st April 1784 when His Highness was at Padmanabhapuram, the ancient capital of Travancore.

The fame[3] of Paulinus in the meanwhile, had reached Europe and the Royal Academy of Science accepted him as a member of the Society. The services rendered by him to the Roman Cathloic Mission was so great that in recognition thereof he got the title "The Vicar Apostolic". Later on, he was raised to the position of Apostolic Visitor. In 1790 Paulinus was invited to Europe by the Propaganda Society to give authoritative information of the Missionary societies in India. His office was at Rome. Not long after, he became the Secretary of the College of Propaganda. On account of the war that was started in Europe at that time, the French invaded Italy, and Paulinus shifted his office to Vienna. In 1800, he returned to Rome and received many titles of honour. Paulinus died in 1806 and his demise was considered as a great loss to the Catholic Society as well as to literature. Fr. Paulinus was an eminent member of the Universities of Padua Naples and France.[4] He wrote about 24 books which are of great

[1] Christian Literature in Kerala (Malayalam) *by* P. J. Thomas, p. 115.

[2] Correspondence between the Popes and the Rajas of Travancore in xviii century *by* C. J. Varkey, p. 3.

[3] The Latin and Syrian Hierarchies of Malabar *by* V. A. Paseal,p. 116.

[4] Malabar Quarterly Review, Vol. V, pp. 184-202.

[5] A Vopage to the East Iudies *by* Fr. Paulinus, pp. 178-180.

help to the students of oriental learning. The most important of them are :—

1. Systema Brahmanicum (1791)
2. A treatise on the Indian Manuscripts in the library of the Congregation de Propaganda Fide (1792)
3. A treatise on the manuscripts in Penang, Siamese, Malayalam and Hindustani languages in the Museum of Cardinal Borgia (1793)
4. India Orientalis Christiana (1794)
5. A treatise on ancient India (1795)
6. A voyage to the East Indies (1796)
7. De Codicibus Indico Manuscripti R. P. Joannis Hanxleden (1799)
8. Adagia Malabarica (Malayalam Proverbs)
9. Siddaroupam, Grammar of Sanskrit languages (1790)
10. Amarasimha, an old Indian Mss.

It is remarkable that such an eminent orientalist, as Paulinus, came to Travancore during the reign of a great Ruler, who though a conservative Hindu had a wide catholicity of sympathies and rendered considerable help and encouragement to Christian missionaries. The Pope Clement XIV thanked the Maharaja for his kindness towards the members of the Church resident in Travancore and Fr. Paulinus who presented the message to His Highness has left a graphic account* of his reception which it was his privilege to enjoy at the hands of the Maharaja. "For my part", says he, "I could not help admiring the goodness of heart, affability and humanity of this prince as well as the simplicity of his household establishment and way of life."

BHARUCI,

A NEW COMMENTATOR ON MANUSMṚTI

By

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Part I.

The period between the 7th and 10th centuries in the literary history of India ranks very high in comparison to any other period. This period witnessed the greatest of writers in almost all the branches of Indian Thought. Bhartṛhari, Kumārila, Prabhākara, Śaṅkara, Mandana, Viśvarūpa, Śāli-Kanātha, Udayana, Asahāya, Medhātithi, Bhartṛyajña, Skanda-svāmin, Vimuktātman, Prakaśātman, Savajñātman to name only a few, belonged to this period. Bhāruci is another author of this period and we shall state and discuss what little we know of him in this paper.

Ramaṇīyācārya in the *Vedārthasaṅgraha* refers to Bhāruci thus :—

भगवद्बोधायनटङ्कद्रमिडगुहदेवकपर्दिभारुचिप्रभृत्यविगीतशिष्टपरिगृहीतपुरातनवेदवेदान्तव्याख्यानसुव्यक्तार्थं श्रुतिनिकरनिदर्शितोऽयं पन्थाः ।

Srīnivāsa, the author of the *Yatīndramatadīpikā*, referring to Ramaṇīya and his predecessors remarks :—

व्यासबोधायनगुहदेवभारुचिब्रह्मनन्दिद्रमिडाचार्यश्रीपरांकुशनाथमुनियतीश्वरप्रभृतीनाम् मतानुसारेण ।

The date of Rāmānuja, we know for certain. He is supposed to have lived between 1017 and 1125. Thus the beginning of the 11th century is the lower limit for the date of Bhāruci. Mr. Kane is of opinion that Śrīnivāsa mentions the author in chronological order.

What work Bhāruci wrote in Vedānta we do not know at present. But since he is relied upon as an authority by Rāmānuja and his followers, it is fairly certain that he held such views as were acceptable to Rāmānuja.

Apart from the fact that Bhāruci was a great Vedantin, he seems to have been an equally famous jurist. The earliest reference to Bhāruci as a jurist is found in the *Mitāksharā* of Vijñaneśvara. In one place he says :—

तस्मादृतावेव गच्छेन्नान्यत्रेति परिसंख्यैव युक्ता । तदिदं भारुचिविश्वरूपप्रभृतयो नानमन्यन्ते, यतो नियम एव युक्तः । पक्षे स्वार्थविधिसम्भवात् अगमने दोषश्रवणाच्च । I, 81

In another place

यदपि कैश्चिदुच्यते अंशदानविवक्षायां बहुभ्रातृकायां बहुधनत्वं बहुभगिनीकस्य च निर्धनता प्राप्नोतीति तदुक्तरीत्या परिहृतमेव । न ह्यत्रात्मीयभागादुद्धृत्य चतुर्थांशस्य दानमुच्यते येन तथा स्यात् । अतोऽसहायमेधातिथिप्रभृतीनां व्याख्यानमेवचतुरश्रं न भारुचेः II, 124

In the only reference to Bhāruci in the *Parāśara-Mādhavīya* in the Vyavahāra section, we find :—

भारुचिस्तु चतुर्भागपदेन विवाहसंस्कारमात्रोपयोगिद्रव्यं विवक्षितम् ।
अतो दायभागत्वं असंस्कृतकन्यानां नास्ति इति मन्यन्ते ॥ p, 316

The only place where we have fuller reference to the views of Bhāruci is the *Sarasvatīvilāsa* of Pratāparudra Mahādeva. From the remarks made therein one is likely to conclude that Bhāruci commented upon the Dharmasūtra of Viṣṇu. I could not consult the Vaijayantī of Nanda-paṇḍita and cannot, therefore, say definitely whether he did comment on the Viṣṇu-Sūtra. But it is certain that whatever he wrote, the views of Viṣṇu found an important place in it.

In the following pages I have brought together all the extracts in the name of Bhāruci. The views of Bhāruci have been indicated in a general manner by Mr. Kane and I have not repeated them.

But the main object of this paper is to bring to the notice of scholars the existence of a commentary on the *Manusmṛti* by Bhāruci and the discovery of a large fragment of that commentary.

Fragments of Bhāruci

Fragment

1. उदिते राज्ञः पट्टबन्धसमये उदितः संपाद्यः ॥ S. V. p. 20.
2. कार्यव्यासङ्गेऽपि शक्तौ सत्यां न पुरोहितकृत्यं सन्ध्योपासनमिति ज्ञापनार्थम् ॥ S. V. p. 32
3. यत्तु "आधिः प्रणश्येद्द्विगुणः" इत्यादौ तिलविनिमयवत् धनद्वैगुण्यं स्वत्वापादकं न भवति, अपि तु क्रयान्तपर्यवसानात् स्वत्वापादकमित्युक्तम्; तत्तु विनिमयस्य स्वत्वापादकत्वं नास्तीत्येवंपरं न भवति, किन्तु तस्मिन् स्थले क्रयान्तपर्यवसानादेव स्वत्वापादकत्वम् । अन्यत्र तु तिलविनिमयादौ विनिमयपरिवृत्त्योरपि क्रयादीनामिव स्वत्वापादकत्वं लोकसिद्धं नापह्नोतुं शक्यम् ॥ S. V. p. 50.
4. समाख्या तु विनिमयपरिवृत्त्यनुशययोरपि लक्ष्या ॥ S. V. p. 51.
5. सहस्रसंख्यासंख्येयत्वं सुवर्णमाषाणाम् ॥ S. V. p. 150.
6. असिद्धं सर्वलिखितं भुक्तिप्रभृत्यवरुद्धं वा समन्तात्सिद्धं न भवति कदापि सिद्धं न भवतीत्यर्थः ॥ S. V. p. 160.

7. सिषाधयिषितार्थविषये[1] आसेधयेत्—तद्गृहीतं स्वं सिषाधयिषितार्थं राजाज्ञयावरोधयेत्। तदभावे तद्गृहीतारं तन्नाशकं वावरोधयेत् इति मुख्यवृत्त्या द्रव्यासेधपरमिदं वचनम्॥ S. V. p. 161.

8. बलवता[2] आसेध एव कर्तव्यो नाक्रोशः॥ S. V. p. 163.

9. कृत्तोपजीवी[3] कौत्तिकः। कृत्ता प्रदातोत्तमः। कृत्ता नाम गृहक्षेत्रारामग्रामदेशादिपदार्थसमृद्धफलप्राप्त्यर्थं यस्मै कस्मैचिद्वयवहारिणे तद्गृहादिपदार्थजातसन्दानम्॥ S. V. p. 165

10. सोऽयमुपचयः[4] कृत्तातः पादमात्रं चेत्तस्मिन्नेवोपचये उत्तमो मनसा इममुपचयं कौत्तिको गृह्णीत। अन्यदायनाशयोः स्वाम्यधीनत्वं न तु कौत्तिकस्य, पादाधिक्य एव स्वाम्यात्तस्येति स्मरति। तदा तस्मिन् पादमात्रोपचितद्रव्ये उत्तमस्य स्वत्वनिवृत्तिः परस्वत्वापत्तिपर्यन्ता भवतीति तात्पर्यम्॥ S. V. p. 166.

11. नीचविषयेऽप्युपनिधिव्यतिरिक्ता॥ S. V. p. 269.

12. यस्तु[5] शुल्कं दत्वा दास्यामपत्यमुत्पादितवान् तदपत्यं तस्यैव बीजप्राधान्यात्। शुल्कमदत्वैव गच्छति बीजं चोत्पन्नं तदपत्यं दासीस्वामिन एव॥ S.V.p.295.

13. भूमिविषयत्वात्प्रतिबन्धकक्रयविषयो[6] न भवति॥ S. V. p. 321.

14. तत्कर्म[7] ज्ञातीनेवानुसरतीत्यर्थः॥ S. V. p. 322.

15. असम्भवे तु भूक्रये ज्ञातिसामन्तसन्निधानात्मकधर्मत्रयमवश्यमङ्गीकर्तव्यम्। ······स्वत्वस्य लौकिकत्वेऽपि भूक्रयस्य निषिद्धत्वात् तद्दानाङ्गतया धर्मपञ्चकस्य नियतत्वम्। S. V. p. 325.

16. त्रिपक्षप्रतीक्षणं[8] एतावत्पर्यन्तं प्रतिघाते च माभूदिति दृष्टप्रमाणेभ्यः तुलादिभ्यः कुकलधारणं भिन्नत्वेन स्मृतमिति ध्येयम्। S. V. p. 336.

17. विभागार्हं पितृद्रव्यं दायम्। S. V. p. 344.

18. अजीवद्विभागे श्रोत्रियागारात् ज्येष्ठेनानीतमग्निं भ्रातरो विभजेयुः। अत्र पैतृकत्वमग्नेरुपचरितम्। जीवद्विभागे पित्रानीतमग्निं विभजेयुः। पित्रानीतं पैतृकं इति मुख्यं पैतृकत्वमग्नेः। अस्मिन्पक्षे तथाविधस्यैवाग्नेः पित्रा स्वभ्रातृभ्यः आनीतत्वात्। S. V. p. 345.

[1]. This is found while commenting on the verse of Nārada—

वक्तव्येऽर्थे न तिष्ठन्तमुत्क्रामन्तं च तद्वचः।
आसेदयेद्विवादार्थी वादी तत्प्रतिवादिनाम्॥

[2] This is probably Bh.'s comments on Viṣṇu दुर्बलप्रबलकृतावाक्रोशासेधौ, p. 162.

[3] Tihs is on Viṣṇu कौत्तिकोऽपचयभारसहिष्णुरुत्तमस्तूपचयापचयासहिष्णुः p. 163.

[4] This is on Viṣṇu पादमात्रोपचये कौत्तिकस्य स्वाम्यम्, p. 166.

[5] This is based on Vyāsa अन्यदीया तु या दासी दास्यन्यस्य तु सा भवेत्। शुल्कं दत्वा तु तां गच्छेत् अगन्ता दास्यमर्हति॥ p.295.

[6] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu—स्थावरजङ्गमात्मकद्रव्यं क्रेयमुच्यते।

[7] This is based on the base of Bṛhaspati which reads—

प्रष्टव्याः सन्निविस्थाश्चेत् क्रेत्रा ज्ञात्यादयः स्मृताः।
अन्यथा चेत्कृतं कर्म ज्ञातीच्छ्रां दर्शयेत्ततः॥ p. 522.

[8] This probably represents only Bhāruci's views and not a direct citation,

19. विभागो नाम द्रव्यधर्मयोरन्यनरस्य पृथक्करणम् । S. V. p. 347.

20. दायधर्मशब्देन[1] दायविभागो धर्मविभागो लक्ष्यते । S. V. p. 348.

21. "जायापत्योर्न विभागो विद्यते" इत्यापस्तम्बवचनैर्यत्र सहत्वचोदना तत्रैवेति मन्तव्यम् । S. V. p. 352.

22. भारुचिमते[2] पत्नीनां बहुत्वसद्भावे तासामेव विभागः । S. V. p. 354.

23. पुत्राभावे[3] मातृधनं दुहितरो विभजेरन्; तदभावे स्वान्वयः पितृव्यादिः गृह्णीयात् "दायादा ऊर्ध्वमाप्नुयुः" इति स्मृतेः । ऊर्ध्वं धनस्वामिनः पुत्रिकादेरभाव इत्यर्थः । दायादाः धनस्वामिपुत्रिकापितृव्यादयः । अत एवोक्तं संग्रहकारेण

"पितृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं मातृद्वारागतं च यत् ।
कथितं दायशब्देन तद्विभागोऽधुनोच्यते ॥" इति ।

मातृद्वारागतद्रव्यस्य दायशब्दवाच्यत्वात् दायार्हत्वं पुत्राणामेव न तु स्त्रीणाम् । "तस्मात्स्त्रियो निरिन्द्रिया अदायादाः" इति श्रुतेः, "स्त्रीणां दायविभागो नास्ति निरिन्द्रियत्वात्" इति गौतमस्मृतेश्च भ्रातृसद्भावे दुहितॄणां मातुरलङ्कारादिकं भ्रातॄणामिच्छया यत्किञ्चिद्देयम्, तदेव ग्रहीतव्यं नान्यत् । S. V. p. 363.

24. याजनसकाशादुत्पन्नो लाभो विभजनीयः; क्षेत्रं चाखिलदायादानुमत्या विभजनीयम् । S. V. p. 371.

25. शुल्कशब्देन कन्यामूल्यमुच्यते । तत्तु आसुरादिविवाह एव । S. V. p. 380.

26. षोडशश्राद्धेष्वेव[4] पुत्रपौत्रधनसंसर्गः, तत्प्रेतत्वनिवृत्तेः उभयाकाङ्क्षितत्वात् । S. V. p. 345.

27. स्वमातृद्वारागतं द्रव्यं दीयते ददातीति वा व्युत्पत्त्या गौणवृत्त्या दायशब्दार्थः । S. V. p. 387.

28. शय्यापरिपालनात् सन्तानानिर्वाह एव श्रेयान् । S. V. p. 390.

29. "एक[5] एवौरसः पुत्रः" इत्यादिवचनात् एकपुत्रविषये दत्तादिस्वीकारोऽस्ति; तथा च दत्तपुत्रादिस्वीकारात् पूर्वं स्थितस्य पुत्रस्यदत्तादीनां प्रजीवनप्रदानं नान्येषाम् । S. V. p. 393-4.

30. पुत्रस्यैव[6] न तु पुत्रिकायाः । S. V. p. 402.

31. अप्रतिबन्धे दायादे संबन्धातिरिक्तं जन्मापेक्ष्यते । सप्रतिबन्धे दायादे तु प्रतिबन्धाभावो न कारणं तुच्छत्वात् । S. V. p. 403.

[1] This probably found a place in the commentary upon Manu—

एष स्त्रीपुंसयोरुक्तो धर्मो यो रतिसंज्ञितः ।
आपद्यपत्यप्राप्तिश्च दायधर्मं निबोधत ॥

[2] This is only a statement of his views and not an actual citation—

[3] Bhāruci while referring to the views of Yājñavalkya, probably referred to the views मातुर्दुहितरः शेषमृणात्ताभ्य ऋतेऽन्वयः । and remarked as found below in that connection.

[4] This is perhaps on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu—

पुत्रपौत्रद्रव्यसमुदायेनैव और्ध्वदेहक्रियां कुर्युः ।

[5] This is perhaps based on the verse of Manu—

एक एवौरसः पुत्रः पित्र्यस्य वसुनः प्रभुः ।
शेषाणामानृशंस्यात्तु प्रदद्यात्तु प्रजीवनम् ॥

[6] This is perhaps on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu जन्मनास्वत्वमापद्यते ।

32. महापानकादौ भार्यात्वस्यापि वियोग इति गुरुग्रन्थस्य अयमर्थः—भार्यात्वं नाम स्वत्वं न तु पत्नीत्वम्; अन्यथा प्रायश्चित्ते कृते पुनः पत्नीत्वं न स्यात् । S. V. p. 487.

33. सब्रह्मचारिणां[1] भ्रातृतुल्यतया तत्पुत्राणां तत्पत्न्यादीनामभावे श्रोत्रियब्राह्मणगामित्वम् । S. V. p. 419.

34. बीजशब्दः[2] पिण्डवाची । S. V. p. 423.

35. निष्कारणमिति[3] वदता विष्णुना भङ्ग्यन्तरेण समानकर्तृणां पुत्रादीनां विद्यमानत्वे दौहित्रस्य कर्तृत्वमसंक्रान्तिः । S. V. p. 427.

36. यः श्राद्धाधिकारी[4] यतो यस्मात्सकाशात् धनमादद्यात्तेन गिलितेन द्रव्येण तस्मै तदर्थं तत्प्रतिनिधिर्भूत्वा कुर्यात् । S. V. p. 428.

37. अविभागदशायामिव[5] संसृष्टिदशायामपि धनमनेकपुरुषस्वत्वसमावेशादेकपुरुषापायेन तत्स्वत्वनिवृत्तावपि पुरुषान्तरस्वत्वानां तथैवावस्थानात् को गृह्णीयादित्यपेक्षाया अनुत्थानात् तादृगपेक्षोपनिपातिनः पत्नीदुहितरन्यायस्य बाधकत्वेनान्यसंसृष्टिन्यायस्यावतारः । S. V. p. 430.

38. वैकल्पिकोऽयं[6] संसर्गविधिः । S. V. p. 431.

39. "पिण्डदोंऽशहरश्चैषाम्[7]" इत्यत्र पिण्डदत्वमेवांशग्रहणे प्रयोजकम् । S.V.d.432.

40. भिन्नोदराणामिति[8] निर्धारणे षष्ठी । भिन्नोदराणां मध्ये संसृष्टिन एव धनं गृह्णीयुः । S. V. p. 433.

41. अपिशब्देन[9] "सोदरस्य तु सोदरः" इत्यत्र सोदरोऽनुकृष्यते । S. V. p. 435.

42. संसृष्टानामसंसृष्टानां पुत्राणां पितृकृतर्णापाकरणं तुल्यतया न्याय्यम् ।S.V.p.436

43. सर्वाभावे[10] दिव्यानवतारात् स्वरुचिपक्षस्यानवतारात् शुद्ध एव विभागः कर्तव्यः ॥ S. V. p. 446

44. अपित्र्यं अविद्यमानपितृद्रव्यम्[11] । एतत्त्रितयविशेषणम् । गार्भं स्त्रीधनम् । धार्मिमिष्टापूर्तादिकम् । मैत्रं मित्रसकाशाल्लब्धम् । वैद्यं विद्यातो लब्धम् । आकस्मिकमकस्माल्लब्धम् निध्यादिकम् । प्रतिग्रहादिनालब्धम् । एतत्पञ्चविधद्रव्यमध्ये उत्तरत्रयं धर्मविभागाभाव अविभक्तत्वाद्विभाज्यम् । दशवर्षपर्यन्तावस्थितिरूपधर्मविभागसद्भावेऽपि अविभाज्यमेव ॥ S. V. p. 447.

[1] This is probably only a statement of views and not a direct citations.

[2] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu बीजग्रहणानुविधायमसं गृह्णीयात् ।

[3] This is on the Sūtra of Viṣṇu दौहित्रस्य मातामहश्राद्धं निष्कारणम् ।

[4] This is perhaps on Viṣṇu यो यत आदधीत स तस्मै श्राद्धं कुर्यात् ।

[5] This is on Viṣṇu संसृष्टधनं न पत्न्यभिगामि ।

[6] This is on Viṣṇu पितृव्यपितृभ्रातृभिरेव संसर्गो नान्यैः ।

[7] This is on Viṣṇu संसृष्टीनां पिण्डकृदंशहारी ।

[8] This is on Viṣṇu भिन्नोदराणां संसृष्टिनो गृह्णीयुः Viṣṇu xvii, 11.

[9] This is based on the śloka of Yājñavalkya असंसृष्टयपि चादद्यात् ।

[10] This is on Viṣṇu सर्वाभावेऽपि पुनर्विभागः कर्तव्यः ॥

[11] This is on Viṣṇu अपित्र्यं गार्भं धार्मं मैत्रं वैद्यमाकस्मिकमादशाब्दं प्रविभाज्यं । अत ऊर्ध्वं सर्वमविभाज्यम् ॥

45. नाणकादिसन्दर्शनार्थं दत्तं तत्क्षणादेव हस्तलाघवेनान्यथयति सः [उत्क्षेपक] ॥ S. V. p. 461.

46. एतच्चावरोधस्त्रीविषयम्[1] ॥ S. V. p. 469.

47. आनुलोम्येन[2] स्त्रिया नासादिकर्तनम् । असवर्णानुगमने वधदण्डः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ S. V. p. 470.

48. वैश्यस्य भार्यायां यः क्षत्रियो व्रजति तस्यैव भार्यायां वैश्यो व्रजति चेत् शतपणात्मको दण्डो वेदितव्यः । तथा अन्यस्य यस्य कस्यचिद्वैश्यस्य भार्यायां क्षत्रियो गच्छति सहस्रपणान् दण्ड्यः । क्षत्रियायां वैश्यो गच्छन् सहस्रपणान् दण्ड्यः ॥ S. V. p. 471.

49. एतच्च दण्डविधानं सवर्णासवर्णमध्यमहीनोत्तमादिकन्यासाधारणम् ॥ S.V.p.472

50. दण्डप्रणयनं दण्डविधानम् ॥ S. V. p. 477.

Part II.

The oldest of the commentaries on the *Manusmṛti* now available is that of Medhātithi, which is both very extensive and erudite. Though this is the oldest of the extant commentaries, it is not by any means the oldest ever written. Medhātithi himself refers to the views of older commentaries in several places :—

II, 109. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—धर्मशास्त्रव्यवस्थोच्यते—एतैरध्यापितैर्धर्मातिक्रमो न भवति; न पुनरर्थदे अध्यापिते विद्यादानलक्षणो धर्मो भवति।
न हि स्याद्ब्राह्मणान् etc.

IV,162. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—नायं प्रतिषेधः पर्युदासोऽयं सङ्कल्पविधानार्थो वा "नोद्यन्तमादित्यमीक्षेत" इतिवत् । अतः प्रयत्नेनातिक्रान्तं भवति सङ्कल्पप्रतिषेधश्च—इति ।

V, 43. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—युक्तं ब्रह्मचारिणः । वानप्रस्थस्य तु "अपराजितां वास्थाय" इत्यादिना आत्मत्यागोऽपि विहितः ।

IX, 141. उपाध्यायस्त्वाह—पुनर्वचनात् विशेषनिर्देशाभावाच्च क्षेत्रजान्यथा कल्पना युक्ता, न त्वभागता, नाऽपि सममागता, न क्षेत्रजतुल्यता इति ।

VIII, 3. व्याख्यानान्तराणि **भर्तृयज्ञेनैव** सम्यक् कृतानीति तत एवावगन्तव्यानि ।

VIII, 151. यत्तु नवं महार्घमलङ्करणवस्त्रादि परिधीयमानं नासितं तत्र न केवलं वृद्धिहानिः यावद्धनं न नष्टं तत्परिपीड्य मूलतः प्रविशति इति **महत्तरै**-र्व्याख्यातम् । यज्वना तु व्याख्यानम् यत्र स्वामी व्यवहरति अध्यधीनश्च तत्राप्यधीनेन बन्धो दत्तः स्वामिना च दृष्टः तत्र धारणकेन कस्मिंश्चिदवसरेऽप्यधीनः पृष्टः प्रयोजनं ममानेन बन्धेनास्ति तत्रोपनिधिन्यायेन तेनानुज्ञातः कालान्तरे भुञ्जानं यदि स्वामी पश्यन् तदनुज्ञातं बन्धं क्षपितवान् सतीदृशे विषयेऽर्धवृद्धित्यागः ।

[1] This is on Viṣṇu प्रतिषिद्धे प्रवर्तमानयोः स्त्रीपुंसयोः संग्रहेण वर्णानुसारेण दण्डः ॥

[2] This is on Viṣṇu आनुलोम्येन वासवर्णा वा व्रजन्त्याः नासादेः कर्तनं वधदण्डो वा कल्प्यः ॥

III, 156. यज्वासहायवतारदानां तु मन्ये काकिणीमात्रमपि शक्तः करणपरिवृत्तिकाले दापयितव्यः ।

II, 134. अन्ये तु व्याचक्षते—नानेव स्थविरत्वं लक्ष्यते । किं तर्हि ? सखित्वमेव । यथाश्रुतत्यागेन स्थविरलक्षणं स्यात् । इयता कालेन सखा, परतस्तु ज्येष्ठ इति ।

IV, 176. एतदुक्तं पूर्वैर्व्याख्यानमित्यनुगनम् ।

V, 127. नत्र चिरन्तनैर्व्याख्यानम् लिङ्गदर्शनेन यथा वै गोः । सास्वाम्भसि प्लाव्येति ।

VII, 155. अपरे त्वाहुः—

आदाने च विसर्गे च तथा प्रैषनिषेधयोः ।
पञ्चमे चार्थवचने व्यवहारस्य चेक्षणे ॥
दण्डशुद्ध्योः सदायुक्तः तेनाष्टगतिको नृपः ।
अष्टकर्मा दिवं याति राजा शत्रुभिरर्चितः ॥

इत्येतावस्मै श्लोकौ । etc.

This passage occurs in the commentary of Bhāruci on the same verse. P 72.

X, 21. पूर्वैस्तु व्याख्यातम्—तत्पुत्रपौत्राणामेता आख्या ।

VIII, 152. Commenting on the verse कुसीदवृद्धिः etc.

एतत्तु ऋजुना पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्तमिति व्याख्यातम्······यदि वास्मादन्यद्गृह्णाते ग्रहीता देशान्तरं गमिष्यन्, कार्यान्तरेण चान्यत्र संचारयति । ऋजुस्तु तस्मादेवाधमर्णात अनवीकृते प्रयोगे द्विगुणाधिकां वृद्धिं नेच्छति । अत आह—पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्ते पुनः क्रिया-प्रयोजनं च वक्ष्यामः । etc.

X. 1. "वैश्यशूद्रोपचारं च संकीर्णानां च संभवः" इति कश्चिदाह ।

We are concerned in this paper with the last two of the references. The extract from Medhātithi on Manu VIII, 152 refers to the comments of one Ṛju. Who is this Ṛju?

A large fragment of a commentary on the *Manusmṛti* was recently acquired for the office of the Curator for the Oriental Manuscript Library, Trivendrum. It extends from almost the beginning of the VIth Adhyaya (Verse 9) and ends with XII, 126—the last verse in the Smṛti of Manu. The colophon and concluding passage, if any, is not available. The following colophons occur in the course of the work :—

1. इति ऋजुविमलस्य कृतौ मनुशास्त्रविवरणे षष्ठोऽध्यायः ।
2. " " " सप्तमोऽध्यायः ।
3. इति भारुचेः कृतौ अष्टमोऽध्यायः ।
4. इति भारुचिकृते मनुशास्त्रविवरणे नवमोऽध्यायः ।
5. " " दशमोऽध्यायः ।
6. इति भारुचेः कृतौ मनुशास्त्रविवरणे एकादशोऽध्यायः ।

From these, it is made out that the commentary was called Manu-Śāstra-Vivaraṇa. One Ṛjuvimala is made the author in two of the colophons, and in three others Bhāruci is made the author. Now is it possible that the scribe has copied from one commentary for two *adhyāyas* and from a different one for three other *adhyāyas*? Or in the alternative, was the commentary of the same individual referred to in one colophon by one of his names and by another of his names in others? The latter possibility seems to be nearer the truth than the former. Bhāruci was probably called by another name Ṛjuvimala. This suggestion is based on the following extract from the new commentary to which attention is now invited.

कुसीदवृद्धिर्द्वैगुण्यं नात्येति सकृदाहिता ।
धान्ये लवे सदे वाह्ये नातिक्रामति पञ्चताम् । VIII 152.

वृद्धिर्द्वैगुण्यं नात्येति कालमहत्वेऽपि सति सकृदाहिता पुरुषान्तरमसंक्रान्ता । संक्रमिते तु धने प्रयोक्तान्यत्र पुनर्वर्धत एव । ग्रहीतृदोषादप्रतिपादनेन पूर्वं प्रयोक्तुर्धनस्य हिरण्ये तावदेवम् । धान्ये तु फलकाले शदकाले प्रतिवर्षं भागशो वर्धमानं तं प्रयुक्तं धान्यं नातिक्रामति पञ्चताम् । हिरण्यवद्द्वैगुण्ये प्राप्त इदं तत्प्रतिषेधार्थं पञ्चगुणत्वमारभ्यते । एवं शदे पञ्चतां परिवर्तमानः नातिक्रामति । एवं लवे प्रयुक्ते व्याघ्र्यूर्णाजानां लवकाले भागशो वर्धते । तत्प्रयुक्तं वाह्ये तु बलीवर्दादावेष एव न्यायः ।

A comparison of this passage with the one in Medhātithi, wherein the views of Ṛju are cited, will clearly show that the views found in the present commentary are identical with those attributed to Ṛju. Ṛju, I take, is a contraction of Ṛjuvimala. Medhātithi refers to the views of Ṛjuvimala, a large fragment of whose commentary is now recovered. It may be noted that the colophon in the *adhyāya* where this passage is found attributes this commentary to Bhāruci. In other words the views of Ṛju are found in the portion that goes in the name of Bhāruci, while other portions go in the name of Ṛju. This had induced me to identify Ṛju with Ṛjuvimala and again with Bhāruci.

In this connection it is worthy of note to mention that the commentary of Śalikanātha on the *Bṛhat* of Prabhākaramiśra goes by the name of *Ṛjuvimala*. It is not perhaps an unaccountable coincidence. Very probably there was something in common between Śalikanātha and Bhāruci. That they belonged almost to the same period may be made out from other evidences. Śālikanātha was the pupil of Prabhākara and, therefore, belonged to the 8th century A.D. Medhātithi is generally ascribed to the period about 850 A.D. Bhāruci is, therefore, older than 850 A.D. If it is granted that Bhāruci is older than 850 A.D. and if we accept the suggestion of Mr. Kane that Srinivasa had the chronological order in view when

he referred to Bhāruci, would it be too much to regard Bhāruci as older than Viśvaūrqa? In this case, he becomes one of the oldest *nibandhakāras* whose works are now extant. If there were any relationship between these people, we are not in a position to say what it was.

Bhāruci, it was said at the outset, should have held views that should have been acceptable to Śri-Rāmānuja. We know that one of the cardinal tenets of the philosophy of Rāmānuja is that *Jñānakarma-samuccaya* is the means to the goal. And in the commentary on the *Manusmṛti* this view is clearly expressed by Bhāruci commenting on verses VI, 74 and 75. Bhāruci says :—

सम्यग्दर्शनसंपन्नः कर्मभिर्न निबध्यते ।
दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु संसारं प्रतिपद्यते ।। VI, 74.

सम्यग्दर्शनं नाम परमात्मदर्शनम् । संसार्यात्मनोऽसंसार्यात्मनो वा देहेन्द्रियमनोबुध्यादिव्यतिरिक्तस्य संसार्यात्मनोऽधिकारिपुरुषस्य वा प्रधानपुरुषयोर्वा नानात्वकस्व कर्माङ्गदेवताया वा संसारस्वभावस्य च वा अंवेक्षने । " गती नृणाम् " इत्येवमाद्युक्तं प्रसंख्यानविज्ञानं वा शरीरगतं शुक्लशोणिताद्युत्पन्नमिति विषयगतं च सम्यग्दर्शनशब्देनोच्यते । सामर्थ्यादेवं ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयमुपदेक्ष्यति अनन्तरश्लोक एवमतश्चैतदेवमतः । दर्शनेन विहीनस्तु केवलकर्मकृत संसारमावृत्तिं प्रतिपद्यते पितृलोकद्वारेण । सैषा ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयस्तुतिः विज्ञानमात्रस्तुतिर्वा । तथा च दर्शयति ।

अहिंसयेन्द्रियासंगैः वैदिकैश्चैव कर्मभिः ।
तपसश्चरणैश्चोग्रैः साधयन्तीह तत्परम् ।।

अहिंसयेति सामान्यमपीदं प्रव्रजितस्य विशेषसाधनम् तद्धर्माणामपि शेषाणां निदर्शनार्थम् । एवमिन्द्रियासङ्गैः ब्रह्मचारिणः वैदिकैश्चाग्निहोत्रादिकर्णभिः । गृहस्थस्य तपश्चरणैरिति तापसस्य । तदेवं सर्वाश्रमेष्वयं ज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः ब्रह्मत्वप्राप्तिहेतुर्विज्ञेयः समुच्चयविकल्पपक्षयोराश्रमाणाम् । न तु बाधपक्षे । प्रकरणाद्वायं प्रव्रजितस्य विज्ञानकर्मसमुच्चयः । एवंच सति "वैदिकैश्चैव कर्मभिः" इत्यत्र वेदान्तचोदिता परमात्मोपासना गृह्यते, नाग्निहोत्रादीनि कर्माणि । तप [स] श्चरणैरित्यत्रापि तद्धर्मा एवानूद्यन्ते । तथा चोपनिषत्स्वेवाह–"तस्मा देवंविच्छान्तो दान्त उपरतस्तितिक्षुः समाहितो भूत्वात्मन्येवात्मानंपश्येत्" इति । न वानप्रस्थधर्माः । एवं च सति अयमनेन सम्यग्विज्ञानसमानभावनाक्रमेण प्रसन्नतत्त्वज्ञानो वैराग्यप्रकर्षात् ।।

DEFECTS OF THE TRADITIONAL METHOD OF INTERPRETING THE BRAHMASŪTRAS

A STUDY OF ŚAṄKARĀCĀRYA AS A BHĀṢYAKARA

By

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There have been several efforts to find out which of the Ācāryas has interpreted the *Brahmasūtras* most exactly. Thibaut, Ghate and Teliwala have tried to compare the system of the Brahmasūtrakāra with those of the latest Ācāryas and have respectively come to the conclusion that Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Vallabha represent the view of the Sūtrakāra more correctly than the rest. This difference of opinion among the modern scholars is very much like the difference of view among the Ācāryas, both of them being due to the want of a definite method of interpreting the *Sūtras*. They all claim to have followed the method of interpretation summed up in the following verse :

उपक्रमोपसंहारावभ्यासोऽपूर्वता फलम् ।
अर्थवादोपपत्ती च लिङ्गं तात्पर्यनिर्णये ॥

This method seems to us to be defective for the simple reason that persons who claim to have followed it have widely differed in their views of the teaching of the *Sūtras*.

We take here Śaṅkarācārya as a representative of the method of interpretation of the Ācāryas and study the defects underlying his method as typical of the old bhāṣya-method.

(1) As is well known, Śaṅkara follows the scheme of परा विद्या, अपरा विद्या and अविद्या in his interpretation of the Upaniṣads as well as the Brahmasūtra. Śaṅkara quotes no Sūtra to show that the Sūtrakāra *himself* mentions the scheme. (*b*) He gives no definite order for grouping the *Sūtras* into these three classes. The result is that he would *suddenly* say that a particular Pāda, a particular Adhikaraṇa or a particular Sūtra begins a topic of अविद्या or अपरा विद्या or परा विद्या, though the immediately preceding one had a different topic. Thus, *Bra. Sū.* III. 2.11-37 describe the निर्गुण ब्रह्म but *Bra. Sū.* III. 2.38 begins the description of सगुणब्रह्म (फलमत उपपत्तेः—III. 2.38). If he had taken मुक्तिफलम् by the word फलम्, there would be no objection, but he takes जीवात्मनः कर्मणां फलम्. (*c*) According to this scheme of Śaṅkara, some Sūtras of अपरा विद्या are to be found in all पादs,

while no Sūtras of परा विद्या or अविद्या are found in some Pādas. This situation is itself suggestive of the original intention of the Sūtrakāra. (d) Śaṅkara says that the उत्क्रान्ति described in *Bra. Sū.* IV. 2 belongs to अपरा विद्या and अविद्या. But it is rather strange, then, that देवयानगति which takes place at the end of the उत्क्रान्ति, should belong only to the अपरा विद्या, as it does according to Śaṅkara. (e) The Nirṇayasāgara Press Pandit could not decide where according to Śaṅkara Bra. Sū. I. 3 described the परा विद्या or the अपरा विद्या so, he says that "अत्र प्रायो ज्ञेयब्रह्मवाक्यानि विचारितानि. प्रायः is noteworthy. In our opinion, there is no support from the *Sūtras* themselves for Śaṅkara's threefold scheme.

(2) If we follow Śaṅkara's *bhāṣya,* there are several Sūtras dealing with topics which have nothing to do with ब्रह्म-जिज्ञासा, but which should rather find and have actually found—a place either in a धर्मसूत्र or in a कर्मसूत्र. प्राणस्य अनग्नताचिन्तनम् and आचमनम् (III. 3. 18), the discussion whether the Āśramas other than Gṛhasthāśrama depend for their authenticity on Smṛti and Ācāra only or on Śruti also (III. 3. 18-20), the question whether the sin committed by गुरुतल्पग-अवकीर्णिन् is a महापातक or an उपपातक (III. 4. 41-42) should find a place in a धर्मशास्त्र. Śaṅkara finds the question of कर्माङ्गभूतविज्ञानs in III. 3. 43, III. 3. 55-56, 61-66, III. 3. 44-46 (which, Śaṅkara says, discuss the question whether कर्माङ्गविज्ञानs are to be performed by the priest or the यजमान himself), etc.

(3) Śaṅkara gives the names of the four Adhyāyas of the *Brahmasūtra,* but we find cases where the topics discussed in an Adhyāya are inconsistent with the name of that Adhyāya, e.g. II. 3. 41 discusses the question of the कर्तृत्व of the जीव while the फल of the ordinary कर्मन्s of the जीव is discussed in III. 2. 42 i.e. in the साधनाध्याय. (b) The question of गति (going to Brahman) is discussed both in the साधनाध्याय (III. 2. 29-30) and also in the फलाध्याय as Śaṅkara himself notices. The interpretation of the Muṇḍaka Upa. Śruti mentioning the two birds is the topic both in III. 3. 34 and in I. 2. 11, as Śaṅkara himself says. We think that this kind of overlapping of the topics of discussion is not possible in the *Sūtras,* though references to the *Sūtras* in the *Sūtras* themselves are there.

(4) Śaṅkara in his commentaries on the Upaniṣads takes अक्षर in *Mu. Upa.* I. 1 and अक्षर in *Bra. Upa.* III. 8. 8 (याज्ञवल्क्यगार्गी संवाद) as the निर्गुणब्रह्मन्. He is never tired of quoting a thousand times the latter श्रुतिस्मृति in support of his doctrine of पर ब्रह्मन् and परा विद्या. But in his com. on the *Bra. Sū.* he has to interpret both these Śrutis as dealing with the अपरब्रह्मन् or ईश्वर,

because the Sūtrakāra says that the रूप of the अक्षर is mentioned in the Muṇḍaka Upa. रूपोपन्यासाच्च—*Bra. Sū.* I. 2. 22) and because he holds that अक्षर of *Bṛ. Upa.* has the attribute of अम्बरान्तधृति or अम्बारान्तप्रशासन. There are other cases of a *double* interpretation of Śrutis, if we compare his com. on the Upa. and his com. on the *Bra. Sū.* on the same Śrutis. The case is like that of his interpretation of कृष्ण in ब्रह्मणो हि प्रतिष्ठाहममृतस्याव्ययस्य च (*Bha. Gi.* XIV. 27). Śaṅkara offers three interpretations and is ready to take "अहम्" (i.e. कृष्ण referred to by अहम्) as निर्विकल्पक ब्रह्मन् and "ब्रह्मन्" as the सविकल्पक ब्रह्मन्, though throughout his com. on the Gītā he follows the reverse view about 'कृष्ण' and 'अहम्'.

(5) Śaṅkara professes to follow the *Sūtras* and their teaching but on some occasions he does set aside the Sūtrakāra's view, and he clearly says so. Vide the interpretation of प्रियशिरस्त्वादि in *Bra. Sū.* III. 3. 12. The Sūtrakāra takes them as ब्रह्मधर्माः while Śaṅkara holds them to be कोशधर्माः. The Sūtrakāra takes the शुक्ल and कृष्ण गतिs of *Gītā* XIII. 21-26 as dealing with the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् who is योगिन्, he takes अग्नि, ज्योतिः, अहः, etc. as time-terms and discusses them as meaning the time of the departure of the ब्रह्मज्ञानिन् and he clearly says that the two गतिs of the Gītā are "स्मार्त" and not श्रौत and that therefore they are not consistent with the देवयान and पितृयान गतिs of the *Chhāndogya* and *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads*. But Śaṅkara at first interprets the Sūtra literally and then tries to show that there is no conflict between the *Gītā* and the Upaniṣads on this point. To prove this he has to say that शुक्लगति and कृष्णगति of the Gītā deal with अपरब्रह्मोपासना and with सकामवैदिक कर्माणि respectively. He also says that अग्नि, ज्योतिः, etc. are आतिवाहिकीदेवताः.

(6) About the विषयवाक्यश्रुतिs referred to by the *Brahmasūtras* we must note that in *Bra. Sū.* Chap. I each Adhikaraṇa and hence each Sūtra in each Adhikaraṇa discusses one and the same Śruti. So in *Bra. Sū.* Chap. I we find help from *all* the Sūtras of each Adhikaraṇa to trace the विषयवाक्य to the Upaniṣads. The case is different when a Śruti is quoted or rather referred to in *Bra. Sū.* Chaps. III and IV. In these latter the Śrutis are not discussed but they are referred to as authority on the matter in hand. It is due to this fact that the विषयवाक्यs given by Śaṅkara in his *bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū.* Chaps. III and IV are often not correct. In some cases no विषयवाक्य is intended by the Sūtrakāra though Śaṅkara gives a विषयवाक्य, e.g., न स्थानतोऽपि परस्योभयलिङ्गं सर्वत्र हि. Śaṅkara—सर्वत्र = ब्रह्मस्वरूपप्रतिपादमपरेषु वाक्येषु. In other cases Śaṅkara gives a विषयवाक्य which is not the one which the Sūtrakāra had in mind e.g. प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति ततो ब्रवीति च भूयः should refer to अस्ति भगवो नाम्नो भूयः, नाम्नो वाव भूयोऽस्ति इति, तन्मे भगवान् ब्रवीतु इति, वाग्वाव नाम्नो भूयसी.

(7) The Sūtras are by their very Sūtra-style elliptical and require several words to be added to them in order to get a sense out of them. These additions ought to be founded upon the context. But the Ācāryas have added to the words of a Sūtra as many more words as they liked. (*a*) In *Bra. Sū*. III. 3. 2 (भेदान्नेति चेन्नैकस्यामपि Śaṅkara takes भेदात् as गुणभेदात्, but चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in the preceding Sūtra (III. 3. 1) suggests "चोदनादि भेदात्". Moreover, चोदनादि in III. 3. 1 is interpreted as referring to all the *four* in the जैमिनिसूत्र-संयोगरूपचोदनाख्याविशेषात्. But I would ask, why does the Sūtrakāra not say 'संयोगाद्यविशेषात्', if he wants to refer to all the four? So, I suggest that चोदनाद्यविशेषात् refers to the identity of only two viz. चोदना and आख्या. Then, again, Śaṅkara's interpretation of सर्व as referring to only the वैश्वानर श्रुतिs of the *Chhāndogya* and Bṛhadāraṇyaka *Upaniṣads* shows that he takes सर्ववेदान्त as *some* Vedantas, though the Sūtrakāra refers to *all* the Vedantas. Śaṅkara does not notice that वेदान्तs should exclude the संहिता and ब्राह्मणारण्यकश्रुतिs. Lastly, to एकस्याम् in III. 3. 2 he adds विद्यायाम्. I suggest that on the ground of the Jai. Sū. referred to by चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in *Bra. Sū*. III. 3. 1 एकस्याम् should mean एकस्यां शाखायाम्. शाखायाम् is also suggested by शाखासु in अङ्गावबद्धास्तु न शाखासु हि प्रतिवेदम्—*Bra. Sū*. III. 3.

Bra. Sū. III. 3. 17 and 18. Śaṅkara adds न to these Sūtras. Śabara says that the वृत्तिकार added न to some of the *Jai. Sū*. *Bra. Sū*. III. 3. 11 (आनन्दादयः प्रधानस्य) should mean that आनन्द and others belong to the प्रधान or अरूपवत् ब्रह्मन्. But Śaṅkara adds "धर्माः सर्वे सर्वत्र प्रतिपत्तव्याः." This addition helps him in bringing out his doctrine of उपसंहार from this Pāda.

Bra. Sū. III. 4. 27. शमदमाद्युपेतः स्यात् तथापि तु तद्विधेस्तदङ्गतया तेषामवश्यानुष्ठेयत्वम्. This should mean, "Even though a मुमुक्षु be possessed of शमदमादि, they (यज्ञ, दान and तपः mentioned in *Bra. Sū*. III. 4.) must be performed because the विधि about those शमदमादि is subordinate to the विधि about them (यज्ञादि). But Śaṅkara adds—यदि कश्चिन्मन्येत यज्ञादीनां विद्यासाधनभावो न न्याय्यो विध्यभावात् ·····तथापि तु शमदमाद्युपेतः स्याद्विद्यार्थी. This is how he brings in his view of शमदमादि in the साधनचतुष्टय. The very force of तथापि तु which follows शमदमाद्युपेतः स्यात् in the Sūtra, is not only lost but a reverse doctrine is drawn out of the Sūtra, never intended by the Sūtrakāra.

Bra. Sū. III. 4. 19. विकारावर्ति च should mean विकारावर्ति च मुक्तस्वरूपम् and तथाहि स्थितिमाह should mean मुक्तस्वरूपस्य स्थितिमाह श्रुतिः Śaṅkara adds पारमेश्वरं रूपम् to विकारावर्ति and interprets स्थिति as सत्ता instead of as "continuation."

(8) Śaṅkara sometimes takes the liberty of adding remarks

which amount to the addition of altogether a new Sūtra or *Sūtras*. Thus in his *bhāṣya* on *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 3 तडितोऽधि वरुण: सम्बन्धात्) he adds—वरुणादधीन्द्रप्रजापती स्थानान्तराभावात् पाठसामर्थ्याच्च He wants us to add इन्द्रलोक and प्रजापतिलोक to the worlds mentioned by the Sūtrakāra. But I beg to suggest that probably the Sūtrakāra does not take इन्द्रलोक as different from देवलोक which follows the संवत्सर. And about the प्रजापति or प्रजापतिलोक, the Sūtrakāra gives his view in the discussion of कार्यम् and मुख्यम् in IV. 3. 7-16. बादरि and जैमिनि held that प्रजापतिलोक was a कार्य of ब्रह्मन्; but बादरायण did not believe in this विशेष (विशेषं च दर्शयति IV. 3. 16) between प्रजापति and ब्रह्मन् (Neu.). He seems to have held that प्रजापति was the साकार aspect of the कारण or ब्रह्मन् (neu.) itself. In III. 3. 51 (न सामान्यादप्युपलब्धेर्मृत्युवन्नहि लोकापत्ति:) he seems to say that प्रजापतिलोक is not subject to the लोकापत्तिदोष.

We suggest that no additions of this type should be allowed. But as Dr. Belvalkar has shown, the Ācāryas have added or removed even *Sūtras* themselves.

(9) We also meet with cases in which Śaṅkara gives a wrong sense to the words in the *Sūtras* e.g. प्रकरण is taken as प्रक्रम (III. 3. 7), च as तु in III. 3. 9.

He also gives two meanings to one and the same word e.g. पाद in III. 2. 33, three meanings to अवधारण in III. 2. 17.

(10) Śaṅkara interprets स्मरन्ति, स्मर्यते, स्मार्तम्, स्मृते: (II. 3. 47, III. 1. 14, IV. 1. 10 etc. etc.), स्मर्यमाणम् etc. as referring to the गीता or the महाभारत, but in the स्मृतिपाद he takes स्मृति as सांख्य. I have shown elsewhere that स्मृत्यनवकाश refers to the fact that Gītā doctrine of प्रकृति will have no scope if प्रकृति is to be identified with ब्रह्मन् itself as proposed by the Sutrakāra in प्रकृतिश्च प्रतिज्ञादृष्टान्तानुपरोधात् (I. 4. 21). So, in the स्मृतिपाद the Sūtrakāra does not *refute* सांख्य, but he interprets (व्याख्याता:) those principles of the Gītā which are not consistent with the same of the accepted Upaniṣads. एतेन शिष्टापरिग्रहा: अपि व्याख्याता:—व्याख्याता: means 'interpreted',—not प्रतिषिद्धतया व्याख्याता: as Śaṅkara says. Cf. एतेन मातरिश्वा व्याख्यात:.

(11) Śaṅkara's पूर्वपक्ष are also often doubtful and sometimes absurd.

(*a*) III. 2. 32—An opponent argues that ब्रह्मन् is called सेतु (bridge) and therefore there must be some principle beyond the निरस्तप्रपञ्च and चेतनब्रह्मन् discussed in the preceding *Sūtras*, because there is a place beyond the ordinary bridge, which is reached after crossing the bridge. The सिद्धान्तिन् simply says that ब्रह्मन् is not actually a bridge, it is called सेतु because it is *like* the सेतु.

(b) III. 3. 14-15. A पूर्वपक्ष holds that in इन्द्रियेभ्यः परा ह्यर्था अर्थेभ्यश्च परं मनः etc. the परत्व or higherness of each of अर्थाः, मनः बुद्धि etc. is intended by the Śruti. The Siddhāntin simply says that the परत्व of पुरुष alone is intended to be conveyed.

(c) III. 3. 57 gives a पूर्वपक्ष about the meaning of the वैश्वानर श्रुति, which is the very view for holding which each of the six pupils were severely rebuked by Aśvapati Kekaya in the story of the Upa. itself.

(d) III. 4. 18-20—A discussion between the पूर्वपक्षिन् and the सिद्धान्तिन् takes place about the three आश्रमs other than गृहस्थाश्रम. Then a gentleman belonging to a third party tells Śaṅkara that the point at issue is clearly stated in the Jābāla Śruti. Śaṅkara simply replies that the discussion took place *without* considering that श्रुति (अनपेक्ष्य त्वेतां श्रुतिमयं विचारः इति द्रष्टव्यम्).

(e) III. 4. 50. Meaning of बाल्य is discussed. The पूर्वपक्षिन् opposes the सिद्धान्तिन् who holds बाल्य prescribed for the मुमुक्षु to mean भावविशुद्धि, अप्ररूढेन्द्रियत्व, दम्भदर्पादिरहितत्व. The opponent says that बाल्य must mean कामाचारवादभक्षणता and यथोपपादमूत्रपुरीषत्वम् because these are the प्रसिद्धतरं लोके बाल्यम्.

(12) Neither Śaṅkara nor any other Acārya seems to have given a satisfactory answer to the question: Why the Sūtrakāra gives three Pādas (*Bra. Sū.* I. 1, 2 and 3) instead of one very long Pāda in his statement that all the श्रुतिवाक्यs discussed in I. 1-3 deal with ब्रह्मन्? According to Śaṅkara I. 1 discusses श्रुतिs which use words denoting non-Brahman e.g., आकाश, प्राण, ज्योतिः, but which have स्पष्टब्रह्मलिङ्गs. But we must note that *Bra. Sū.* I. 3. 39-40 and 41 discuss श्रुतिs which have also the same words, प्राण (in प्राणे एजति निःसृतम्), ज्योतिः (ज्योतिर्दर्शनात्—I. 3. 40) and आकाश (आकाशोऽर्थान्तरत्वादिव्यपदेशात्. In these Sūtras also the decision is arrived at on the ground of स्पष्ट ब्रह्मलिङ्गs in the श्रुति in question. In *Bra. Sū.* I. 2 and 3 we generally have the argument of the mention of a धर्म, गुण or विशेषण in the श्रुतिवाक्य, which can belong only to ब्रह्मन्. Śaṅkara does not say that उपास्यब्रह्मन् and ज्ञेयब्रह्मन् are the topics respectively in *Bra. Sū.* I. 2 and 3. It is the Pandit of the Nirṇayasāgara Press who says so and he too had to say that in I. 3 प्रायः ज्ञेयब्रह्मवाक्यानि विचारितानि ; प्रायः is noteworthy.

(13) Let us see what remarks he makes in his भाष्य on *Bra. Sū.* III. 3 :—

(a) He gives two meanings to 4 Sūtras of this Pāda (16, 17, 26, 35).

(b) He connects Sūtras 29-30, 31, 33, 34, 48 and 53 wtih respectively *Bra. Sū.* IV. 3. 15, III. 3. 11, I. 2. 11, III. 3. 44

and the very beginning of the book itself. On III. 3. 53, he remarks ननु शास्त्रप्रमुख एव प्रथमे पादे शास्त्रफलोपभोगयोग्यस्य देहव्यतिरिक्तस्यात्मनोऽस्तित्वमुक्तम्। सत्यमुक्तं भाष्यकृता न तु तत्रात्मास्तित्वे सूत्रमस्ति। इह तु स्वयमेव सूत्रकृता तदस्तित्वमाक्षेपपुरःसरं प्रतिष्ठापितम्। We ask: Why could the Sūtrakāra himself not place this Sūtra (III. 3. 53) before *Bra. Sū.* I. 1. 1?

(c) In III. 3. 58, Śaṅkara says:—स्थिते चैतस्मिन्नधिकरणं सर्ववेदान्तप्रत्ययमित्यादि द्रष्टव्यम्. So Śaṅkara says that the 58th Sūtra should precede III. 3. 1.

(d) In Bra. Sū. III. 3. 39 the पूर्वपक्ष opposes the गुणोपसंहार of the गुणs in certain Śrutis and the सिद्धान्तिन् is made to argue for, and to establish the necessity of the उपसंहार of the गुणs. And, then, Śaṅkara adds:—गुणवतस्तु ब्रह्मण: एकत्वाद्विभूतिप्रदर्शनायायं गुणोपसंहार: सूत्रितो नोपासनायेति द्रष्टव्यम्। "The गुणोपसंहार in the other Adhikaraṇas of this Pāda was meant for उपासना, but the गुणोपसंहार in this Adhikaraṇa is not similarly useful."

(e) III. 3. 25.—Śaṅkara says that this Adhikaraṇa incidentally gives स्तुत्युपसंहार, as there was the occasion for गुणोपसंहार.

(f) Śaṅkara connects Sūtra 5 with Sūtra 9 and thus takes Sūtras 6-7-8 as a digression.

(g) Śaṅkara breaks off the connection of III. 3 with III. 2 by saying that III. 2 deals with निर्गुणब्रह्मन् but III. 3 with सगुणब्रह्मन्.

We believe, so many remarks of this kind in one single Pāda should make us doubt whether Śaṅkara had a correct unbroken tradition about the meaning of this Pāda.

(14) There are several Sūtras in which the expression तदुक्तम् occurs. Śaṅkara takes it as referring to the Brahma Sūtras, to some Upaniṣad Śrutis, and, sometimes, to the Jaimini-Sūtras. Rāmānuja says that "तदुक्तम्" refers to all these and in one place to the *Gautamadharmasūtra*. According to Vallabha the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is referred to by four Sūtras in which तदुक्तम् occurs. In my opinion तदुक्तम् always refers only to a Sūtra in the portion of the ***Brahmasūtra*** preceding the Sūtra in question (Vide The meaning of ***tad uktam, Indian Historical Quarterly***, Vol. XIII, 1937).

(15) There are several बहुव्रीहि compounds in the *Brahmasūtra* which require certain lists of attributes or names, in which a certain attribute or name stands *first*. Thus, चोदनाद्यविशेषात् in III. 3. 1 must refer to चोदना and आख्या only. Similarly we have आनन्दादय: (III. 3. 11), सत्यादय: (III. 3. 38) and आयतनादय: (III. 3. 39). Neither Śaṅkara nor any other Ācārya has

supplied a list as required by the nature of the बहुव्रीहि compound. I have suggested that आनन्दादय: must refer to आनन्द (in आनन्दाद्ध्येव खल्विमानि भूतानि etc. referred to in *Bra. Sū.* I. 1. 2) and आदि to the Śrutis discussed in the other Adhikaraṇas of the same Pāda and that आयतनादिभ्य: refers to द्युभ्वाद्यायतनं स्वशब्दात् and the Śrutis discussed in 1. 3, and that therefore सत्यादय: refers to the Śruti discussed in I. 2. 1 (*Chā. Upa.* III. 14. 1-2) in which the word सत्यसंकल्प: occurs) and those in the remaining Adhikaraṇas of I. 2. Similarly शब्दादिभ्य: in III. 3. 58 should refer to शब्द, प्रकरण, भेद and संज्ञा stated in III. 3. 6, 7 and 8 and not to शब्द, गुण, etc. (?), as taken by Śaṅkara.

(16) It need not be said that the Ācāryas never thought of comparing and contrasting the statements in the Sūtras. Thus, अरूपवदेव हि तत्प्रधानत्वात् (III. 2. 14) should be contrasted with रूपोपन्यासाच्च (I. 2. 23). Then, we know that Brahman is रूपवत् and also अरूपवत् and the latter is the chief of the two (प्रधान) in the system of the Sūtrakāra.

(17) The Ācāryas did not also get a correct Sūtrapāṭha.

(*a*) They generally take the Sūtras with हि as a हेतुसूत्र, but often they take a similar Sūtra as a प्रतिज्ञासूत्र i. e. as the first Sūtra of an Adhikaraṇa. Thus Śaṅkara takes प्रकृतैतावत्त्वं हि प्रतिषेधति (III. 2. 22), सैव हि सत्यादय: (III. 2. 38), etc. as the first or only Sūtra of an Adhikaraṇa though generally he takes Sūtras with हि as हेतुसूत्रs only.

(*b*) Similarly च is noteworthy in Sūtras like व्याप्तेश्च समञ्जसम् (III. 3. 9), संभृतिद्युव्याप्त्यपि चात: (III. 3. 23), अतश्चायनेऽपि दक्षिणे (IV. 2. 20). Śaṅkara takes these Sūtras as the first Sūtras of an Adhikaraṇa though he mostly takes Sūtras with similar च as belonging to the same Adhikaraṇa as the preceding Sūtra.

(*c*) Similarly Sūtras with तु also should be studied.

(*d*) There are several Sūtras which contain only a हेतु given in the ablative case e.g. आध्यानाय प्रयोजनाभावात् (III. 3. 14), एक आत्मन: शरीरे भावात् (III. 3. 53), प्रतिषेधादिति चेन्न शारीरात् (IV. 2. 12). Śaṅkara takes these as the first Sūtras of an Adhikaraṇa and then makes additions to them in order to make out a complete sense from them, though generally he takes such हेतुसूत्रs as part of an Adhikaraṇa to which the preceding Sūtra belongs.

Some more suggestions also referring to the question of the textual criticism can be made. All the above points show that not only had the Ācāryas no correct tradition about the meaning of the *Brahma Sūtra* but they had even no correct text of the same. The system of the Sūtrakāra was already forgotten long before Śaṅkara.

It must be remarked that I have examined Śaṅkara only as an interpretor of the Brahmasūtra. I have taken him as a type of the Ācāryas, only because I happen to be more familiar with his *bhāṣya* than with the *bhāṣyas* of other Ācāryas.

We could not study here Śaṅkara as a philosopher. But we must not forget that even Deussen was enamoured of Śaṅkara as a philosopher and placed him on equal rank with Kant, if not higher. I have not been able to notice Śaṅkara here in his full capacity as an Ācārya, which consists not only in writing *bhāṣyas*, but also and chiefly in *leading the people* in matters religious, philosophical and spiritual. The Ācārya is not a professor sitting in his chair at the table and writing papers and publishing them. He *practises* the very doctrine he teaches. He has several privileges by which he achieves his aim. One of them is to prepare a new भाष्य on the foundation of the old scriptures, in which the people believe. It is this new System or a new School of an old System which helped the religious progress of the Indian people at large in earlier days.

It must also be admitted that the present is not the time to start a new संप्रदाय. Sects have divided the Hindus among themselves. Only a historical and critical study of the scriptures can guide the modern world. A scholar who tries to be a new आचार्य or an extremely staunch follower of an old आचार्य will hinder the progress of the people rather than help it. It is with this belief that a critical study of Śaṅkara's method is offered here and thereby I have indirectly suggested what the new historical, philological and critical method should be. There are several positive aspects of this new method. I propose to mention them elsewhere on a future occasion.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AS A TREATISE ON ADHYĀTMA, KARMA, YOGA AND DVANDVA

By

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The first question that may be asked is, on what grounds can the Gita be called a treatise? The answer is that in 15.20, the Gītā names itself in that way. गुह्यतमं शास्त्रमिदमुक्तं. The word शास्त्र is translated as a treatise. It may be argued that the word शास्त्र should be translated as a science. The reason for not using the word science is, that it means researches and discussions about the cause and effect of tangible material things only. The Gītā discusses the problem of the cause and its effects not in this world, but the results of actions of the individual after death. (त्रिविधं कर्मण: फलं अत्यागिनां प्रेत्यभवति). The technical words of the Gītā are 'Karma' and 'Gati'. The word Karma includes both the tangible physical functioning and the intangible functions of the mind and the intellect. But the word 'Gati' means exclusively the transcedental or intangible results after death. A question may be asked as to how can the tangible actions here, produce an intangible effect after death? The answer is that, a living body is not a mere collection of the tangible electrons and protons. It is something more. It is the intangible intention and knowledge faculty of the mind and the intellect that produce the intangible impressions of sin or merit (पाप, पुण्य; सुकृत, दुष्कृत). The problem of sin and merit is beyond the reach of physical sciences and they have chosen of their own accord to deal with problems which can be demonstrated here. The words 'Gati' after death are self-contradictory terms in science. Hence the word शास्त्र has been translated as a treatise and not as a science.

By treatise we mean a thorough discussion of the pros and cons of the chosen problem. About the actual problem of the Gīta, we shall discuss a bit later. Another characteristic of a treatise is its consistency and self-sufficiency. There must be clear definitions of all the technical terms used. The conclusions must be definite and free from ambiguity. Whether the conclusions will be acceptable to all it does not matter.

How the important words have been skilfully defined and consistently interlinked in the Gīta we shall illustrate by

actual example. Let us take the statement, "यं यं वाऽपि स्मरन् भावं त्यजत्यन्ते कलेवरं । तं तमेवैति कौन्तेय सदा तद्भावभावितः". Here the word Bhāva is used in such a way that the context clearly shows that, it means some definite intangible thing, which when it passes away from this gross body, leaves it dead. The word कलेवर is used for a dead body. शरीर means a living body. The root meaning of the word शरीर is 'that which is liable to change'. The metabolic changes are going on in the body as long as the life is in the body. Immediately after the life is extinct, the metabolism stops and the decomposition begins. This is exactly the criterion of death accepted by the medical science. Thus, change means the manifestation of life in the gross body. Thus, though the life (भाव) is producing the effect of change in the body and keeping it alive, yet it is not identical with it. For, it can leave the body, this is directly demonstrated. Bhava is thus an intangible yet definite entity, distinct from the gross dead bodies. Whether the Bhāva can remain without a gross body, we shall discuss later.

The word Bhāva is used in the Gīta in more than one sense. To avoid confusion the different meanings are expressed by using different adjectives. The adjectives are व्यक्त or क्षरभाव, अक्षरभाव, पर or सनातन भाव. The adjective Akṣara is generally dropped and is always implied when the word Bhāva is used singly. Of the three adjectives we shall first consider the word (क्षर 8.4, अधिभूतं क्षरो भावो) 15.16. (क्षर: सर्वाणि भूतानि). क्षर means birth, death, old age, diseases, pain. That which has got these five defects (जन्म, मृत्यु, जरा, व्याधि, दुःख; 13.8) is क्षरभाव. But we have already seen that these are the metabolic manifestations, taking place in the organs of a living body. This is exactly what 13.1, 'इदं शरीरं क्षेत्रमित्यभिधीयते' says. Thus the word शरीर is associated with क्षेत्र. 13.5-6 gives a short classification of the शरीर. The general characteristics of शरीर is given as यत्‌विकारि, यतः च यत्. Of these यतश्चयत् suggests the reproductive capacity. It means that the body here, is formed out of the material from here by variously combining the electrons and protons. The word विकार is associated with another word प्रकृति by 13.19. विकारान् गुणान् प्रकृति संभवान्. The word Prakriti is used in two senses, (7.4 and 5). परा, अपरा G. (15.7-9 . 'मनः षष्ठानीद्रियाणि' gives a clear picture of the way in which the gross body is formed. 'वायोर्गन्धानिवाशयात् । श्रोत्रं चक्षुः स्पर्शनं रसनं घ्राणं प्रकृतिस्थानि कर्षति । शरीरं अवाः. This shows that the अपरा can be identified with the material part in the living body. Like the medical terminology the Gita divides the organs into two groups, the sensory and the motor. Five are sensory and five are motor. Mind is classified

in the Gita both as the sixth and eleventh organ. It is not a contradiction. As mind has control over the sensory organs it is called sixth (मनः षष्ठानीन्द्रियाणि। इन्द्रियाणि दशैकं च) while in the general classification it naturally becomes eleventh. The words बुद्धि, धृति, मन, चेतना are used like the word Prakriti in two senses. One is Kṣara and the other is Akṣara. In the sense of functions they are क्षर, but these as भाव or विभूति, they are अक्षर.

The word Puruṣa is also used in three senses like the word Bhāva. The adjective 'kṣara' added to the word 'puruṣa' makes it mean just like 'kṣara-bhava', which we have already discussed. Thus the words 'kṣetra', 'Kṣara-bhava', 'Kṣara-puruṣa', 'Apara-prakriti', 'Śarīra', 'Bhūta-prakriti' have been connected and it is clear that they are synonyms. The word 'Kṣetra' includes the क्षर energy in it. In the 13th ch. energy—चेतना—is included in the Kṣetra. It is out of Kṣetra that a living body is formed. Thus all the living bodies have got the common intrinsic property of being 'Kṣara'.

Now we shall turn to the word 'Akṣara-bhāva' or merely 'Bhāva'. Just as the word अक्षर is always assumed when the word 'Bhāva' is used singly, similarly when the word 'Puruṣa' is used singly, the adjective 'Akṣara' is always taken for granted. Puruṣa is defined as, पुरुषश्चाधिदैवतं। श्रद्धामयो अय पुरुषः। कूटस्थः पुरुषः अक्षर उच्यते। अहं सर्वभूताशयस्थितः आत्मा। ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशे........... But Śraddhā is defined as arising out of Svabhāva, which is equivalent with Adhyātma. In 10.4-5, there are twenty words used to show the different powers of the Soul. These are called 'Bhāvas' manifesting through the Bhūtas. These are distinct from the intrinsic 'kṣara' powers in the Bhūtas. The distinction between them is not one of mere degree, but of kind. It means that they are intrinsically different. For instance, in the Kṣetra, are included all the mechanical gross powers like cohesion, adhesion, etc., of the molecules, the inter-atomic powers of chemical affinities, the electronic powers of light and X-rays, or even the cosmic powers of positrons and neutrons. The Gita gives the distinction between the powers of the soul and the power in the Bhūtas as follows :—'One who knows the Kṣetra is क्षेत्रज्ञ. The power of knowledge or consciousness is intrinsically different from other powers mentioned above. A mechanical robot perfected in recent years was made to walk in the streets of London, another had opened an exhibition in London from New York, and had even delivered the opening speech. All these magic things are impossible even for a human body to execute. Still a robot

is wanting in consciousness exhibited by a living cell of the vegetable or animal kingdom, even. In the human body also, when Gītā uses the words Buddhi, Dhriti. Smriti. Mind, in the sense of organs of manifestations are classed under Kṣetra. But when it means the Soul power it is classed as Bhāva. 13-26. therefore says, "Anything that is born, whether it belongs to the animal or vegetable kingdom, is due to the combination of Kṣetra and its knower." 'अन्तवन्त इमे देहा: नित्यस्योक्ता: शरीरिण:'

Thus it will be seen that Bhāva, Puruṣa, Sraddhā. Para-prakriti, are all synonyms and have got the common peculiarity of being Akṣara. The meaning of this word is worth noting. It is simply a negation of क्षर. By kṣara are meant all tangible things, while its negation would mean intangible and immutable entities.

The definitions श्रद्धामय:, कूटस्थो, भूताशयस्थित:, हृद्देशे तिष्ठति do show that Puruṣa has got a sort of cover or 'Kūta', and this cover is its power cover. We have already seen that Bhāva means the powers of the Soul. So the Soul with its power means the Puruṣa. The nature of this power is explicitly defined in 9.13. "Great Souls take the cover of 'Daivī-prakriti'. Puruṣa is also called 'Adhi-daivatam'. The words Daiva and Bhāva are synonyms. Bhāva has also been called 'Vibhūti' in 10.7 and 18. When Arjuna asks the question, "In what Bhāvas should I think about you? Kṛṣṇa answers, "Divya-Atma-Vibhūtayas are practically infinite, but I am mentioning some predominant among them." In 10.41, Vibhūti is clearly identified with the fraction of the lustre or the power of the Soul.

Śraddhā is defined as born out of Svabhāva. Thus, Puruṣa means Soul with its cover of Śraddhā, a manifestation of Bhāva power. The word Bhāva has again been connected with another important word 'Sat'. 2.16, defines the relation between them as follows :—"Asat has no Bhāva, while Sat can never be without a Bhāva. उभयोरपि दृष्टोन्त: अनयो: तत्त्वदर्शिभि:". In 17.26, are given Sat-bhāva, and Sadhu-bhāva are the two main different forms of the Bhāva power manifestations of the soul. The first is knowledge or Jnāna and the second is Śraddhā, devotion or love. The tendency to practice Yajña, Dāna or Tapas is also called Sat. All the actions done with that intention are also classed under Sat.

But anything done without Śraddhā is called Asat. 17.28 is a very important verse where this relation is specifically stressed. We have already seen that Asat has no Bhāva or soul power. Thus Asat is Kṣara.

There is another interesting relation between Bhāva and Guṇa (7.13 and 14.)

त्रिभि: गुणमयै: भावै: एभि: सर्वमिदं जगत् । मोहितं नाभिजानाति मामेभ्य: परमव्ययम् । दैवी ह्येषा गुणमयी मम माया दुरत्यया । मामेव ये प्रपद्यते मायामेतां तरन्ति ते ।

From these we get the relation :—Guṇa-māyā-bhāva Daivi-guṇa-mayī-māyā. Satva, Raja, Tama do rise out of Prakriti. But we have already seen that Prakriti is of two types, Parā and Aparā. Aparā is Kṣara and Parā is Akṣara. We shall show that in the opinion of the Gīta, Satva rises out of Parā-prakriti, while the Raja and Tama originate from Aparā, which is Kṣara or Asat, having no Bhāva. 14.6, defines Satva as enlightening, free from defects and giving contact with happiness and knowledge. 14.11, says, that the increase in Jñāna is an indicator diagram of Satva, and it gives enlightenment to all parts of the body. 14.14, (सत्त्वे प्रवृद्धे अमलान् लोकान्) and 14.16, (मुक्तस्य निर्मलं फलं । सत्वात् संजायते ज्ञानं) tell the same story.

But Raja and Tama as Guṇas should not be confused with Raja and Tama as Bhāvas. Thus from 7.12, (ये चैव सात्विकाभावा: राजसा: तामसाश्च ये । मत्त एवेति तान् विद्धि न त्वहं तेषु ते मयि) we can say that Satva-guṇa includes Rajas and Tamas Bhāvas. The origin of Raja and Tama guṇas is entirely different. रजो रागात्मकं विद्धि तृष्णासङ्गसमुद्भवम् । लोभ: प्रवृत्तिरारम्भ: कर्मणां अशम: स्पृहा । रजस्येतानि जायते विवृद्धे । रजसि प्रलयं गत्वा कर्मसङ्गिषु जायते । रजसो लोभएव च । तम: अज्ञानंजं मोहनं सर्वदेहिनां । तमसि प्रलीन: मढयोनिपुजायते । The words तृष्णासंग show that Rajas arises out of contact with the अपरा प्रकृति or क्षरभाव. From Raja the impurity begins to come in. The purity of Satva or Jñāna gets blurred. Tama is simply an intense form of impurity and completely shrouds Jñāna and is thus equivalent with Ajñāna.

We shall now turn to the four central terminologies (संज्ञा) in the Gīta round which the whole of the topic is made to revolve. They are :—(1) Dvandva, (2) Karma, (3) Adhyatma (4) Yoga. Gīta connects them as follows: "The Dvandvas do exist no doubt. But it does not mean that they need overpower the Puruṣa. The द्वन्द्वमोह is created by तृष्णासंग which gives rise to कार्पण्यदोष and makes one forget स्वभावजं कर्म. To restore to अध्यात्मज्ञान नित्यत्वं the method is Yoga.

We end this by quoting 15.5, where all the four central words are included.

निर्मानमोहा जितसंगदोषा अध्यात्मनित्या विनिवृत्तकामा: ।
द्वन्द्वैर्विमुक्ता: सुखदु:खसंज्ञै गच्छन्त्यमूढा: पदमव्ययं तत् ॥

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PURUṢĀRTHA, DAIVA AND NIYATI (SUMMARY).

By

Rao Bahadur P. C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M.

Puruṣārtha and Mātsyanyāya—'Puruṣārtha' means any of the four objects of man's pursuit in life, namely, 'Dharma', 'Artha', 'Kāma' and 'Mokṣa'. So long as the pursuit of any of them does not result in or does not give cause for an apprehension of injury to or interference with the similar freedom of others, he does not feel that there can be any limitations on his powers. But this is practically impossible. Conflicts often arise and if there is no common restraining power—Mātsyanyāya, suppression and even destruction of the weak by the strong prevails. Therefore from the very dawn of civilization wise men have seen the necessity of establishing a monarchical or any other form of government, as is shown by an ancient tradition embodied in the *Yogavāsiṣtha*. There is thus a check on the liberty of action of the individual on the physical plane arising from the *Law of the Land*. It being a human institution, can be changed or got over in certain circumstances.

Puruṣārtha and Daiva—Besides the above, there is an invisible force which is found to help or hinder a man in the pursuit of his objects. This is the result of the operation of the *Law of Karma* according to the philosophical works of the Hindus, Buddhists and Jainas. All these sects however believe that the adverse influences exercised by it can be counter-acted by strength of will and appropriate remedies, so far as the pursuits falling under the first three heads are concerned. As regards those falling under the fourth also the said works recommend various means for counter-acting them. The *Yogavāsiṣtha* from amongst them deserves special mention because it contains in Book II a long dissertation on the inherent power of man to counter-act such influences and supplies a key to success in life, and in Books III, IV and V numerous illustrations of the diverse ways in which that can be done. The second check on individual liberty thus arising from the *Law of Karma* can also be counter-acted by appropriate remedies available to man.

Puruṣārtha and Niyati—All the individual human beings however form part of a universal scheme which embraces both the animate and inanimate creatures. All of them are governed

by the *Law of Nature*, whose operation is seen in the inherent nature of the creatures and in the orderly government of the universe. Those which we call miracles and are the result of Siddhis, are not, according to the *Yogavāsiṣtha*, events outside the operation of the said law but follow as the natural consequences of the employment of certain gems, formulas or herbs which have such natural properties. Those engaged in pursuit of them are still within the net of Avidyā and the self can be realised only by those who tear themselves away from that net. If one can do that, one would find the *Law of Nature* helping rather than obstructing him in the attainment of that goal.

Conclusion—It thus appears that although a man who is successful in life may believe that mankind as a whole is free to aspire for and achieve anything it likes, it is not so. One has to count upon and be prepared to meet obstructions in one's pursuits as regards the first three kinds of aims, arising from the operation of the *Law of the Land*, the *Law of Karma* and the *Law of Nature*. One can get over by appropriate means the first two but not the third. In its case one has only to try to study its operation and take up the line of least resistance. The fourth aim can be realised without fail, provided there are the necessary firm determination and a resort to any of the appropriate methods.

A STUDY IN SPIRITUAL "LEFTISM" AN ASPECT OF '*VĀMĀ MĀRGA*' OR THE '*SAHAJA*' *CULT*

By

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SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

A technique of spiritual discipline that attempts at utilising the crude animal impulses that man inherits from the many planes of primal life, is found in many social and religious settings. It is often called the 'Natural way' inasmuch as it grounds itself on the impulses and desires with which man is born (*Saha-ja*). It is also called the "*left-hand*" method or the *vāma-mārga*. For, those who pursue this process of self-culture turn away from the normal ways of life (right-hand ways, *Dakṣiṇa-mārga*) and proceed in the opposite direction (left-hand way, vāma-mārga).

A very different interpretation is often given of the term *vāma-mārga* or *vāmācāra*. It is said that this method is so designated inasmuch as man must assume the woman-attitude towards the Deity. As the text says[1]:

वामाचारो भवेत् तत् वामा भूत्वा यजेत् परां ।

This interpretation of the term is in keeping with many of the *Sahajīya* texts of the Post-Caitanya cycle. Bose in his excellent treatise *Post-Caitanya Sahajīya-Cult* elucidates the main principles of this technique at great length. There is however another sense in which the term *Vāma-mārga* is commonly understood in the *tāntric* texts of various cults. The purpose of this paper is to consider the basic principles of the "natural way" in this sense.

SECTION 2: THE BASIC PSYCHOLOGICAL MOTIVE

Man carries on his daily life with the help of mind the various phases and constituents of which have slowly been woven into one another under the stress of a two-fold need: Adaptation to the physical environment and adjustment to

[1] Citta-viśuddh-prakaraṇa, Vs. 125 (published in *J. A. S. B.*, 1898, Part I, pp. 177-84),

persons, principles and institutions that form the social milieu. A large part of human nature that does not fit in with the pattern of mental states required for the two-fold adaptation, must necessarily remain inoperative though potent for action. Religious discipline, however, does not bear fruit as long as it leaves any level of mental personality unaffected or inoperative. It is essential for all schemes of spiritual reconstruction, therefore, to aim at reaching out even to the outermost boundaries and to the deepest recesses of the mental personality. No desire, impulse or sentiment may be left alone to pursue its own course.

It is essential for this purpose that some of the basic instincts should be harnessed into the scheme of spiritual culture. For, instincts and emotions that constitute the *hormic units* are conceived as the ultimate constituents of personality inherited by man from his animal ancestors. If these constituents could in some manner be fashioned into a unitary pattern they would not only cease to cause tension in the psycho-physical system but would also make it *easy and natural* for all other trends of mind to enter into the profile of the conscious personality. Man's actions would easily follow the urge of impulses; they would be woven into all other phases of mind that control action, speech and the course of introspectible processes, and finally, the entire mind would be rendered into a single conscious plane without any concealed layers of thought, feeling and desire.

A personality that reaches this plane cannot have any sense of shame or hatred for anything. For, these sentiments arise from a dual standard of life, one lived on the surface of consciousness and another below the mental plane of daily transactions. The spiritual aim, according to this ideology, is to abolish such duality so that no sense of concealment remains. As a Buddhist *Sahajīya* text says[1] :

अणुमात्रां घृणां लज्जां दूरतः परिवर्ज्जयेत् ।
आन्तरालिकभावस्ते व्यर्थो वै पतनं यथा ॥

The least amount of sense of shame and hatred must be rooted out even when perceived in the offing. An attitude of concealment leads to inner barrenness as much as a 'fall' from a plane of spiritual achievement.

Mental life conceived in this fashion must move on a ***single dimension***. Consciousness possesses levels and planes under usual condition of life as phenomenal analysis reveals.

[1] Caryā-carya-viniścaya, Com, to Vs. 1: (Bangiya Sahitya-parishad, Calcutta).

Desires, sentiments and impulses that must necessarily be inhibited or transformed in the setting of normal life through exigencies of adaptation, are recommended this natural manner of expression in this new scheme. It is, therefore, called the *natural way, the way of the inborn desires or the sahaja* method.

Section 3: The Resulting Inner State

This method is said to lead to a condition of great joy. Luipāda, one of the teachers of this school, speaks of महासुख—'the great joy that arises from the fulfilment in the pursuit of the Natural way.' A further advance in the life of the spirit is indicated in the following[1]:

निर्व्विकारो निरासंगो निष्कांक्षो गतकल्मषः ।
आद्यन्तकल्पनामुक्तो व्योमवद् भावयेद् बुधः ॥

A sense of abandonment bred by indulgence seems to set the mind free from its specific fixations and impart to it a sense of placidity and a 'translucidte soi-meme a soi-meme,' described in the concrete imagery of Indian thinkers as 'sky-like', infinite free, placid and with no hidden recesses.

The goal of attaining a mental life, single-dimensional undivided, restful and yet intensely conscious of itself, seems to have fascinated Hindu thinkers possessing filiation with many schools of philosophy. Consciousness, it was believed, is cast into bondage by the specified mental states and operations. These arise through a tendency to division inherent in consciousness itself. Consciousness as a reality with inner divisions into various mental processes each describing its specific course in time, is very different from the single and undivided consciousness. The latter can, however, be re-gained through a transformation of the consciousness that has divided itself into many states and processes. As the text says :—

अपास्तकल्पनाजालं सूर्यकान्तनिभं मनः ।
प्रज्ञासूर्यांशुसंश्लिष्टं तद्वत् ज्वलति योगिनाम् ॥

Mind glows when its states and processes cease, and when it is illumined by the sunshine of true knowledge just as the *surya-kānta* jewel (the jewel of the sun-like glow) shines when touched by solar rays.

The reason is given as follows :

यथैकः स्फटिकः स्वच्छः पररागेण रज्यते ।
तथैव चित्तंस्वस्थितिन्तुकल्पनारागरंजितम् ॥

[1] Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, IV. 8. (Gaekwad Oriental Series, XLIV).

A transparent crystal is coloured by the hue of some other object. Mind (jewel-like) is coloured in the same manner by hue of its states and processes (*kalpanā*). The mind in reality is, however, uncreated, pure and without any blemish in its essential nature[1] :

आदिशुद्धमनुत्पन्नं निजरूपमनाविलं ॥

Many are the methods of such attainment recommended in the philosophical doctrines and mystic cults of different peoples and times. We are interested in this paper in the consideration of certain methods of discipline that adopt what has been described in the beginning of this paper as the *Natural way* or the *sahaja way*. The technic of this school is always anti-social and violates the moral sensibilities of all peoples of all times. Yet this trend of thought has sprung up sporadically in many periods and regions. The people who initiated this cult were not moral perverts. The theories that they enunciate often appear to be plausible and yet the consequences of these teachings and the formulation of the doctrines into rituals and actual practices, are most often revolting to the social and moral sentiments alike.

Section 4: The Underlying Ideas

The ideas underlying the rituals, however, sound eloquently reasonable. "A lump of iron thrown into water sinks to the bottom. The same thing when shaped into a vessel, can itself cross the stream and can also take others across. The mind may be shaped into a worthy vessel according to the rules of the way of wisdom. It frees itself as it enjoys its desires and also frees other[2] :

लोहपिण्डो जले क्षिप्तो मज्जत्येव तु केवलं ।
पात्रीकृतं तदेवान्यं तारयेत् तरति स्वयम् ॥
तद्वत् पात्रीकृतं चित्तं प्रज्ञोपायविधानतः ।
भुंजानो मुच्यते कामं मोचयत्यपरानपि ॥

Enjoy the dictates of impulses, so runs the recommendation, consecrating them in accordance with the rules of the *sahaja* way. Your desires will not lead you into the bondage of the body and into sin[3] :

मा भैष्ठा नास्ति ते पापं समयो दुरतिक्रमः ।
मन्त्रसंस्कृतकाष्ठादि देवत्वमधिगच्छति ॥

[1] *op. cit.*, Ref. 1, Vs. 92, 27, 28.

[2] *ibid.*, 40-41.

[3] *ibid*, 118.

This assurance is followed by recommendations for the fulfilment of desires very frequently in an anti-social form. One should pursue actions that one's desires prompt behaviour should follow the lead of inclinations. This is the proper discipline for one who follows the *vajra-yāna* : he is sure to meet suffering otherwise. Rituals, fasting and the worship of gods with many shapes do not lead to spiritual success[1]:

यथाकामक्रियाकारी यथारुचितचेष्टितं ।
साधयेद्वज्रसत्वत्वम् अन्यथा क्लिश्यते ध्रुवम् ॥
व्रतोपवास नियमैर्देवतो रूपभावनैः ।
नानाभुजसामायुक्तैः सिद्धयते न हि साधनैः ॥

The desires that seem to be stressed in actual practice are those mainly connected with food and sex. There are several reasons for the selections of these. (*a*) The primal impulses inhibit all other mental states. The mind consists of nothing but one or the other of these impulses. It becomes homogeneous and thus partakes of the character of pure consciousness as much as possible. As a text says:

कामक्रोधलोभमोहमदमात्सर्यगोचरे ।
बुद्धिं निस्तिमितां कृत्वा तत्तत्वमवशिष्यते ॥

When one fixates on objects of lust, anger, greed and that which causes mental bewilderment and diminishes his capacity of discriminative judgment, the residue is a pure awareness coloured by joy[2] :

(*b*) A desire often carries with it a high charge of emotions. When man is keenly aware of these, the mind takes an introvert turn. The details of things and their relations are obliterated ; the course of action becomes precarious ; and the personality tends under such conditions to be enclosed within its own shell. One should think that the different mental states and all that they signify do not exist outside the physical personality. Such thought eliminates all discriminative functions. Consciousness is, thus, free from all discrete operations and becomes a unity[3] :

चित्ताद्यन्तःकृतिर्नास्ति ममान्तर्भावयेदिति ।
विकल्पानामभावेन विकल्पैरुज्झितो भवेत् ॥

(*c*) Such a transformation which may be described as solipsistic occurs through a gradual course of practice. One such step in this direction is to cultivate sentiment of love for

[1] Jñāna-siddhi I; (Gaekwad Oriental Series, No. XLIV), i. 85-86.

[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, Vs. 101.

[3] *ibid*, Vs. 94.

certain persons exclusively on the mental plane and entirely dissociated from overt behaviour. A text says: One should cultivate the sentiment of love either for his own lady-love or for that of some one else *exclusively on the mental plane.* One should carry on all operations on the mental plane. The spiritual aspirant may reach out to success by this method[1]:

स्वकीयां परकीयां वा मानसीन्तु रमेत् स्त्रियं ।
सर्वन्तु मानसे कुर्यात् तेन सिध्यति साधकः ॥

Another text recommends that the entire sexual situation with all its details should be contemplated on the mental plane and the sense of pleasure arising in the course of this procedure should be attributed to the ego[2]:

लेहना मन्थना कोटैः स्त्रीसुखस्य भरा स्मृतेः ।
शक्त्यभावेऽपि देवेशि भवेदानन्दसंप्लवः ॥

There is a theological principle at the base of such practices. The divine reality expresses itself in all pure and spiritual planes of love. Such love reflected in the mind of ordinary individuals assumes the character of sex-love. The human mind, therefore, may find its way back to the divine reality through certain transformations of sex-love. This idea is suggested by the following[3]:

आनन्दचिन्मयरसात्मतया मनःसु ।
गोलोकनाम्नि निजधाम्नि तले च तस्य ॥
यः प्राणिनां प्रतिफलन् स्मरतामुपेत्य ।
लीलायितेन भुवनानि जयत्यजस्रं ।
गोविन्दमादिपुरुषं तमहं भजामि ॥

Section 5: Anti-Social Practices

The practices for the culture of the impulses that bring about a spiritual consequence often assume a grotesque and anti-social form. It is suggested that one who is orientated to the Bodhi-consciousness, the insight sought for by this school of Buddhism, should "eat dried red meat with alcohol", a practice commonly deemed contrary to the precepts and resolutions of the Buddhist[4]:

शुष्कलोहितमांसं च बोधिचित्तविमिश्रितं ।
महोदकसमायुक्तं भक्षयेत् तत्त्ववित् सदा ॥

[1] Bose-Post-Caitanya Sahajiyā Cult—Quoted in p. 122.
[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, Vs. 70.
[3] Brahma-Saṁhitā, Vs. 42.
[4] Jñāna-siddhi, I. 12.

The same text proceeds to say: Rob others, tell lies and desire other people's wives. The same deeds that cast men into hell for millions of years may lead the spiritual aspirant to salvation. Such a person should be entirely free from considerations in regard to suitable objects of food, drink and sexual enjoyment[1]:

परविन्तानि हारयेत् ।
कामयेत परदारान् वै मृषावादमुदीरयेत् ॥
कर्म्मणा येन् वै सत्त्वाः कल्पकोटिशतान्यपि ।
पच्यते नरके घोरे तेनं योगी विमुच्यते ॥
भक्ष्याभक्ष्यविनिर्मुक्तः पेयापेयविवर्जितः ।
गम्यागम्यविनिर्मुक्तो भवेद् योगी समाहितः ॥

It is said in another text: One should think of himself as completely filled with the joy of eating and drinking. A contemplation of such a state induces a stability of mind and a feeling of joy. If one asks, says the commentator, how there can be any understanding of the ultimate nature of things in such a state, we should answer that concentration and mental stability are the ends to be aimed at. If these be achieved, there is success. Persons who pursue these methods are called the followers of the Great Discipline, *Mahācārāḥ* or *Vīrācārāḥ*. 'They are to be respected and not blamed' न निन्देदथ वन्देत वीरद्रव्यपरान् नरान्[2] ।

जग्धि पानकृतोल्लासरसानन्दविजृंभनात् ।
भावयेत् भरितावस्थां महानन्दस्ततो भवेत् ॥[3]

These general precepts are further specified in certain sex-practices of a hideous and disgusting nature. Incest and consorting with women of lowly origin are suggested:

जनयित्रीं स्वसारं च स्वपुत्रीं भागिनेयिकां ।
कामयन् तत्त्वयोगेन लघु सिध्यति साधकः ॥
सर्वांग कुत्सितायां वा नकुर्यादवमाननाम् ।
स्त्रियं सर्व्वकुलोतपन्नां पूजयेत् वज्रधारिणीं ॥
चंडालकुलसंभूतां डोंबिकां वा विशेषतः ।
जुगुप्सितकुलोत्पन्नां सेवयन् सिद्धिमाप्नुयात् ॥[4]

Section 6: Interpretation of These Passages

A word of caution is necessary in regard to these passages. It is quite true that writers of this cult often use a language which contains a hidden meaning behind the manifest meaning which is often hideous. This manner of writing has been called

[1] *Jñāna-siddhi*, I. 14, 15, 18.
[2] Vijñāna-Bhairava, 72 and Comm.
[3] Prajñopāya-viniścaya-siddhi, V. 25.
[4] Jñāna-siddhi, I. 80, 82.

the *Sandhyābhāṣā* or the twilight-language. It is possible to suggest that the ostensible meaning which refers to incest and other reprehensible sex-practices should not be accepted at their face value.

I do not question the possibility suggested in this argument. The vast *Sahajīya* literature, however, contains many unmistakable references to sex-practices which, to say the least, signify illicit sex-relationship. This view is borne out by many of the Vaiṣṇava texts though of no great authority. One of these supports the sexual approach to inner life, by the theory that all living beings originate from sex which must contain within it the clue to the secret of reality. The sex-sentiment properly cultivated may, therefore, lead man back to the very heart of reality[1]. Such culture of sex must be in the media of two personalities which are "not easily accessible to each other" (*Mithodurlabhatā*) and be socially reprehensible so that the personalities concerned become entirely dependent upon their mates and are thrown back upon their own resources[2]. Man ceases to live on the surface of life and all the latent impulses of mind are integrated afresh for a new adjustment.

Actual instances are cited of this method of approach and they leave no doubt in regard to the sexual significance of the descriptive terms which are sometimes treated as symbolic. Rāmānanda Rāya, a great Vaiṣṇava of Southern India, is said to have pursued a form of secret method of discipline. His practice seems to have been to seat two undraped maids on his two thighs, to enjoy mentally the joy of sex-emotions and yet to maintain a certain order of mental detachment.[3]

A theory that may justify the use of sex-sentiments for spiritual purposes is suggested in the following account: The true nature of the Self and its relation to the Divine is revealed through the intimacies of love between Rādhā and Kriṣṇa. Such a love is intensified through many alliances between the pair of lovers and the lady-friends of Rādhā, the *sakhis*. These latter alone can truly appreciate the depth of Rādhā's love for Kriṣṇa, the Divine. The true essence of Divine reality as a sense of overflowing love may, thus, be adequately

[1] Rasa-Kadamba—Kalikā—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

[2] Rati-vilāsa-paddhati—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

[3] Rasa-tattva-sāra—A *Sahajīyā* text in Bengali, ostensibly of the 17th Century.

appreciated through the *sakhi-attitude*. The *sakhi* does not aim at enjoying Krisna directly; she enjoys the many love-relations between Rādhā and Krisna[1]. A state of detachment in the midst of storms and stresses of love may in this manner be achieved when the devotee completely assumes the *sakhi*-personality.

This cult of love, the doctrine that the divine can be approached through a transformation of sex-love, described by the Vaisnava as a super-naturalisation of '*the natural*' thus implicates a dissociation of two selves, the self that enjoys and the self that *appreciates* the enjoyment. A super-ego, the ego that matures through tradition intellectual discipline and the concrete practices that instil into mind the holiness of the Rādhā-Krisna conception, gradually becomes better-defined. The boundary between this ego that daily grows in holiness and the ego that yields to the normal impulses of life, becomes sharply outlined. Thus arises the situation in which even the boiling passions precipitated by the stimulation of the basic biologic urges may be watched with equanimity by the other ego, the super-ego. This is a plausible psychological account of the theory underlying this type of discipline.

SECTION 7: AN ESTIMATE

The cults described in the preceding pages aim at achieving three definable purposes. They aim at *catharsis*, so that the latent impulses and their filiations may appear on the surface of life unhampered by the artificial codes of culture imposed by society. They aim at disruptions of the pattern of ideas, ideals and sentiments that weave round the personality—a sheath of egoism and cast a spell of a false sense of inner security, spiritual well-being and even vanity on the surface of conscious life. Finally, the cults aim at achieving a difficult integration of the many discordant strains of thoughts, feelings and impulses that convey the messages of infantile, archaic and even of the purely animal settlings of physical and mental life. The aim has an aroma of romance and here lies the strength of the appeal. At the same time, it is tremendously difficult for one to accomplish the task. Every inch of the way is fraught with serious uncertainties and grave spiritual risks.

The account of the various cults and theories given above appear to be psychologically plausible. There is no reason to believe, however, that they are anything more than merely plausible. It may be possible in rare instances to rouse the

[1] Caitanya-caritāmrita, Part II, Ch. 8

animal impulses, to transform them and to weld them together into a new order of personality. But then we must take into account of the other alternatives. The impulses may never be transformed and even if transformed in a certain manner, they may never be blended into a unitary personality. The individual may, thus, be spiritually left in the lurch, as a neurotic, if not as a degenerate. It is for these reasons that there is a deep suspicion among the Hindu ascetics about this method of discipline which is called the *Vāma-mārga,* the left-hand way. The practices of these spiritual "leftists" are said to be fraught with grave risks for the mental and moral personality. In spite of this fact, the "leftists" confidently assert :

विना परकीयां देवि जपेत् यदि तु साधकः ।
शतकोटिजपेनैव तस्य सिद्धिर्न जायते ॥
व्रतोपवासनियमैर्देवतारूपभावनैः ।
नानाभुजसमायुक्तैः सिध्यते न हि साधनैः ॥

If a person recites the name of God for millions of times without consorting with women other than one to whom he has a right, his effort is doomed to failure.[1] Fasting, anchorite practices and contemplation of gods possessing many arms do not lead to spiritual success.[2]

It is evident that the method under consideration aims at getting away from the beaten tracks of spiritual discipline towards something that holds out the possibility of marshalling all the powerful impulses of life towards a fresh spiritual orientation. It fails, however, to size up the calibre of man's body and mind ; it overestimates the capacity of the personality to stand strains, tensions and impacts of powerful animal impulses. It gives a high premium to the ability of human mind to maintain its balance and to steer clear of the many dangers that lie on the way to the attainment of moral and spiritual integration.

The high way of the life of the spirit must be open to all. It must eliminate all dangers that normally threaten the weaker vessels. There are temptations that overwhelm the personality even in the mundane settings of life. The individual finds it difficult to overcome them even with the aid of many social and moral agencies. The lonely pilgrim on his God-ward journey may have the equipment only of faith and grace. A heavy load of animal impulses can but disturb the unison of life and impede its progress for whatever spiritual goal it may strive.

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[1] Bose-*op. cit.*, p. 121. [2] Jñāna-siddhi I. 86.

SAHAJA-SAMĀDHI AND KHASAM BHĀVA IN MEDIEVAL INDIA

By

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Neither the word सहज nor समाधि is unknown in the religious literature of India. But in later medieval भक्तs we find new explanations put forward for the traditional terms and some of them have gone so far as to completely change their meaning. As the time went on even those traditional words which were used by the earlier teachers were forgotten. Expounders of different schools interpreted the Sahaja-Bhāva in different meanings and thus the conception of Sahaja-Samadhi reached a very high standard of perfection at the hands of Kabir, the great medieval teacher. He has ridiculed the then-prevailing ideas of Kha-sama-Bhāva and Gagana-Vāsa of the Yogis. What he actually meant by these terms is being discussed in the following pages.

It seems that in course of time the conception of Kha-sama-Bhāva was completely forgotten and haphazardly interpreted. Among the disciples of the great teachers of the middle ages there seems to exist a good deal of rivalry in describing the experience of samādhi of their respective teachers and in claiming superiority of such experience over those of their predecessors. निरञ्जन, the stainless one or the निर्गुण शिव, for instance, whose realisation was considered to be the highest achievement in the हठयोग, has undergone unthinkable change, later on, in the Kabir-Pantha. The Śiva-Saṃhitā (II.48) declares that "as long as knowledge does not arise about निरञ्जन, the stainless one, so long all things appear separate and many. The highest experience of the Yogi is to become one with निरञ्जन and so Śiva Saṃhitā says that "when a person is free from the distinctive attribute, the उपाधिs, then only he can say he is indivisible knowledge and pure unit—अखण्डज्ञानरूपी निरञ्जनः (I.68). This is निरञ्जन पद (Kaulāvali-Nirṇaya, XXI. p. 140) or the highest experience of a Hatha-Yogī. This निरञ्जन has been reduced in Kabir-Pantha almost to a position of the Devil whose only work is to entrap people in his मायाजाल (Kabīra-Mansūra p. 9ff). Thus, in the Kabir-Pantha it was claimed that Kabir only could reach the highest stage and others could reach but a lower stage claiming that the same was the highest one. Later on, even Kabir had to receive the same treatment

at the hands of the disciples of the follower of rival schools of other teachers and his tenth Mukām was described as an inferior stage in Samādhi. Kabir himself mentions the ten Mukāmas (Com. of Viśvanātha Sinha, p. 264) or the stages of mental concentration but he never suggests that his is the only highest experience and other great teachers did not reach that stage. He, however, ridicules the Kha-sama-Bhāva, which was considered to be the highest experience in the Sahajayani and Vajrayani Yogis. In the Padas of Saroj Vajra the word Kha-sama has occurred twice. At one place it is खसम सहावें that is, खसम स्वभावेन. In the Haraprasād Śāstri edition, the Tika of अद्वयवज्र on this stanza is missing, but at another place, he however, explains this word in the following way : तथा सोऽपि खसमस्वरूपं मनः तस्मिन्मनः क्रियते । एवं यः करोति स उत्तम पुरुषः सहजस्वभावे रम्यते क्रीडन इति यावत् ॥ (Sahajāmnāya Pañjikā, pp. 110-111). Apparently here अद्वयवज्र thinks that Kha-sama-Bhāva is identical with Sahaja-Bhāva, the highest experience.

The literal meaning of खसम is sky-like or void-like. In the Nātha cult we can get the same meaning in the word गगनोपम which we shall notice later on. In another पद of शबर-पाद the commentator explains the very word खसम as most brilliant experience (i.e. प्रभास्वर-तुल्यभूता). In अद्वयवज्रसंग्रह (p. 54) however, खसम is used as an attribute of the highest experience. Thus it seems that these teachers used the term to denote their highest experience in Samādhi, the Sahaja-Bhāva, where the Sādhaka neither feels the sense nor the egoistic self—"इन्दिअ जत्थ बिलअ गउणट्ठिउ अप्प सहावा". The Nātha-Yogis call their highest experience of Samādhi as भावाभावविनिर्मुक्तावस्था or a stage where neither the existence nor the non-existence is felt. This also is the दुर्लभा सहजावस्था or the Sahaja stage which is difficult to attain. The Buddhist mystics did not believe in the eternal existence of soul and so their सहजावस्था or the highest experience in Samādhi is somewhat different from that of the Nātha-Yogis, who believe in the eternal existence of आत्मा. I don't know whether these Yogis ever used the word Kha-sama, but they have certainly used the word गगनोपम which is literally identical with that word. In अवधूत गीता quoted in the गोरक्ष-सिद्धान्त-संग्रह we find verses in which this word occurs thrice and the Sādhaka describes his identity with गगनोपम ; one of them is quoted below :

मायाप्रपञ्चरचना न च मे विकारः कौटिल्यदम्भरचना न च मे विकारः ।
सत्यानृतेति रचना न च मे विकारः ज्ञानामृतंसमरसं गगनोपमोऽहम् ॥

Now this much is certain that in the Buddhist mystics there was the Kha-sama-Bhāva denoting the highest experience in Samādhi and the Nātha-Yogis also used an identical term for their own experience. While floating in the current of Sādhanā

this word खसम reached Kabir, another word having the same form and pronunciation also crossed the boundaries of this land coming from a completely different source. This was an Arabic word *khasam* meaning a husband. So, Kabir came across the word having two different connotations: i.e., (1) खसम or the highest experience of Kāyā-Sādhanā (2) खसम or the husband.

Now, Kabir did not favour the idea of achieving the goal by mere Kāyā-Sādhanā. He was first a Bhakta, then anything else. After all, the stage of Bliss which is experienced in course of different Āsanas, Mudrās and prāṇāyāmas is but a temporary feat. One can carry the प्राण to the गगनचक्र or the शून्य and thus can obtain, for the time being गगनवास but the प्राणs return again from the highest *chakra* and then what happens? The yogi comes again in the world of passions, because it is nothing but a physical attainment. As a matter of fact, Kabir asserts that गगन and पवन both are finite and so the combination of these two can never become infinite. This is a कच्चा योग, an immature samādhi. Iḍā, Piṅgalā and even, Suṣumṇā are all but limited by time, space and causation. And hence the Sahaja-Bhāva or the गगनोपम भाव of the sādhaka through the Prāṇāyāma, etc., can never be a source of eternal joy, or of an अद्वैत विराग which is beyond any expression and even beyond all attributes of existence and non-existence. In the 65th रमैनी of his बीजक he has ridiculed the attempt of the Hatha Yogis to cheat the महाकाल and has bitterly attacked the attempt to have the eternal Bliss without भक्ति or devotion. Thinking in this way he has shown the futility of खसम भाव. This word, as we have already noticed, has come with a different meaning to Kabir. The idea of ख-सम was not liked by him and so खसम in his साखीs and पदs has been used to denote an inferior type of consort, the seducer, and not the beloved. The five senses were supposed to be the brides of some Eternal Being who were seduced by the khasama or गगनोपम भाव but Sadguru, the good teacher, told them the truth and thus made them know their real Lord.

भौरै मूकी खसमके कबहुँ न किया विचार ।
सतगुरु साहिब बताइया पूरबला भरतार ॥

Kabirdas would not prefer the contact of his mind with the खसम. Rather he would fasten it with the rope of love and would bring it there where its Lord dwells.

धीरो मेरे मनुआ तोहिं धरि टांगौं, तैं तो कियो मेरे खसम सों सांगो ।
प्रेम की जेवरिया तेरे गले बांधूँ, तहां लै जाऊँ जहाँ मेरे माधो ॥

Showing the futility of खसम Kabir sets forth his own conception of समाधि. It is सहज समाधि. The word सहज also came to him

through tradition and was very commonly used in those days. This devoted the highest experience of समाधि in the terminology of Buddhist Mystics as well as of the Nātha-Yogis. In the चर्यापद (H. P. Śāstri edition) सहज and सुन (शून्य) have been used in many Padas to denote the highest experience (42-2; 28-4-6) and sometimes only सहज (as in 9.4) to express the same idea. Some Padas have सहजानन्द महासुख also (27-10). The महासुख is clearly interpreted by सरहपाद (Journal of the Department of letters, Vol. XXVIII, 1934, p. 13) as a state of समाधि where the Sādhaka has no realisation of either the beginning, the middle, or the end; either of भव or of निर्वाण; either of the self or anything else:

आइ ण अन्त ण मज्झ णउ णउ भव णउ अप्पाण ।
एहु सो परम महासुह णउ भव णउ निव्वाण ॥

The Sahajyanis declare four types of Ānanda or bliss, i.e., प्रथम, परम, विरम and सहज, the highest being the सहज. Nātha-Yogis too described their highest experience as दुर्लभा सहजावस्थां. (Kapila-Gītā, quoted in Goraksa-siddhānta-saṅgraha). Kabir has used this word frequently and often together with the word शून्य (Literally, = Void), another familiar word of the day. Now although this word was quite familiar in Yoga-literature, the Hatha-Yogis were conscious of the fact that this word might be confused with the same of the Budhist philosophers and so *Siva-samhita* (I.15) in the list of the leaders of human mind into delusion (लोक व्यामोहकारका:) includes those who believe the world to be a current of consciousness and no material entity and also those who call शून्य or the void, as the greatest (I.12). Thus the शून्य of the Hatha-Yogis is not void and the same is true in case of Kabir too. शून्य and सहज either used separately or together means the highest realisation. Thus the *Hatha-Yoga-Pradipikā* concludes with the following remark:

"As long as the Prāna does not enter and flow in the middle channel and the vindu does not become firm by the control of the movements of the Prāna, as long as the mind does not assume that real thing which is सहज-सदृश (cf. खसम, गगनोपम) so long all the talk of knowledge and wisdom is merely a nonsensical habbling of a mad man." गोरक्षनाथ in his अमरौघशासन (p. 9) ridicules the various conceptions of मोक्ष and declares that मोक्ष is that where mind is seen by the mind itself by the way of Sahaja-Samādhi.

यत्र सहज-समाधिक्रमेण मनसा मन: समालोक्यते स मोक्षः ।

Kabir proceeds further on and warns against the frequent use and misunderstood conception of Sahaja; 'Every one speaks of Sahaja but nobody understands that Sahaja is he who has abandoned the worldly objects with the least effort on his part.

सहज सहजसब कोइ कहै, सहज न बूझै कोइ ।
जिन सहजै निचया तजी सहज कही जै सोइ ॥

Though later on, in Kabir's own sect Sahaja-loka was considered to be the 9th of the ten Mukāmas or the stages, Satya-loka being the tenth or the highest. Yet we have sufficient reasons to believe that Kabir declared सहज समाधि the highest ideal of a Bhakta. Thus he exclaims:

"O sadhu the simple union is the best.
Since the day when I met with my Lord, there has been no end to the sport of our love.
I shut not my eyes, I close not my ears, I do not mortify my body;
I see with my eyes open and smile, and behold His beauty everywhere:
I utter his name, and whatever I see, it reminds me of Him; whatever I do, it becomes his worship.
The rising and setting are one to me; all contradictions are solved.
Where I go, I move round Him.
All I achieve is his service:
When I lie down I lie prostrate at His feet.
He is the only adorable one to me: I have none other.
My tongue has left off impure words, it sings His glory day and night.
Whether I rise or sit down, I can never forget Him; for the rhythm of His music beats in my ears.
Kabir says: "My heart is frenzied, and I disclose in my soul what is hidden. I am immersed in that one great bliss which transcends all pleasure and pain."

(Translation—Rabindranath Tagore)

Such is the सहज समाधि of Kabir. He puts his realization of the Eternal Being in his own way:

O How may I ever express that secret word?
O how can I say He is not like this, and He is like that?
If I say that he is within me, the universe is ashamed:
If I say that he is without me, it is falsehood.
He makes the inner and the outer worlds to be indivisibly one;
The conscious and the unconscious, both are His footstools.
He is neither manifest nor hidden, He is neither revealed nor unrevealed:
There are no words to tell that which He is.

(Translation—Rabindranath Tagore)

RADHAKRISHNAN, THE GREAT RECONCILER

By

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Affirmation of religious experience as supreme is one of the important contributions of Radhakrishnan to the philosophic world. It is on the basis of this experience that he has attempted to bring about the reconciliation of the great civilizations of the East and the West. The world is in travail to give birth to a new civilization, the body of which is already prepared but not the soul. The soul is the understanding of the great and good things in the two traditional outlooks of the East and the West.

To characterise broadly, the East is said to be absolutisitc in philosophy, subjective and individualistic in social outlook and world-negating in religion. While, the Western outlook is theistic in philosophy, objective and humanistic in society and world-affirming in religion.

From the standpoint of philosophy, these views conflict with each other. The all-comprehensive, philosophic idea of the Absolute has no place for creation. It relegates the world and God to the realm of appearance and holds out the path of renunciation as the only way for perfection. While, according to devotional religion, God and the world are the sole realities, in which each individual has unique place. The devotional religion holds out a positive path in which co-operation of every individual soul counts in the perfection of the world. These two views are not the exclusive characteristics of any two nations. Both in the East and the West, these views were held by thinkers at different times, but due to the long pursuit of objective sciences by the western thinkers humanism has become their predominant character.

Radhakrishnan, in order to solve this conflict, goes to the basic religious or spiritual experience and shows how the philosophic idea of the Absolute and the devotional idea of a personal God are aspects of the same reality.

In his opinion, the conflict and confusion between these views is due to our ignorance of the true meaning of spiritual life. It should be noted here, that for Radhakrishnan religion

means spiritual life. He says that, we have wrongly identified religion with feelings and emotions, cults and rituals, belief and faith.[1] Religion is none of these things, though each of these elements is present in it.

In his *Reign of Religion*' he has attempted to show that religion as dogma has been detrimental to the spirit of truth. Since its break with Absolute Idealism, philosophic thought in the West, has gradually declined towards materialism. Passing through Pragmatism, Critical Idealism, Neo-realism and culminating in the Dialectical Materialism, Western philosophy has gradually broken all the spiritual ties. But the need of religion is not checked thereby; it has tried to assert itself in affirming pseudo-religions like Humanism, Modernism and others.

Radhakrishnan points out that the need for religion or spiritual life is inherent in us and the discoveries of sciences have not dethroned the reality of God. Religion and the reality which it affirms are not mere imaginings of man. God is not a projection of our wishes and desires. The desire for God is real in so far as it arises due to the impact of ourselves with the world with which we form a whole. "There is" he says, "an affinity between the structure of the world and the mind of man. Our sense-perceptions, our logical concepts, our intuitive apprehensions are not forms superinduced on reality, but are determinate forms of reality itself."[2]

Secondly, sciences reveal a greater organisation and the purposiveness of the advance in the world which can only be explained on the hypothesis of spirit which is both immanent and transcendent to it.

Lastly, he argues that religious experience is a fact. There is a long tradition of mystics all over the world through all times, which cannot be set aside easily. There is no reason to doubt the veracity of mystics' experiences when they describe it in different terms. Religious experience, like every other experience, is symbolic and is determined by the capacity and the attitude of the seeker. The scientific and the religious experience both stand on the same level. Just as the atomic structure in all its mathematical complexities does not reveal itself to a man who has not trained himself for it; so also, God or the Absolute does not reveal itself to one who has not purified and disciplined himself to attain it.

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*. *S. Radhakrishnan*. (Revised Cheap Ed.) p. 87.

[2] *Ibid*. p. 333.

Constructively describing this experience, Radhakrishnan says that spiritual life is neither a creaturely dependence nor is it identical with moral consciousness as Kant put it. It is not even a form of knowledge, though a metaphysical view of the universe is implied in all religions.

Positively, religion as spiritual life is an independent functioning of mind, something unique and autonomous. It is, as he puts it, 'the reaction of the whole man to the whole of reality.' "We seek religious object with the totality of our faculties and energies. Such functioning of the whole man may be called spiritual life, as distinct from merely intellectual or moral or aesthetic activity or a combination of them."[1]

"It is a condition of consciousness in which feelings are fused, ideas melt into one another boundaries broken and ordinary distinctions transcended."[2] Spiritual experience is *svataḥsiddha, svayamvedya* and *svayamprakāśa.*

We have glimpses of such experiences in the ecstasy of poetry, or the subordination of self or falling in love to some higher ideal. We attain mystic bliss if we deepen any of these experiences. Indian sages have laid down a definite code of discipline through which we can make the fleeting intuitive experiences our permanent possession. Unless we lift ourselves above our petty desires and selfishnesses and purify ourselves, the light of spirit cannot dawn in us.

The mystic or spiritual experience is inexpressible and ineffable and holds us in rapture such that we have no time and power to analyse it. But when it is gone, we are restless. We endeavour to recapture it in words. Thus, the very inexpressibility of the religious experience gives rise to the necessity of expressing and interpreting it.

The mobility of spiritual experience gives rise to different interpretations which in turn to different creeds and cults. We want an all-inclusive Absolute to satisfy our sense of rest and fulfilment and posit God so that our desire for fellowship with God may have satisfaction. God as person is the nearest and only satisfactory symbol which our logical mind can find to understand the highest. Thus, personality and impersonality are different interpretations of this basic experience. There is, as a matter of fact, no fundamental contradiction 'between the philosophic idea of God as an all-embracing spirit and the devotional idea of a personal God who arouses in us

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*, p. 88-9.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 92.

the specifically religious emotion." "The difference between the Supreme as spirit and the Supreme as person is one of standpoint and not of essence; between God as he is and God as he seems to us." God is after all a symbol of the highest. "All religion is symbolic and symbolism is excluded from religion only when religion itself perishes. Philosophers may quarrel about the Absolute and God and contend that the holy one who is worshipped is different from the Absolute which is a reality demonstrated by reason. But the religious consciousness has felt that the two are one."[1]

Such an understanding of the problem gives a very satisfactory metaphysical view. The Absolute is the total reality and God is the Absolute from the cosmic end, the consciousness that informs and sustains the world. God is the definition of one of the infinite possibilities of the Absolute. The world is not an illusion but a reality. For human beings, reaching the highest goal involves different stages. Each stage has its unique experience and value.

This view opens up a positive path to reach the highest goal. According to this, self-denial is not the exclusive way. Though renunciation is necessary even there, it is renunciation with full consciousness of the participation in the scheme of the universe. It is renunciation which springs out of joy and satisfaction in the purpose of the world, and not as a flight from reality. The life of negation arises out of the same sense of reality as that of affirmation. Reality is approachable through both the ways. "The negative method which requires us to give up the creaturely, to divest ourselves of all qualities, push slowly out beyond all distinctions, reveals the inexpressible sanctity of the experience. This exaltation, this motionless concentration, this holy calm and deep serenity which like the state of deep sea at rest, reflecting heaven in its surface or in the image of the Bhagvadgīta 'still as the flame in the windless place' bathed as it were in an incomprehensible brightness (tejas) is hard to describe."[2]

"The negative path takes us to the spiritual consciousness, the silent witness which dissolves all forms and thought. But there is always the way of affirmation by which God-conscious man affirms that the great silent sea of infinity in whose mysterious embrace the individual loses his name and form, is also the over-mastering, all-embracing life."[3] "Withdrawal

[1] *An Idealist View of Life* p. 109.

[2] *Eastern Religions and Western Thought.* p. 28.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 29.

is not the whole of religious tradition ; there is also participation and enjoyment."[1] There is "in the heart of asceticism a flame of spiritual joy which is the essence of religion."[2] The universe is an organic whole tending towards perfection ; each individual soul is unique whose co-operation counts in the perfection of the world. Each is, thus, in real fellowship with God.

We shall, now, try to understand the relation of this spiritual experience with devotional religion and philosophy. Devotional religion, as we have seen, is born of the haunting sense of otherness ; God which it reveals is an interpretation of the mobile spiritual experience. God is the supreme as He seems to us and not as He is. Thus, there is difference between these two experiences. One satisfies the whole of man while the other only a part of it.

This issue leads us to define the nature and relation of different intuitions in the philosophy of Radhakrishnan. It is, however, not possible to discuss this problem in detail. We shall mention only the general trend of his thought in this relation.

According to him, there are philosophic, moral and aesthetic intuitions each satisfying different aspects of human life and having Truth, Goodness and Beauty as their ideals. Each is distinct from the other and also from the religious intuition, which is not the combination of these three ideals but something more. He says that philosophic, aesthetic and moral are sides of our life, religion includes them all. Religious intuition is the satisfaction of the whole being.

Similarly, while defining spiritual life, he says that it is distinct from merely intellectual or moral or aesthetic activity or a combination of them. "The spiritual sense, the instinct for the real is not satisfied with anything less than the absolute and eternal."[3]

This may give one an impression that Radhakrishnan gives a secondary value to all intuitions except the religious. We may, then, ask him what is the relation between these intuitions. Are they related as part to the whole? If the philosophical and other intuitions reveal only partial truths how are they to be distinguished from other ways of knowing? Secondly, it will then be necessary to have an independent

[1] *An Idealist View of Life*. p. 114.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 114.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 115.

criterion to judge intuitions. It will mean that we have no certainty even in intuitive experience, but this cannot be, as intuition is self-proved.

But there is another trend of his thought which solves this difficulty. According to it, philosophy and devotional religion both lead us to the vision of the real. Philosophy is not merely an intellectual or speculative attempt to know the real. In the *Reign of Religion*, he shows how the philosophic inquiry from the purely intellectual level gives us a pessimistic and dualistic view of the universe. Philosophy must transcend this limitation; thinking must be so intense that it may become a vision. He, therefore, remarks in the same book that philosophy is not merely conceptual or perceptual but intuitive.

Similarly, religious need for personal God is a real need and the experience to which it leads us is Absolute from that standpoint. God is not an appearance as Vedānta affirms. He makes it very clear in his autobiographical essay in the *Religion in Transition*. "God is the Absolute spirit, timeless and unchanging, from the cosmic or human end. He is the way in which the Absolute not only appears to and is known by us, but also the way in which it works in the cosmic process.. ..God is not the figment of our minds. God is a real symbol of the Absolute in its relation to this specific possibility which is being actualised. He is not a distorted reflection of the Absolute but, as Leibnitz says, a phenomenon well founded in the reality."[1]

Devotional religion and philosophy are thus different forms of spiritual life. One is distinguishable from the other by angle of the approach or attitude towards the real. Spiritual life is one whole, it has no division in it.

Religion as spiritual life, thus, is the backbone of the philosophy of Radhakrishnan, the most important concept which reconciles the two great traditional currents of thought.

Another such attempt is made by Sri Aurobindo in his *Life Divine*. According to him, the tendency to evolve culminates in the stage of Superman. It is a stage of evolution in which the whole world, with certain exceptions reaches, perfection. The world does not vanish as in Advaitism. While according to Radhakrishnan, God and the world lapse into the background of the Absolute when the world is perfected. Thus, Radhakrishnan, ultimately remains an absolutist of the traditional Indian type.

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[1] *Religion in Transition*, p. 40-1.

ARTHĀPATTI: ITS LOGICAL SIGNIFICANCE

By

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Students of modern developments of Western logic find the controversy between the Mīmāṁsakas and the Naiyāyikas about *arthāpatti* verbal and strange. They ask themselves: Are not the Mīmāṁsakas inferring while they are using *arthāpatti*? If they are, why do they object to calling it inference? Fichte, Schelling and Hegel used dialectic, which operates by positing antitheses and syntheses, and yet they are said to deduce and infer. Kant used the transcendental method, which is a method of postulation and yet he regards the three Ideas of Reason as the final unconditioned major premises of prosyllogisms.[1] And in many of the modern works of logic like those of Sigwart, Lotze, Bradley and Bosanquet, dialectic is treated as a form of inference along with other forms like immediate inferences, induction, and deduction. Many modern interpretors of Indian logic have missed the significance of *arthāpatti* because the word inference has been set apart for translating the word *anumāna*. But *arthāpatti* is a form of thinking and so is inference like any other reflective form of thought. And to avoid misunderstanding it seems better that future interpreters use the word syllogism and not inference for *anumāna*, and, as before, postulation for *arthāpatti*. In both *anumāna* and *arthāpatti* thought starts with some data and arrives at some conclusion. And as both are reflective processes of thought, one will not be wrong in calling them inferences. But if one says that *arthāpatti* is as much a syllogism as *anumāna*, the reader may hesitate to accept the verdict.

I

To the modern student of logic, therefore, the controversy between the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṁsakas would turn out to be whether *arthāpatti* involves the same kind of thought process as syllogism. The former maintain that it does, the latter do not. To the Naiyāyika inference is of three kinds, *kevalānvayi*, *kevalavyatireki* and *anvayavyatireki*.[2] That of

[1] N. K. Smith: *Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 321.
[2] *Kārikāvali*, p. 789 (Balamanorama Press, Madras).

which the *vyāpti* is obtained by the observation of the concomitance only of the *hetu* and *sādhya* is called *kevalānvayi*; for example, "The pot is nameable, because knowable". The peculiarity of these syllogisms is that there is nothing in the world in which the *hetu* and the *sādhya* are not present. *Hetu* is the middle term and *sādhya* is the major. That where the *vyāpti* is obtained by the observation of the concomitance of the absence of the *sādhya* with the absence of the *hetu*[1] is called *kevalavyatireki*; for example, "This is earth, because it has smell, that which is not earth has no smell." That where the *vyāpti* is obtained both ways is called *anyayavyatireki*; for example, "the mountain contains fire, because there is smoke." Most of every-day inferences are of this type. In this both the concomitance of smoke with fire, and of the absence of fire with that of smoke are known. The Naiyāyikas contend that *arthāpatti* is a *kevalavyatireki* syllogism. The classical example is : Devadatta who is living is not found in his house ; therefore he must be outside. The Mīmāṁsakas say that the disappearance from the house of Devadatta becomes incompatible with his being alive unless we posit or postulate his being outside the house. Thus our knowledge of his being outside the house is obtained by *kalpanā* or postulation and not by *anumanā* or syllogism. For *anumāna* is not possible without a major premises or *vyāpti* but here we do not have it. The Naiyāyikas say that though we do not have an *anvaya-vyāpti* here, we do have a *vyatirekavyapti*, namely, "Living people not found outside cannot be absent from their houses." Of course we do not have a *vyāpti* like "Living people not found in their houses are to be found elsewhere."

The controversy between the two schools is so complicated and hair-splitting that we cannot follow it without much patience and perseverance. And to add to the difficulty of the problem both schools are not agreed among themselves, each holding two views of the problem. Some Mīmāṁsakas maintain that what directly produces the postulation is incompatibility,[2] while the others hold that it is doubt.[3] Some Naiyāyikas contend that *Kevalavyatireki* by itself can lead us to the conclusion, while the others say that it does its work only through *anvayavyāpti*.[4]

[1] *Kārikāvali*, p. 790. *Sādhyābhāvavyāpakatvam hetvabhāvasya yadbhavet.*

[2] Jāgadīsī Ṭīkā, p. 911 foll. (Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Benares).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 900 foll.

[4] *Kārikāvali*, p. 794.

Those who hold that *arthāpatti* is produced by doubt argue thus: Through astrology or otherwise it is decidedly known that Devadatta lives for a hundred years; but he is not seen in the house: this absence produces doubt both as regards his hundred-year life and his living outside; and to remove that doubt and to establish and ratify his hundred-year life his existence outside is postulated. In this inference Devadatta's living is doubted; from doubt we cannot get a *vyāpti*; and as there is no *vyāpti* this inference cannot be syllogism. It may be objected that if doubt can lead to postulation then, when we see something in the dark and doubt whether it is pillar or man, even this doubt must lead to postulation. The answer is that not all doubt ends in postulation; only that produced by the factors above mentioned leads to it. That is, one alternative like the hundred year life of Devadatta must be an absolute truth, and the other like the expectation of him in his house and not outside must be a supposition; when Devadatta is not perceived in his house there will be conflict between our expectation and our idea of his hundred year life, and the conflict will end in doubt. Such a doubt will lead us to postulation and not any other. To this again the objection is: If the two alternatives are equally strong, then where is the scope for postulation? If there is scope, why postulate his existence outside and not his death in the house? If, on the other hand, it is said that the two alternatives are not equally strong, then there is no place for doubt. An ordinary *vyatireki* syllogism can establish the conclusion. Its form would be: Devadatta lives outside, because he is living but not found in his house; whoever is not so cannot be living and yet be absent from the house. Further, absence from the house cannot produce both doubt and postulation, for what produces doubt cannot itself lead to postulation. To this objection also the Mīmāṁsaka is ready with an answer: The two alternatives are contradictories, which cannot both be true and both be false and of which one at least must be true. If we postulate Devadatta's existence outside then one alternative, his absence outside and existence inside, is negated but not his hundred year life. But if we postulate his death in the house then both his absence outside and his hundred year life will be negated —which is absurd. (The reader should note that, because of Devadatta's absence from the house, his hundred year life on the one hand and his absence outside and existence in the house on the other become contradicctories as only one of them can be true).

This kind of *arthāpatti* in which doubt is the *karaṇa* the

Naiyāyikas try to include in their *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogisms. Gautama in his *Nyāyasūtra* divided syllogisms into three kinds, *pūrvavat*, *seshavāt* and *sāmānyatodrishṭa*.[1] The first is the inference of the effect from the cause, the second the inference of the cause from the effect, and the third is the inference of the unseen from perception in general. The examples of the first two are quite common; the example of the third is the movement of the sun who in the mornings is seen in the east and evenings in the west.[2] His movement, the Naiyāyikas say, is invisible and is to be inferred from his existence at two different places.

To the above argument of the Mīmāṁsakas the Naiyāyika answers: Of the two alternatives one is certainly to be denied. The argument that Devadatta's death negates both alternatives while his existence outside negates only one is only a *tarka*, which is another way of saying: If Devadatta were dead his would not have been a hundred year life. With the help of such *tarka* the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism negates one of the alternatives by having in view the idea of death, which would be true if Devadatta does not exist outside. To this the Mīmāṁsaka replies: If his existence outside is not known at all, then living Devadatta must be taken to be present in the house only. And if the result of our syllogism is to be the negation of one of the opposing alternatives, it would be impossible without knowing beforehand Devadatta's existence outside, which must have been possible only through *arthāpatti*.[3]

It is somewhat difficult to follow this argument. However, it may be expressed thus: Is the existence outside to be inferred from the absence in the house or is the absence in the house to be inferred from the existence outside? First, we start with the idea that Devadatta is in his house; we do not find him and suspect that he is dead. But his death conflicts with his hundred year life guaranteed by astrology. So his death has to be denied. But what is the basis of the negation? Only his existence outside. Hence without the knowledge of his existence outside one of the alternatives cannot be negated. But how to obtain that knowledge? Can it be obtained simply from the absence of Devadatta from the house?

[1] *Nyāyasūtras* with Vatsyāyana's *Bhāshya* and Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, p. 23. (Chowkhamba Sanscrit Series).

[2] These three are variously interpreted by the commentators. I am here taking a view of Vātsyāyana. Udyotakara, for instance, does not accept it. See his *Nyāyavārtikam*, p. 49. (Chowkamba Sanscrit Series).

[3] *Jāgadisī Ṭīkā*, p. 902.

No. For Devadatta might have been dead also. So unless our doubt that Devadatta is dead is removed, we cannot infer his existence outside; but that doubt is removed only when we know his existence outside. The Mīmāṁsaka says that Devadatta's existence outside is known through *arthāpatti* and this knowledge negates the possibility of his death; and he contends that the Naiyāyikas cannot say this because, according to him, Devadatta's existence outside cannot be known unless it is decided that he is not dead. Indeed, the Naiyāyika says that his decision is obtained through *tarka*, and that ordinary syllogism assisted by this *tarka* gives the conclusion that Devadatta exists outside. His *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism would be of the following form: Devadatta is either dead or living, because he is an organism like me. Now *tarka* comes to help this syllogism: If he were dead his would not have been a hundred year life and both the alternatives referred to above would be denied. Then the conclusion is: Devadatta who must be either living or dead, when he cannot be dead, must be living outside. The Naiyāyikas contend that *tarka* does not assist doubt because it would not be economical (*lāghava*) to assume that it assists the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* syllogism rather than doubt, for doubt is not a *pramāṇa*.[1]

Some of the later Mīmāṁsakas therefore hold that *arthāpatti* is produced not by doubt, but by incompatibility, and that it is a postulate to remove that incompatibility. Devadatta is living; he is absent from his house; his absence is incompatible with his long life; to remove the incompatibility his existence outside has to be postulated. One may here try to frame a syllogism. Devadatta exists outside, because though absent from the house he is living, just as a pot which is not destroyed but absent from the house must be found elsewhere; or because any existent thing, if not found in one place, must be found in another, just as I, standing in the middle of the room, am absent from its corner. But this does not refute *arthāpatti* as a separate form of inference, because our knowledge of Devadatta's existence outside can be obtained even when we are ignorant of the concomitance between the middle and the major terms. *Sāmānyatodṛshṭavyāpti* cannot be accepted because there can be no *vyāpti* of that type.

The Naiyāyika says: What is *anupapatti* or incompatibility? Incompatibility exists when there is no absence of *hetu* wherever there is absence of *sādhya*. Hence there is no need of a separate *pramāṇa* called *arthāpatti*. The Mīmāṁsakas

[1] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā* p. 903.

reply: Syllogism is possible only when we have *vyāptapaksha-dharmatājñāna*, that is when we are able to subsume the minor term under the middle. But here there is no major premiss, and so no middle term. It may be said that with the help of the *vyatirekavyāpti* the minor can give the conclusion. But the Naiyāyikas themselves say that *vyatirekavyāpti* is of no use in a *kevalānvayi* inference, and instead of having so many forms of *vyāpti*, it would be economical (*lāghava*) to have only one which asserts the direct concomitance (*sādhyavyāpyatvam* of *hetu* and *sādhya*. Moreover, the absence of Devadatta is found in the room, and how can the *hetu* of his presence be elsewhere? For the rule is that the *hetu* and the *sādhya* should have the same locus (*sāmānādhikaraṇya*). It may be said that this objection holds only if the room is the *anuyogi* or the locus of the absence is taken as the *hetu*, but not if the *pratiyogi* or the counterpart of the absence is the *hetu*. The *pratiyogi* here is Devadatta, and he exists elsewhere. Thus he is the *sāmānādhikaraṇa* of his absence and elsewhere existence. But Devadatta is not perceived, while his absence is perceived; and so *liṅgajñāna* or knowledge of the middle is not possible and there would be no occasion for a syllogism. Further, the Naiyāyikas insist upon *tṛtīyaliṅgaparāmarśa*.[1] But it is impossible unless Devadatta is perceived.

But the Naiyāyikas say that even *tṛtīyaliṅgaparāmarśa* is possible through memory. As a matter of fact, the absence of Devadatta in the house is related to both the house and Devadatta. Hence Devadatta is brought before mind, which can treat him as the *pakṣa* having a *vyāptiviśiṣṭaliṅga*, that is, as the minor subsumed under the middle. Hence even the *arthāpatti* produced by *anupapatti* is only a syllogism of the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* type.

There are some Naiyāyikas who interpret *sāmānyatodṛshta* as *anvayavyatireki* and *śeshavat* as *vyatireki*.[2] And according to the Mīmāṁsakas *arthāpatti* is again of two kinds, *śrutārthāpatti* and *dṛshṭārthāpatti*. The postulation of *māyā* or *mithyātva* of the serpent seen in a rope, because it would be contradictory to call it real after the judgment. 'It is a rope', is made, and again because it would be contradictory to call it unreal when we saw an objective snake, is *arthāpatti*. *Srutārthāpatti* is again of two kinds, *abhidhānānupapatti* and *abhidheyānupapatti*.

[1] The first *liṅgaparāmarśa* is when we say *vahnimān dhūmāt*; the second when we say *yatra dhūmaḥ tatra vahniḥ*; and the third when we say *vahnivyāptadhūmavān ayam parvataḥ*.

[2] See *Nyāyadarśanam* with Viśvanātha's *Vṛtti*, I, 1, 5.

When some one says, "Door", as the word by itself cannot give definite meaning, we complete the sentence by adding the word "shut." This is, we postulate what should have been uttered. When it is said, "One desirous of heaven should perform *jyotiṣṭoma* sacrifice", as we do not understand how the sacrifice performed now can bear fruit several years afterwards, we postulate what is called *apūrva*, through which the effect is produced. The ancient Hindus believed that sacrifices existed in a subtle form called *apūrva* till the time when they could produce their effect. To the student of logic these distinctions are not of logical importance the thought structure in all is the same.

II

It can easily be seen that the controversy between the Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṁsakas hinges upon the problem whether Devadatta's existence outside is obtained as a postulate (*kalpanā*) or as a conclusion drawn from a major premiss (*vyāpti*). If it can be definitely shown that it can be derived from *vyāpti*, the Mīmāṁsaka position would become untenable. Let us examine.

In refuting the view that *arthāpatti* is postulation produced by doubt the Naiyāyikas have said that the *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* produces the same result when aided by *tarka*, *Sāmānyatodṛshṭa* unaided by *tarka* produces only a disjunction like "Devadatta is either dead or living"; which results only in doubt. But with the help of *tarka* it produces the definite knowledge of Devadatta's existence outside.[1] But what is *tarka*? Gautama defines it as a reasoning to know the truth when there is doubt.[2] It is a *reductio ad absurdum*. It is attribution of *hetvabhāva* by supposing *sādhyābhāva*. For the classical example, the mountain contains fire because there is smoke, the *tarka* would be of the form, if it does not contain fire there would have been no smoke. The Naiyāyikas do not treat *tarka* as a separate *pramāṇa* or even as a form of syllogism (*anumāna*) but only as an aid to *vyāpti*.

But how is this *tarka* different from what we call *vyatirekavyāpti*? The latter is the concomitance of the *sādhyābhāva* with the *hetvabhāva*. But *tarka* also runs: Had there been *sādhyābhāva* there would have been *hetvabhāva*. Indeed,

[1] *Jāgadīśī*, p. 904.

[2] *Nyāyadarśana* I, i, 40. *Avijñātatattve arthe kāraṇopapattitaḥ tattvajñānarthamūhas tarkaḥ.*

there is difference between the two modes of expression. When expressed as a *vyāpti* there is an 'is', and when expressed as a *tarka* there is a 'would have been.' But 'would have been' is based upon 'is'. It is not even an implication of 'is', though we may say that it is an application. It is just an immediate inference, the contrapositive of the original *anvayavyāpti*. The contrapositive of "All S is P" is "All not-P is not-S"; thus the contrapositive of "Wherever there is smoke there is fire" is "Wherever there is absence of fire there is absence of smoke". *Tarka* in the classical *anvayavyatireka* example would be: If there is no fire there would not have been smoke; but there is smoke; (and the Naiyāyikas continue) hence this smoke must have been without cause and eternal (*nitya*).

The Naiyāyika does not seem to proceed further; if he does there would be difficulties. Supposing the question is asked: What is the harm if smoke is without a cause and eternal? He would have to say that it conflicts with what we see. If it does, the conclusion would be: There is fire. Now, if the conclusion can be obtained through *tarka* itself, the latter must be treated as a *pramāṇa* or it itself would be inference. If, on the other hand, he answers that if the smoke is eternal the law of causality would be violated he would be holding the view that inference is possible only when the *hetu* and the *sādhya* are causally related. But even for *anvaya-vyatireki* inference there are instances where the two are not casually related but yet are concomitant. The example of European logic, All men are organisms, Socrates is a man, and therefore he is an organism, is of that kind. Here the *tarka* would be, if Socrates were not mortal he would not have been a man; but man and organism are not causally related.

The Naiyāyika is not at all prepared to treat *tarka* as a form of inference. Udyotakara discusses the point.[1] He anticipates the objection that *tarka* is *anumāna* as it is dependent upon the memory of the concomitance between *hetu* and *sādhya*. But he replies that *anumāna* is possible when we have a *dharma* and a *dharmī*; when we have a *dharmī* alone only *tarka* is possible. Supposing we see something in a distance or in dusk and say: It is a pillar or man. Then we see a horse nearby; and as horses imply riders, we conclude that it is a man. Here the horse is not a *dharma* or property of man, from which we could have inferred the man. What the *tarka* does here is the negation of the alternative pillar. But this argument of Udyotakara is obviously lame. For unless we

[1] *Nyāyavārtikam*, p. 142. (Chowkhamba Sanscrit Series, Benares).

are sure that it is man we cannot negate that it is a pillar. But how could we have got that knowledge? Only with the help of the horse through *tarka*. It is immaterial whether the *hetu* is a property (*dharma*) or cause (*kāraṇa*) or some other kind of mark or sign. If it cannot give us the *sādhya* that it is man the possibility of being a pillar can never be negated. Further, when Gautama used the word *kāraṇopapattitaḥ* in the *sūtra* he means that *tarka* works with the law of causality, and an effect can be taken as the *dharma* of the cause.

If then through *tarka* alone it is possible to get the conclusion, if it is little different from *vyatirekavyāpti*, and if it can be used only in *anvayavyatireki* and *kevalavyatireki* inferences and not in *kevalānvaya*, is there sufficient reason to separate *tarka* and *vyatirekavyāpti* and treat the former as only an aid in establishing the latter by removing *vyabhicāraśankā* or the doubt that the *hetu* may be present where the *sādhya* is absent? The *vyāpti* which is common to both *vyatireki* and *anvaya-vyatireki* as given by Viśvanātha is the absence of *hetu* wherever there is absence of *sādhya*.[1] But the form of *tarka* is: If there is no *sādhya* there would have been no *hetu*. One may say that as accepted by the later Naiyāyikas it is not exactly of this form. Then it would be: If no *sādhya* then the *hetu* would not have been produced by it. We have already examined this form a little above; and we may add that even if it is of this form the meaning is the same, for that the *hetu* would not have been produced may mean also that there would not have been the *hetu*. Hence it is obvious that *tarka* is logically, though not always grammatically the same as *vyatireka-vyāpti*.

All Naiyāyikas believe that *tarka* is not an inference but only an aid. Curiously enough there are some among them who believe that *kevalavyatireki* by itself cannot lead to the conclusion but only by producing the *anvayavyāpti*. Then, we may say, as *anvayavyāpti* is the only *vyāpti*, *kevalavyatireki* is only an aid in obtaining it. This line of thinking also supports our contention that *tarka* and *kevalavyatireki* are not essentially different. Rāyanarasimha, in his *Prabhā*, a commentary on *Muktāvali*, refers to the view of Ācārya, who is probably Udayana,[2] according to which *sāmānādhikaraṇya* of *hetu* and *sādhya* is essential for all *vyāpti* and so *kevalavyatireki* would be that *vyāpti* which is produced by the knowledge of *vyatireka-vyāpti* unaccompanied by the knowledge of *anvayavyāpti*.[3]

[1] *Kārikāvalī*, p. 480.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 795.

[3] *Op. cit.*

That is, *kevalanvayi* is that *vyāpti* which is produced by the *sahacārajñāna* or the knowledge of the concomitance of the *hetu* and *sādhya*; *kevalavyatireki* is what is already defined; and *anvayavyatireki* is the *vyāpti* produced by the knowledge of both types of concomitance. *Kevalavyatireki* by itself is no *vyāpti*.[1] We find thus that what Udyotakara says against *tarka* is practically said by Udayana against *kevalavyatireki*. The author of *Cintāmaṇi* also accepts this view, and even goes further to give the *vyatireki* an *anvayi* meaning by some twisting. *Vyāpti*, according to him, may be interpreted as the concomitance of the *hetu*, which is the negation of the negation of the *hetu* whose negation is present wherever the negation of *sādhya* is present, with the negation of the negation of the *sādhya*.[2] This *vyāpti* which is really an *anvayi* is obtained (*gamya*) by the *vyatireki* inherent in it. It is quite apparent that the definition is tortured. However, the feeling is there that the *anvayi* alone is the true *vyāpti*.

We have so far tried to show that *tarka* and *vyatirekavyāpti* are not essentially different. Then why do all the Naiyāyikas object to accepting that *tarka* is an inference? And why do some at least hesitate to say that the *vyatirekavyāpti* by itself can produce the conclusion? The argument advanced against *tarka*, as we have already seen, is that it does not involve the relation between the *liṅga* and *liṅgi* or *hetu* and *sādhya*. And what is the argument against the *vyatireki*? It is practically the same, namely, the concomitance between the *hetu* and the *sādhya* is expressed by the *anvayi* and not by the *vyatireki*. But we have already pointed out that it is not necessary for the *hetu* to be a *dharma* or property of the *sādhya*; it is enough if the former is a sign or something that goes invariably with the latter. Yet both *tarka* and *vyatireki* cannot give the conclusion as syllogisms by themselves. Both presuppose *anvayavyāpti*. This defect has been noticed by Śriharṣa,[3] who says that *tarka* is based upon *vyāpti*, and if the *vyāpti* is in need of the support of the same *tarka* there would be the fallacy of *anyonyāśraya* (mutual dependence) and, we may add, if of another *tarka* infinite regress (*anavasthā*). For how can I know that *dhūmābhava* or the negation of smoke is the *vyāpaka* (distributed over) *vahnyabhāva* or the negation of fire? Or to put it in simpler language, when can I know that smoke

[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] *Jāgadīśī Tīkā* p. 844. *Sādhyābhāvavyāpakasādhanābhāvābhāvena sādhanena sādhyābhāvābhāvasya sādhyasya sādhanāt.*

[3] *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya*, p. 628

cannot be found unless there is fire? Only when and after I know that wherever there is smoke there is fire. If there is any doubt about this positive *vyāpti*, I can never be sure of the *vyatireki*, for I still doubt whether there might not be smoke in the absence of fire. It is of no avail to bring in the concept of causality. For so long as this doubt lasts one cannot be sure of the causal relation between fire and smoke, and one begins to question the causal relation itself. And taking the example of Western logic, unless I am sure that all men are mortals I can never be sure that non-mortals are non-men, and the latter can never help me in establishing the former.

It may probably be said that though in these examples the *vyatireki* is dependent on the *anvayi* it is not so in all. When we infer *ātmā* or soul from *icchā* or desire, *ākāśa* or ether from *sabda* or sound, and *pṛthvi* or earth from *gandha* or smell, we do not have an *anvayāvyāpti*. We cannot say wherever there is desire there is *ātmā*, because their concomitance or co-existence is not perceived and what the inference wants to establish is the reality itself of *ātmā*. This inference arises when we question whether there is an entity called *ātmā* at all. In such instances, it may be said, *vyatireki* or *tarka* is absolutely necessary.

In answer it must at first be pointed out that those Naiyāyikas who hold that *kevalavyatireki* operates through *anvayi* have to say that in these instances the *vyatireki* can operate through itself or that these inferences are not syllogisms. But no Naiyāyika seems to be prepared to accept the latter alternative. They invent some interpretation like that offered by the author of *Cintāmaṇi* and referred to above, which is really the *vyatireki* of *vyatireki*. But the objection against that would be that unless we know beforehand the *anvayi*, the *vyatireki* of its *vyatireki* cannot give us a knowledge of it. It would be like saying that though one has not seen an elephant he can get a knowledge of it from the negation of the negation of it. That the idea is absurd can be easily shown. If we do not know what an elephant is, how can we say, when a horse for instance is shown, that it is not an elephant? Again, only when we see the elephant can we negate the negation of the elephant.

And now, how is the former alternative to be defended? If the inference is a syllogism the *vyatirekavyāpti* would be: Whatever is not *ātmā* is without *icchā*. But in the form of *tarka*, it would be: *Icchā* would have been present even in what is not *ātmā*. But the question would be asked: How is the *vyāpti* obtained? Is it true? Is the doubt of its falsity to be removed by *tarka*? And what would that *tarka* be? The *vyatireki* of

the *vyatireki* would be : That which is not without *icchā* is not *anātmā* or that which has *icchā* is *ātmā*. Put in the form of *tarka*, it is : That which is not without *icchā* would have been *anātmā* or that which has *icchā* would not have been *ātmā*. But then this *tarka* is not helping to prove the conclusion but is assuming its truth. It is an undisguised *petitio principii*.

We may examine the position with less technicality. The *vyatirekavyāpti* is : That which is not *ātmā* is without *icchā*. But how can we know what is not *ātmā* if we do not already know what is *ātmā* ? It is not enough to know earth as earth, water as water and so forth ; we have to know them as not-*ātmās* ; and this knowledge is impossible unless we know what *ātmā* is. But *ātmā* is exactly what we do not know as yet ; and the inference is made to establish its reality for us. The *vyatirekavyāpti* would be true only if the *sādhya* is already established (*siddha*) ; and the *sādhya* would be *siddha* only if the *vyatirekavyāpti* is true. This mutual dependence completely undermines the validity of the *vyatirekānumāna*.

In Western logic we find the charge *petitio praincipii* brought against every syllogism. In the syllogism, All men are mortal, Socrates is a man, therefore Socrates is mortal, it is said, the major premise cannot be true unless the conclusion is true and therefore assumes the truth of the conclusion. Some modern logicians have attempted to defend the syllogism against this charge. We need not take sides with either party here. But it should be noted that this objection is different from the one we bring against *kevalavyatireki*. Our contention is that this is not a syllogism at all, because it lacks the major premise. *Vyatirekavyāpti* cannot be formed unless we have an *anvayavyāpti* ; that is, the former would be without a basis if the latter is not already known.

Our objection holds good even in the classical example of Devadatta, which is interpreted as a syllogism by the Naiyāyikas. The *vyatirekavyāpti* is somewhat differently given in different works. As given by Viśvanātha and elaborated by Rāyanarasiṁha in his *Prabhā*[1] it is : Every living being lives either in his house or outside, because he is living ; one who is not either in his house or outside is not living. Then, every living being who is not in his house must be outside ; Devadatta is such a one ; therefore he is living outside.[2] This inference

[1] *Kārikāvali*, p. 796.

[2] Here I am not using the Naiyāyika form of syllogism with five steps, as it makes the presentation appear more complicated. Also, I am not giving the arguments in exactly the same form in which they are given by the commentators, for the English sentence would then become too involved.

really consists of two syllogism. The major of the latter has the appearance of the *anvayi*, the former is obviously a *vyatireki*. We have already seen a slightly different form in the discussion of *saṁśayakāraṇaka arthāpatti*. There the Naiyāyika starts with the same form of disjunction, negates one of the alternatives through *tarka*, then frames an *anvayavyāpti*.[1] Even the ordinary inference of fire from smoke may be expressed in this form: The mountain either contains or does not contain fire; if it does not contain fire there would have been no smoke. So the latter alternative is negated. Next, any mountain which is subject to these alternatives and has smoke must contain fire: this is such a mountain; hence it contains fire. In the first interpretation which belongs to the later Nyāya *vyatirekānumāna* leads to *anvayi*. In the second which belongs to the earlier schools *sāmānyatodṛshṭa* with the help of *tarka* leads to *anvayi*. If we examine the logical structure of the arguments we find they are the same. But to those who hold that the *vyatireki* by itself can lead to the conclusion, it need not lead to the *anvayavyāpti*. It would be: Living Devadatta if he is not in his house, must be outside; for one who is not outside and not in his house cannot be living. It is like the inference: The element earth is different from the others, because it possesses smell; for whatever is not different from the other elements does not possess smell. But whatever be the form of the argument, our objection against *tarka* and *vyatireki* holds.

III

There seems to be a tendency among some recent interpreters of this argument to call it a disjunctive syllogism. The first two interpretations of the Naiyāyikas may be treated as disjunctions; but it is doubtful whether the last can be so treated. Even regarding the first two, there is an important point. The alternative negated is not directly negated but only through *tarka* or *vyatirekavyāpti*. If I go to see Devadatta after ten years and do not find him in his house, I cannot jump immediately to the conclusion that he is living outside; he might be dead. And because the idea of his death conflicts with that of his hundred year life, which cannot be denied, we infer his existence outside. But his death is denied only through *tarka* or *vyatireki*. And we have shown that *tarka* or *vyatireki* is no syllogism.

But it may be asked: Apart from what the Naiyāyikas

[1] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā*, p. 905.

say, is it not possible to have a disjunctive syllogism here? Can we not give this interpretation independently? One may give an independent interpretation. But one must see also that the two alternatives cannot be obtained unless the doubt of death is removed. If I have the disjunction, Devadatta is either in his house or outside, and negate the first alternative I get the second. But as it is, the second alternative is not known; and if it is known there is no need of the syllogism. For we already know what we want to know. It may perhaps be said that the disjunction can be inferred from the example of a pot, as the Naiyayikas do. Living Devadatta must be in his house or outside like the pot which is not destroyed is either in the house or outside. But how does one get the knowledge about the pot? From the observation of some other thing? And of this? From a fourth thing? But do we get our *vyāpti* like this? There is the more fundamental question: How can we know that an existent thing not found in one place can be found in another? Unless this is known there can be no *vyāpti* for the Naiyāyikas, and without a *vyāpti* there is no syllogism, either disjunctive or categorical. That is why the Mīmāṁsakas say that Devadatta's existence can be inferred even when we do not have a *vyāpti*. When there is a *vyāpti* we of course have a syllogism. But when there is none too we have inference, which the Mīmāṁsakas call *arthāpatti*. But when there is none the Naiyāyikas can have no inference, for inference according to them is only syllogism, which can never work without a *vyāpti*. (*Upamāna* as analogy may be called an inference, but one can easily see that the present inference is not an *upamāna*). It is in order to have a *vyāpti* that some of them take *tarka* or *vyatireka* as aids. But as we have shown, they cannot be aids because they depend on the *vyāpti* which they want to establish. And this defect we pointed out even in the view that *vyatireki* can give the conclusion by itself. If through *arthāpatti* it is possible to have the conclusion without having recourse to *vyāpti*, it would be illogical to resort to the latter. It would be like framing a major premise for the inference, A is to the right of B, B is to the right of C, and so A is to the right of C. After we know that Devadatta is outside, if we still want to infer it, our thinking would be like the inference from the perceptual judgment, It is red, which would be of the form: It is either red or not-red; if it is not red, then it will have to be both red and not-red, which is absurd; therefore it is red.

We may add therefore that even if we are sure that Devadatta is not dead, there is a need of some thought process, which

cannot be syllogism, to infer his existence outside. At a certain stage of mental development all know that things not dead or destroyed, if they do not exist in the house, must exist outside. But before that stage when the outside existence of things is inferred, it can only be through *arthāpatti*. As a matter of fact, examples like this are not typical. At the stage of mental development when we can discuss logic such examples appear to be no postulations. One may ask : Is it not quite an ordinary fact that existent things not seen in one place must be found in another ? The significance of *arthāpatti* is seen only when we have typical postulation. And postulation cannot be turned into syllogism. The Naiyāyika inference of *ātmā* from *icchā* is a better example. Here the existence of *ātmā* is postulated, the reality of which may be doubted. But the *vyāpti*, *yannaivam tannaivam* or that which is no *ātmā* has no *icchā* is meaningless. For how do we know what is not *ātmā* when we have not yet known what *ātmā* is ? So there is here really no *vyāpti*. Yet one may ask onself : Can I attribute *icchā* to the earth ? No. To the element water ? No. Then after all the known *dravyas* are exhausted we might say : There might be another *dravya* which we may call *ātmā*. But this type of thinking is simple postulation and not syllogism. One may frame a syllogism if one likes after the *ātmā* is postulated. But first, it is unnecessary ; and secondly, when though a particular form of thinking we can obtain a conclusion without *vyāpti*, we have to recognise its speciality. To refute the Mīmāṁsaka position it is incumbent on the Naiyāyika to prove that there can be no inference, not merely no syllogism, without *vyāpti*. This he cannot. But the Mīmāṁsaka, whose burden it is to show that there are inferences without *vyāpti*, has proved his case.

Another typical example is the Advaitin's concept of *māyā* or illusion. The serpent seen in the rope does not belong to what is called objective reality. Nor is it merely an imaginary subjective idea. Therefore a new type of objectivity is postulated called *māyā*, which is neither real nor unreal. For the hypothesis of *anirvacanīya* there can really be no *vyāpti*. The inference of the movement of the sun, which is sometimes given as an example of *sāmānyatodṛshṭa*, is also a better example than that about Devadatta. Modern science denies that movement. However, if we accept its truth for argument's sake, we may say it is more fitting. Here also there is no real *vyāpti*, though one may be framed and instances may be given. It is of course not as good an example as the above two. In modern science we get better examples. The postulation of

ether as the medium of sound is one. In philosophy the Absolute inferred as the ultimate postulate of our experience is the result of *arthāpatti*. And the best example is the proof itself of the law of contradiction, which would be: If the principle is not true, even the proof to disprove it will not be true.

Generally we postulate a principle or entity in order to explain some facts or to remove some contradiction. And as even syllogism is based on the principle of contradiction, it may be interpreted as postulation also. This is what is called the *reductio ad absurdum* proof. Even in the ordinary example, if the truth of "Socrates is not mortal" is not accepted, then the proposition, "All men are mortal", would be false. Hence its truth must be postulated. This point is noticed by the Mīmāṁsaks, who say that, if fire is inferred from smoke without the help of *vyāpti*, the thought process would be *arthāpatti*.[1] Thus wherever there is a syllogism we may discover *arthāpatti*; but in every *arthāpatti* we cannot discover a syllogism.

We say so only following the ancient logicians. But if we examine the matter closely, we find that even the *reductio ad absurdum* depends for its truth upon the truth of the major premise under which the minor is subsumed. If it is asked: What if "All men are mortal" is false? the indirect proof can establish nothing. It may be said that even in pure *arthāpatti* the same question may be put. In the example about Devadatta, it may be asked: What is the harm if Devadatta were dead? But the difference between the two is that the datum with which we start in *arthāpatti* is a brute fact that cannot be questioned, whereas in syllogism the *vyāpti* or major premise can be questioned; and secondly, in the former there is no possibility of subsumption, while in the latter there is that possibility and subsumption is more natural. We may therefore say that Ramakrishnadhvari in his commentary on his father's *Vedāntaparibhāsha*[2] has given up the position of his father by admitting *kevalavyatireki* as a syllogism and saying that *arthāpatti* and *kevalavyatireki* are practically the same though different in form.[3] But he does not seem to notice that there can be instances of inference without *vyāpti* at all. However, if, as he feels, *vyatireki* can operate only through *anvayi*, it will be only by courtesy that we call *vyariteki* a syllogism. And where

[1] *Jāgadīśī Ṭīkā*, p. 916.

[2] *Vedāntaparibhāṣā* with *Śikhāmaṇi* and *Maṇiprabhā*, p. 206. (Kshemaraj Srikrishnadas, Bombay).

[3] *Ibid*, p. 209.

anvayavyāpti is not possible we cannot avoid accepting *arthāpatti* as an independent form of inference.[1]

IV

It is these reasons that made me[2] say that *arthāpatti* can best be interpreted as the transcendental method of Kant or the dialectic of Hegel. In both there is the postulation of something new in order to reconcile some conflict, to remove some contradiction and explain some facts. For Kant the Ideas of Reason are the unconditioned ground of all reasoning, which appear as if they can be obtained through an infinite series of pro-syllogisms. But this is really only a way of saying ; for no one can exhaust this infinite series in order to reach the infinite ground, which therefore must only be a postulate. The so-called ontological proof for the existence of God, as interpreted by the Hegelians, is of this type. Similarly, the categories are deduced by Kant as postulates or hypotheses ; and though his proof is called deduction it is hardly syllogism. The movement of Hegel's dialectic from Being to Nothing, and then to Becoming and so forth, is a kind of postulation. Being through self-contradiction collapses into Nothing, and Nothing similarly into Being, and this collapsing into each other settles down into Becoming. But this settling down is only momentary, for the process begins again with Becoming. That is, Nothing is freed of contradiction in Being and Being in Nothing, and this contradiction between Being and Nothing is removed by Becoming. Thus each category is posited or postulated in order to remove a contradiction.

Arthāpatti is the method of all speculative philosophy. It is synthetic[3] and not merely analytic like the ordinary syllogism or induction ; for the contradictions it resolves it holds within itself, whereas in induction certain features analysed are abstracted from the rest and in deduction the conclusion is treated as if it were analysed out of the major premise. *Arthapatti* is the method of inference in which the conclusion can really be new, for instance, when *ātmā* is inferred from *icchā*. Among the European logicians after Hegel, Lotze regarded dialectic as the highest type of inference.[4]

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[1] *Op. cit.*

[2] See *Thought and Reality*, Part V.

[3] For an exposition of the synthetic and analytic methods see N. K. Smith : *Commentary to Kant's Critique of Pure Reason*, pp. 44 foll.

[4] *Logic*, Vol. I, Sections 149-51.

IS NOT-BEING DEDUCED FROM BEING?

(Hegel and Citsukha)

By

JANAKI VALLABHA BHATTACHARYYA

Hegel claims to solve the ancient problem of dualism by means of the Dialectic Method. He holds that the Eleatics, Plotinus, Spinoza and Vedāntists have all made an attempt at establishing monism. They assert that the Infinite One is the only reality. The One is exclusive of multiplicity. The Vedantists hold that 'All is One.' But they hold that the multiplicity of this universe is not real. It is only illusory. The many does not necessarily issue out of the One. The One is the Infinite. The Many is the finite. The One does neither become the finite necessarily nor become identical with the finite. The One is an abstract unity. It remains out-side the world of finite beings. There is no necessary connection between the Infinite and the finite. They simply exclude the many from the One but do not solve the real problem—the relation of the One and the Many. The Many is opposed to the One. How does the many proceed from and become identical with the One? According to these philosophers the many cannot proceed from the One. These philosophers cannot get beyond the see-saw of contradictions. Hegel solves this difficulty. He holds that the relation between the One and the many is the relation of unity-in-difference. He holds that the finite proceeds from the Infinite and that the Infinite is identical with the finite. He proves that two opposites are identical while they retain their opposition. He explains rationally how the category of unity is compatible with the category of multiplicity. He owes his success to his new method, viz., the *Dialectic Method.*

Hegel shows that the categories discovered by himself are not subjective in their character. They are objective entities. These categories are not isolated unities. They form an organic whole of categories in which each category is logically connected with every other. They are one as a whole but in it each of them maintains its distinction. They are universals. They are not abstract universals like Platonic Ideas. The genus, universal, contains differentiate and species within itself. The differentiate which is always negative

proceeds necessarily from the genus. By adding the differentia to the genus we get the species. The old maxim 'ex nihilo nihil fit' is the guiding principle of the Hegelian Philosophy. The truth of it has been accepted in Formal Logic that 'there cannot be anything present in the conclusion which was not present in the premises.' The breach of this principle is described as the fallacy of illicit process in formal logic. Hegel holds that if a category follows logically from another category then the antecedent category must contain the consequent within itself. The dialectic method shows that the categories are all logically connected and that one category is logically deduced from another category. This deduction is not conducted by caprice or ingenuity of a philosopher or a thinker. It is an objective process which takes place independently of our thinking. Hegel starts from the summum genus and proceeds from genus to species through differentia. He then begins with this new species as genus and passes from this genus to its species. This passage from genus to species goes on until the final category is deduced. The final category is the highest unity. It is the foundation of all categories. Nothing is lost in this process of objective deduction. The previous categories are, now, moments of the last category. They preserve their distinction though they are unified by the highest synthesis. The final category is the Absolute. All the categories are applicable to it. Each of them by itself expresses the Absolute partially. Now, we shall resist the temptation of discussing the Hegelian doctrine elaborately and confine our attention to the point at issue.

Hegel begins with the category of Being, since the universal of being is the highest generalisation. In the system of Hegel the more abstract category is logically prior to the less abstract category. Hegel proceeds from the summum genus through further specifications to the least abstract category. The most abstract category is the universal of being. If we abstract from all determinations conceivable then we get the category of being. It is the logically first category of Hegelian Logic. Hegel then shows that by dialectical necessity 'Being' passes from itself to the category of 'Not-being.' The category of being expresses mere 'is-ness' of a thing. The mere 'is-ness' means that it has no other qualities. A thing, e.g., a cup, which is, has many qualities. It has its peculiar shape, size, hardness, colour, etc. If we abstract from all these qualities and by means of logical analysis separate its pure existence from its other qualities then we get the category of being. It is an empty universal devoid of all determinations.

Hegel shows that the concept of being contains its opposite, viz., the concept of not-being hidden away within itself and that this opposite is deduced from it. This newly deduced concept will do the work of a differentia and convert the summum genus of being into the species of becoming. This is an example of the dialectic method. It explains the dialectic method better than the abstract definition of it. With the help of this method Hegel thinks that he has solved the ancient problems of Philosophy. This method is superior to the geometrical method and the method of understanding.

Now, we shall try to follow how the category of not-being is deduced from that of being. Pure being is absolutely free of all determinations. It is absolutely featureless. It is therefore completely empty and vacant. In other words, it is a pure vacuum. It is devoid of all contents since to possess content of some kind is to have determination of some specific nature. Pure being, being absolutely vacant, is the absence of everything. It is the negation of all determinations. It has no quality—no character. But such absence of everything is nothing. Emptiness is synonymous with nothing. Being is, therefore, nothing. Pure concept of being contains the idea of nothing. Therefore the category of not-being is deduced from the category of being. If we say that an object simply is then it is equally true to say that it is not. It is impossible for us to draw a line of distinction between 'is' and 'is not.' The categories of being and not-being are equally applicable to the same object at the same time. This is the popular explanation of the deduction of the category of not-being from the category of being as given by Mr. Stace. McTaggart defines the category of not-being very clearly. He says that the antithesis stands to the thesis in the relation of a contrary. Not-being is not the contradictory of being. Hegel does not intend to establish the identity of Being with Not-being but 'Being turns out to be identical with Not-being. Being means reality without unreality. Not-being signifies unreality without reality. By these definitions they are incompatible but owing to the dialetic process they turn out to be equivalent to each other. Thus an inevitable contradiction arises. This contradiction must be got rid of. There is a logical necessity for further advance.

Now, we shall concentrate our mind upon this portion of the Hegelian deduction and examine closely whether the dialectic process can make the thesis move on to its antithesis. Being has been described to be free of all determinations. 'When we predicate Being as an adequate expression of existence

we find that in doing so we are also predicating Nothing (Not-being) as an adequate expression of existence.' McTaggart intends most probably that Being cannot be distinguished from something other than Being. Being is asserted to be indeterminate by Mr. Stace. When we say that A is X we also mean thereby that A is not not-X. X is also determined as opposed to not-X. If we say that this is a cow then we determine the meaning of the term 'cow' by distinguishing it from the other species, abstractly described as not-cow. It is not a horse, not a lion etc. Being cannot be so determined. Not-being is not so determined. It is not distinguished from something which is not Not-being. It is therefore indeterminate. Thus Being becomes equivalent to Not-being.'

This dialectical process owing to which the passage from Being to Nothing takes place is not convincing. McTaggart draws a distinction between a pure positive and a pure negative. He defines the former to be reality without unreality and the latter to be unreality without reality. The point to be noted here whether absolute unreality is knowable. If it is knowable then the identity of knowing and unreality must be admitted since Hegel holds that the unity of subject and object is the pre-supposition of all knowledge. Nothing to be known must be related to knowing. To be related to the spirit it must be unified with it. The spirit must also be the unity of unreality and knowing. We cannot conceive of such a unity-in-difference.

If it is assumed that such a unity-in-difference is the pre-supposition of all knowledge then it must be admitted that unreality is cognised by us. Now, there are two alternatives open to us that unreality is knowable or unknowable. If it is knowable then Being cannot be indeterminate since we do not abstract from unreality to frame the concept of Being. Being used as a predicate is distinguished from unreality and is therefore determinate. Nothing used as a predicate is also determinate since it is distinguished from reality. If they are distinguished from each other then Being cannot pass from itself to Nothing.

If it is held that Nothing cannot be known then Nothing cannot be used as a predicate. Being in spite of its being indeterminate cannot move on to the idea of Nothing since Nothing lies outside the field of consciousness.

We shall also discuss whether Being is indeterminate if it is not itself distinguished from its opposite. Does a predicate necessarily carry a negative import along with its positive one in order to be determined? If we say that this is a cow

then do we convey that this individual is qualified by cowness and that cowness is not horseness, etc.? The negative meaning of it is an after-thought. The negative consciousness presupposes the positive consciousness of the object negated as its necessary condition. The perceptual judgment 'this is a cow' reveals only an individual, the universal of cowness and their relation. The individual is qualified by the predicate 'cowness'. At this moment we have no awareness of a horse, etc., i.e., animals other than a cow. Therefore cowness cannot be distinguished from horseness, etc., at this moment. Is this positive awareness of cowness indeterminate? Certainly this awareness of cowness as qualifying an individual is not indeterminate since an individual is qualified by a definite adjective. Similarly, when Being is used as a predicate in a judgment the judgment is a determinate one since Being qualifies the substantive of that particular judgment.

Some Hegelians hold that judgments such as 'the table is', 'the table is not', are examples of incomplete judgments. What do they mean? Is 'is' or 'is not' a predicate or a copula? If it is a predicate then owing to the convention of the language the copula has not been used. The judgment 'the table is' signifies that the table has being for its predicate. The judgment 'the table is not' signifies that the table has not-being as its predicate, i.e., the table does not exist. According to McTaggart it means that the table is unreal. They are not incomplete judgments. Even if for the sake of argument it is admitted that there are incomplete judgments then these judgments have no given predicates. In that case the predicates lie outside the scope of our knowledge. For this reason we cannot establish a relation between unknown objects. If it is held that the above judgments should be expressed in the forms that 'the table is—', 'the table is not—' then the two predicates not given cannot be held to be identical later on since they remain unknown.

Moreover even if we subscribe to the view that Being and Not-being used as predicates are indeterminate, we cannot assert with Hegel that they are identical. Is the judgment 'Being is Nothing' determinate or indeterminate? If it is indeterminate then there is no contradiction in the so-called judgment 'Being is Nothing' since the law of contradiction is only applicable to a determinate judgment. If it is held that it is a determinate judgment then both Being and Nothing must be determined since 'Being is Nothing' is equivalent to 'Nothing is Being'. If Being and Nothing are determined at a later stage why will they not be determined at an early stage?

It amounts to this that Being and Nothing are not indeterminate by their nature but on the contrary they are capable of being determined.

If some other meaning is attached to Nothing such as simple difference then the position of Hegel does not improve. There is no passage from the category of Being of that of Nothing. Therefore the Hegelian dialectic process fails to achieve the object which it promises to bring about.

Citsukha, a celebrated Advaitin of the Śaṁkara School, has solved the problem from the stand-point of abstract monism. He draws his inspiration from the theory of negation of the Prābhākara school. Hegel has thoroughly overlooked the fact of contradictory negation. Citsukha has included both contrary opposition and contradictory negation within negation. He accepts the conclusion of the Prābhākaras and holds that difference and contradictory negation are identical with the locus. He says that every negative proposition has merely positive import. It is metaphysically based on the solid rock of being. Positive reals are only reals in the universe. Negation is identical with being. Negative consciousness or a negative proposition is merely a way of looking at or expressing a positive real. His philosophical conclusion is that the Absolute is the only foundation of the universe. Contradictory negation and contrary opposition are identical with the Absolute, the ultimate locus of the universe.

The Prābhākaras hold that difference pulverizes being. In other words, difference is co-extensive with being and is the essential form of all positive reals. The objects of the universe are therefore many and cannot be unified by the highest unity.

Citsukha controverts this proposition of the Prābhākaras. He holds that simple difference is not incompatible with the unity of the Absolute. Contradictory negation is in its essence identical with the Absolute. The Absolute is the unity of being, trancendental consciousness and bliss. This is the absorbing unity which does not make room for the preservation of their mutual distinction. Difference presupposes unity. Apart from unity it ceases to exist. Difference-in-itself is something inexplicable. Specified difference cannot be defined without infringing the law of definition. Simple difference is not incompatible with the highest unity which underlies all the facts of the universe. The knowledge of difference which leads to pluralism is illusory. Multiplicity is not metaphysically real. Not-being is absorbed in the Ab-

solute. Being and Not-being are not elements of the Absolute. They are identical with the Absolute.

In fine, we come to the conclusion that Not-being cannot be deduced from Being. If Philosophy sticks to the monistic conclusion then it must hold that the abstract unity is the only unity. The Hegelian concept of concrete universals and the dialectic method do not furnish us with a key which will open the puzzling locks of Dualism. Not-being is identical with Being. There is no contradiction in the judgment 'Nothing is being.' As Not-being is identical with Being the dialectical process should stop for good and the category of Becoming is not required to solve the contradiction pointed out by Hegel. We shall not now discuss whether the solution offered by Citsukha satisfies the demand of a rational thinker.

THE DOCTRINE OF ĪŚVARA IN EARLY NYĀYAVAIŚEṢIKA WORKS

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Broadly speaking, we may say that the doctrine of Īśvara is as old as the Upaniṣads. The Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad contains a nominal enunciation of some of the most popular theories, current in its time in explanation of the origin of the Universe and Īśvara-vāda forms one of this number.

कालःस्वभावो नियतिर्यदृच्छा भूतानि योनिः पुरुष इति चिन्त्यम् ।
संयोग एषां न त्वात्मभावात् आत्माप्यनीशः सुखदुःखहेतोः ॥

But the reference here in the second half is quite clear and beyond doubt to an Īśvara.

Gautama in his sūtras IV: 1-41 to 43 speaks of various rival theories about the origin of the world. Many of these had been in vogue in independent forms and as inter-related, long before the rise of Buddhism. It will be evident from a glance at this description that theistic studies were intimately connected in early times with the study of the fundamental causal problems with which all these theories had to deal and that they are traceable to a great antiquity in the past. The first philosophy of a people is its religion. The Vedic thought was eminently religious in character, though frequently we find references to ideas more abstract and philosophical. All natural phenomena were deified and worshipped with the greatest possible veneration. Religion is held by some to have been the result of a tendency to worship deceased ancestors. Belief in superhuman beings was thus created and once created, it was systematically extended to all that they considered dear. Gods were conceived to exist in flesh and blood. All the natural forces were believed to be mighty beings by the Primitive man. Heroes were deified and the question as to how exactly belief in Gods arose is a problem for the History of Religions to decide.

When exactly the element of godhood came to be recognised in the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika system is rather a difficult question to answer. There is no unmistakeable reference to Īśvara in the sūtras of Kaṇāda. The sūtras तद्वचनादाम्नायस्य प्रामाण्यं, etc.,

may be interpreted as referring to the Dharma. Even the relation between the word and its meaning which is said to be conventional—सामयिकः शब्दार्थप्रत्ययः—need not presuppose the convention set up by a Lord, the creator of the world, but may be applied just as well as to saints of olden times. It is therefore, not proved that Kaṇāda ever even thought of the possibility of a Being of that kind. Even as the Sāṅkhya system, he found it quite unnecessary to recognise God. Even the creation of the world could be explained as the result of the voluntary action of the atoms.

The Bhāṣya of Praśastapāda discusses the origin and destruction of the world and in this connection finds a necessity to refer to the idea of God. The very first section refers to the Brahman believed to-day to be the creator of the world. Thousands of four yugas of ordinary mortals is a day to this Brahman. The life of each such Brahman is fixed to be 100 such years and then he is said to be free from bondage. This passage clearly presupposes the recognition of the various gods with Brahman at the head.

But higher than these little gods, Praśastapāda recognised a Maheśvara, the lord of all the worlds (सकलभुवनपतेः महेश्वरस्य—Pr. Bh., p. 20). He definitely says also that the world is created or destroyed just as the Highest Lord desires. The creation of the four Mahā-Bhūtas is followed by that of the Big Egg by the mere thought of Īśvara. This Īśvara creates the different worlds and the Brahman and entrusts Brahman with the task of the creation of the people. The latter by the grace of God is capable of knowing the merit and demerit of the different worlds and the Brahman and entrusts Brahman with the task of the creation of the people. The latter by the grace of God is capable of knowing the merit and demerit of the different individuals and then creates the Prajāpatis, the sages, and the four castes.

This passage in the Praśastapāda clearly indicates a period in the History of Theology when numerous gods were recognised, one of them was exalted as the creator and the creation of the world was conceived to be his domain. But what exactly were the qualities, function, etc., of this Highest God, Praśastapāda does not care to enlighten us on.

Śrīdhara begins his commentary on this passage with the verse :—

उत्पत्तिमन्ति चत्वारि द्रव्याण्याख्याय विस्तरात् ।
तेषां कर्तृपरीक्षार्थं उद्यमः क्रियतेऽधुना ॥ N. K. 49 :

In addition to a lucid commentary on the Bhāṣya, Śrīdhara develops the argument for the recognition of Īśvara. The authority for such a belief is Āgama and Inference. The familiar argument of inferring an author as cause from the observation of effect is repeated here also. The divine cognition, wish, volition, etc., are proved to be eternal. The individual souls cannot direct the atoms at the time of the world origination. It is also held that lord can be only one to be really effective. The Lord is eternally liberated, because Kleśa, etc., which are acknowledged as a source of bondage do not exist in him.

Almost the same is the order of Progress in theism in the Nyāya system also. Gautama is not quite sure of the existence of Īśvara as the Lord of the world. Discussing the question of creation and dissolution, he refers to a number of views :— Śūnyatā, Īśvara, Ākasmikatva, Sarvānityatva and Sarvāntyatva. Kaṇāda and Gautama might or might not have been theists at heart, but from the available records this much is clear that the theistic theory in a definite form was not originally intended to be a part of the Nyāya system or the Vaiśeṣika system. The sūtras of the Nyāya system, IV-1-(19-23), embody a fully developed form of this doctrine. Īśvara must be recognised as all important and the cause of all the product because Man's efforts are seen to be useless. Sometimes, the non-appearance of the result may be due to the omission of some of the necessary details. But there are instances where even after saying that all has been done that man can do, the result does not appear. Some religiously minded people would be anxious to associate everything with God but some of the opposite state would attribute everything to Puruṣakāra. A reasonable mind would steer clear of both extremes. God will not do everything for man. Man must put forth effort to the utmost and God would simply help him if he deserves.

At the end of the 13th sūtra in IV-1 Vātsyāyana gives a small note discussing and introducing what is to follow. The section is thus introduced :—अतः परं प्रावादुकानां दृष्टयः प्रदर्श्यन्ते

In the section previous to this, the prime cause of the Universe and the causal relation are both discussed. Some people would say that Svabhāva is the cause and some others something else. So many other theories are also considered and among them he has given a place to Īśvara. The section is explained by Vātsyāyana in these words :—अथापरः आह, thereby clearly showing that it is only one of the many aspects of dealing with the question. Thus it must be clear that neither

Gautama nor Vatsyāyana thought it necessary to incorporate this into the system of Nyāya as a very important part. They might have themselves been great theists or advocated it elsewhere; but so far as the Sūtras and the Bhāṣya are concerned, there is nothing leading to the belief that they were so. Kaṇāda's sūtras are still worse. There is not a single sūtra indicating the supremacy of God in unmistakable terms, though he lays stress on the Dharma-sūtras.

Udyotakara, in his Nyāya Vārtika, has the hard task of meeting very severe attacks on Īśvara and hence his commentary on the N.S. IX-1-21 तत्कारितत्वादहेतुः maintains the existence of an Īśvara and shows his function in the world. It is in the Vārtika that the cause is said to be of three kinds: *samavāyi, asamavāyi and nimitta* and Īśvara is said to be the Nimitta Kāraṇa of the Universe.

तत्कारितत्वादेवं ब्रुवात निमित्तकारणमीश्वरः इत्युपगतं भवति······N. V., p. 460

यच्च निमित्तं तदितरयोः समवायिकारणासमवायिकारणयोः अनुग्राहकम्।······
उपादानकारणं पृथिव्यादि परमसूक्ष्मं परमाणुसंज्ञितं द्रव्यं········।

According to the Vārtika, the existence of Īśvara is proved by the Nyāya only after accepting the Nimitta Kāraṇa of the World.

He refers to a host of rival theories in this connection and criticises them. The first to come for this scrutiny is the Sānkhya view. He examines it from various points of view and finally ends with the remark.

सोयं प्रधानवादो यावद्यावद्विचार्यते तावत्तावत् प्रमाणवृत्तं बाधते। N. V., p. 462

The view that the Paramāṇus by themselves lead to creation even as the milk flows from the cow involuntarily is also untenable, as no such miracle happens in the case of a dead cow. Wherever an *acetana* is seen to behave with some order, we may say at once that it is possible to infer that it is guided by some *cetana*.

What exactly persuades Īśvara to trouble himself with the creation and dissolution of the world? Some explain it as mere sport. But the Lord has no need for sport, as he has no need for diversion. He has nothing to desire or to hate. Some others explain it as prompted by a desire to proclaim His power. But again He does not stand to gain by this also as He need not care for any one's appreciation. Udyotakāra himself explains in a different way. It is the Svabhāva of Īśvara and this power of Īśvara is said to be Nitya. He is not bound but ever free.

Vācaspati Miśra holds that in the N.S., IV-1-(19-21), Gautama refers to the ईश्वरोपादानवाद, ब्रह्मविवर्त्तवाद and the निरपेक्षेश्वर-निमित्तवाद. In the previous section, Gautama refers to and refutes the Sūnyatāvāda which believes that the world might have proceeded from an entire void. The N.S. 4-1-19. ईश्वर: कारणं पुरुषकर्म, etc., is here explained as referring to the belief that the world is itself a modification of Brahman and that it is the Upādana Kāraṇa of the Universe. The same sūtra is also explained as referring to the Vivartavāda. तदेतद्दर्शनद्वयं अनेन सूचितं ···एतद्दर्शनद्वयं अपाकरोति । N. V. T. T., p. 410. The next sūtra criticises this view and asserts the necessity of man's efforts also. The third sūtra 21 follows the Vārtika interpretation in attributing to Iśvara the Nimitta—Kāraṇatva of the world and explaining Iśvara as sāpekṣa in the same sense.

His commentator Udayana realised the necessity for gathering together all his weapons in this connection. His contributions to Indian theism are remarkable as he laid the discussion purely on Anumāna and made it impossible for the Nāstikas, the Mīmāṁsakas and the Sāmkhyas to meet his arguments. His monumental works the *Ātmatatva-vīveka* and the *Nyāya-Kusumānjali* deserve to be referred to in this connection. The former establishes the necessity for recognising Ātman as separate being from the body, the Indriyas, etc., and the latter develops the Nyāya argument for the recognition of Iśvara. Udyotakara and Vācaspati Miśra simply explained the sūtras and indicated the arguments contained in them. But Udayana developed on the constructive side an independent doctrine of theism and on the polemical side directed against all the prominent anti-theistic phases of thought prevalent in his time. He refutes the positively a theistic aspect of the Sānkhyas, the Mīmāmsakas the Cārvākas, and the Buddhists, but does not find it necessary to refute the system of Vedānta. In a passage in the *Ātma-Tattva-Vivaka*, he refers to the Vedānta darśana as the top of the city of Mokṣa.

अद्वैतदर्शनस्य मोक्षनगरगोपुरायमाणत्वात्.

To maintain all his views, he stands as far as possible on Anumāna independently of anything else; though he recognises that he would have to take shelter under Śruti in the end. This is the strongest point in his system.

Jayanta introduces the discussion on Iśvara in connection with the establishment of the validity of Śabda or the Vedas. The Mīmāṁsakas view that the Vedas derive their validity from their being never produced. But this is refuted by Jayanta;

they are all said to have been the products of an all powerful, all merciful being, the Lord, capable of creating the three worlds.

वेदस्य पुरुषः कर्ता न हि यादृशतादृशः
किन्तु त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणनिपुणः परमेश्वरः । N. M., p. 790

The Vaiśeṣika view that Īśvara is not the direct cause but the Karma produced in the Paramāṇus by the desire of the Lord is the same as recognising Īśvara as the creator in his own capacity. And the Karmas need not be recognised as between the two. Īśvara could be established through the *Sāmānya to dṛṣṭa sambandha* as the basis of the *sāmānya to dṛiṣṭa* variety of Anumāna. In spite of the belief in the fact that the desire of the Lord is the cause of the Universe, the Naiyāyikas accept the *adṛiṣṭas* also as explaining the variety in the world.

न्यायशास्त्रे सामान्यपदार्थस्य नित्यत्वपरीक्षा

(गुंडेराव हरकारे वाचस्पति डिस्ट्रिक्ट जज्ज गद्वाल)

विदितमेव तत्रभवतां प्रज्ञावतां, मनुष्यमात्रस्य ऐहिकामुष्मिकदुःखप्रहाणोपायभूता प्रामाण्यज्ञानार्कोदयकारणीभूताऽनन्यसाधारणी विद्याऽऽन्वीक्षिकी नाम। इह संसारे प्रत्यहं वैदिके लौकिके च व्यवहारे युगपत् परस्परकर्तव्यताबोधकविधिद्वयसंप्राप्तौ तयोः पारमार्थिकप्राबल्यदौर्बल्यविनिश्चयाय निर्दुष्टहेतुभिरन्वीक्षमाणैयमेव जनानामुपकरोति। अत एव—

'प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्।
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता ॥' इति

अस्मिन्निर्दुष्टप्रधाने प्रज्ञावाक्यक्रियावैशारद्यफलके शास्त्रे भगवतो गौतमस्यादिमं सूत्रम् "—तत्त्वज्ञानान्निश्रेयसाधिगम" इति। भगवान् कणादोऽपि "—पदार्थानां साधर्म्यवैधर्म्याभ्यां तत्त्वज्ञानं निश्श्रेयसहेतुः" इति। तत्र उभयेऽपि नये आत्मादेः प्रमेयान्तःपातित्वात् तेषां तत्त्वज्ञानान्निश्रेयसाधिगमः। मिथ्याज्ञानं सवासनं इह संसारस्य मूलं कारणम्। तच्च तत्त्वज्ञानेन विरोधिना निवर्त्यते। साधर्म्यादिना मननद्वारा तत्त्वसाक्षात्कारो जायते।

अनंतरं नवीनैः गौतमीयं न्यायं काणादं च वैशेषिकं, उभयमप्येकत्र संकलय्य स्पष्टतया "एते च पदार्थाः वैशेषिकमते प्रसिद्धाः नैयायिकानामप्यविरुद्धाः" इति राद्धान्तितम्।

तत्र उभयनयसाधारणस्य सामान्यपदार्थस्य विषये कश्चन विचारः प्रस्तूयते—

निःश्रेयससिद्धिकारणीभूततत्त्वज्ञानविषयप्रमेयांतःपातिनां पदार्थानामेकतमः सामान्यपदार्थ इत्यत्र न कोऽपि संदेहः। अत एव सामान्यपदार्थस्य तत्त्वज्ञानं नाम अनारोपितस्वरूपज्ञानं निःश्रेयसहेतुरिति फलितम्। सामान्यस्य लक्षणं तु "नित्यत्वे सत्यनेकसमवेतत्वम्" इति। यदि सामान्यं पदार्थत्वेन नांगीकृतं स्यात्, तर्हि भिन्नेषु द्रव्यगुणकर्मसु पदार्थेषु अनुवृत्तिप्रतीतिः न स्यात्। तस्मात् नानाधर्मिण्येकप्रकारकप्रमाप्रकारीभूतो यो धर्मः स सामान्यमिति। इदं चानुगतज्ञानं कल्पनात्मकमेवेति सामान्यं न पदार्थांतरमिति बौद्धाः—उक्तं च तैः—

'व्यक्तयो नानुयान्त्यन्यत् अनुयायि न भासते।
ज्ञानादव्यतिरिक्तं चेत् कथमर्थान्तरं व्रजेत्' ॥ इति।

एतेन ज्ञानान्तःपातित्वमंगीकृत्याऽपि सामान्यमिति कश्चन पदार्थः प्राचीनतर्क इव मध्यतर्केऽपि दृश्यते। उक्तं च दिङ्नागाचार्यैः—

'अत्र सामान्यशब्देन महासत्ता ग्राह्या। सत्ता सामान्यमेव' ॥ इति।

अपि च नव्यतर्के सामान्यस्य नित्यत्वं, जातिव्यक्त्योरविनाभावः संबंधश्च अंगीकृतः। दीधितिकारप्रभृतिभिः "कालो गोमान् गोत्वात्" यदा गोत्वं तदा गौः इत्यत्र गोत्वहेतुकानुमानस्य प्रलयांतर्भावेण व्यभिचारहेतुत्वमुपपादितम्। तत्र सर्वकार्यध्वंसः अवांतरप्रलयः सर्वभावकार्यध्वंसः महाप्रलयः इति स्वकृतनिबंधनेषु गोव्यक्त्यभावेऽपि प्रलये गोत्वजातेः स्वीकारेण स्वप्रतिज्ञातार्थः—उभयोरविनाभावसंबंधः—स्वेनैव तिरस्कृत इति प्रतीयते।

अत्र न्यायलीलावतीकारेणैवं समाहितम्—

"वैशेषिकनये तस्य पिण्डमात्रगतत्वात्, प्रलये सर्वपिण्डानामुच्छेदे सामान्यमप्युच्छिद्येतेति चेन्न। सर्वसंबंधिविगमेऽपि स्वसत्ता व्यवस्थितेः" इति।

आश्रयाशेषव्यक्तिनाशेऽपि स्वरूपसत्तया सद्भाव इति तेषां मतं नातीवादरणार्हम । यतो जातिव्यक्त्योः अविनाभावसंबंधस्य व्याहतिः प्रकारान्तरेणापि अङ्गीकृतैव भवति ।

किं च संस्थानमेव जातिरित्यपि मतम् । संस्थानस्य जातेराश्रयभेदेन भिन्नत्वमनित्यत्वं च प्रतिपादितमन्यैरित्यासतां तावत्परेषामाक्षेपाः । स्वशास्त्रसिद्धान्तानुसृत्यापि प्रतिज्ञातार्थ-दाढ्यें संशेरत एव संख्यावतां मतयः ।

तथा च नैयायिकैरसत्कार्यवादिभिरुत्पन्नं द्रव्यं क्षणमगुणं तिष्ठतीति सुस्पष्टमङ्गीकृतम् । अतः पूर्वप्रतिज्ञातो गुणगुणिनोरविनाभावसंबंधः कथं घटिष्यते ? तथा सति पूर्वापरकाले उत्पन्नैक वर्तमानानामपि पदार्थानामित्थमेव अविनाभावसंबंधः स्वीकृतो भवेत् भूतलादौ च सर्वांगसंबंधेन वर्तमानानामपि घटपटादीनां पदार्थानां भूतलघटादीनां परस्परमविनाभावसंबंध एव प्रसज्येत । तथा सति जातिगुणादीनां द्रव्येण सहजत्वमेव स्यात् । क्षणविलम्बोऽन्तरालमुत्पत्त्यनन्तरमनुधावन् न फलेग्रहि स्यात् ।

किं च "ब्राह्मण्यं तस्य नश्यति" "कर्मणा जायते द्विजः" इत्यादिवचनेषु जातेरुत्पाद-विनाशशालित्वं सिद्धमेव । विश्वामित्रादीनां ब्राह्मण्योत्पत्तिरपि दृष्टा । तस्मात् घटत्वादीना-मपि नित्यत्वस्वीकारोऽनुचित एव । अतः सामान्यस्य न नित्यत्वं नापि तस्य व्यक्त्या सह अविनाभावः संबंधः ।

तर्हि कथमिदं सामान्यलक्षणं शास्त्रकृतां संमतं जनानां निःश्रेयसप्रयोजकं भवेत् ?

मम तु सामान्यपदार्थस्य अनित्यत्वस्वीकार एव उचित इति प्रतिभाति ।

PALI AND BUDDHISM SECTION

THE FIVE JINAS AND THE FIVE COLOURS OF CONSCIOUSNESS

By

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The Mahāyānic conception of the five Jinas, the frequency of whose figurations testifies to its having assumed, in the course of time, a dominant position in religious symbolism, has been given a number of tentative interpretations : historical metaphysical, or purely iconographical. To the last category belongs the suggestion of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya that the five Jinas might have originated from five traditional *mudrās* of Śākyamuni. P. Mus proposes a very ingenious historico-geographical interpretation to the effect that the Jinas represent Śākyamuni at five distinct moments of his life-history, which aspects were peculiarly venerated at single monasteries—so that the figurations of the five Jinas reproduce, in a sense, the pilgrim's itinerary. Most of the other interpretations are based on data occurring in the construction of the doctrine in comparatively recent works, where the Jinas, besides the undissociable features of their figuration—namely their distribution at the five cardinal points and the respective attribution of five colours—are also co-ordinated with 5 elements, 5 senses, 5 *mantrabījas* and 5 Bodhisattvas, and are considered as represented on the earthly plane by the 5 *mānuṣi*-Buddhas. Thus the well-known historical interpretation is that the 5 so-called Dhyānī-Buddhas are transpositions on the transcendent plane, adopted by Mahāyānic doctrine, of the 5 human Buddhas known to Hīnayāna : the three Buddhas of the past eras, Śākyamuni and the Buddha of the future, Maitreya. The other interpretation suggested concurrently already by Kern, that the 5 Jinas represent the 5 senses, leads us on from purely external considerations on the possible genesis of the *representation* to considerations on the import and meaning of the *notion*. The reduction to the 5 senses appears singularly unconvincing if we formulate the problem in the only manner allowing of an intrinsical interpretation : namely, what was the representation of the Jīnas intended to convey to the adept before whose eyes it was constantly placed, so as to bring home to him incessantly the truth of its message ? What was this message ?

It certainly could not be "a theory of the eternal existence of the five senses" as such,—since all forms of Buddhism are emphatic as to the soteric purpose,—the possibility and the means of abolishing the reality of the senses; notably, the transcendental teaching of Yogācāra-Vijñānavāda, from which the doctrine of the Jinas takes its lineal descent, conceives the process of this deliverance as taking place in the super-jacent sphere of unsensuous reality: it is to this process and to this sphere that the 5 Jinas actually belong, not to the world of the 5 senses. As I have shown elsewhere, this higher sphere of reality is in Buddhist psycho-cosmology the sphere of *manas*[1]; in the latter's connection with the 5 inferior senses the Tāntric interpreters may have found an inducement to make additionally of these five, inasmuch as they converge and thus potentially inhere in the sixth, distinctive attribute of the five Jinas. The ultimate import of this convergence is the *parāvṛtti* of the earthly senses to a mode of being beyond the sphere of incessant flux—and this is what may have been meant by their "eternal existence." For it seems hardly credible that even these late interpreters of older notions would have gone to the length of conceiving sense—reality as the underlying essence of the five personalities of salvation. However much Tāntrism may operate with contrasts to pre-existing trends, theoretical and practical, such contrasts concern mainly, or only, the modality and the attitude, not the substance of the teaching; none of its doctrines is based on assumptions contradictory to those of classical Buddhism. In any case, an opinion peculiar to late Tāntric teachers could not decide the issue as a whole, since the 5 Jina conception is by no means exclusively or even particularly Tāntric. The category of the 5 senses makes its appearance among the attributes of the Jinas together with the category of the 5 elements; but this twin category has not invested the figurations, which are the only secure guide to the original meaning implied.

Nor do the basic authors suggest the explanation of the Jinas as relevant to the senses; they suggest another, and more specifically Buddhist, category of 5 items. The *Jñānasiddhi* says:

pañcabuddhasvabhāvatvāt pañcaskandhā jināḥ smṛtāḥ

and a passage of the *Sādhanamālā* says:

pañcaskandhā pañcatathāgatasvarūpā bhāvyante

[1] See my *Nāma-Rūpa and Dharma-Rūpa* Caleutta 1943, P.105f.' etc. of Index S. V. manas, sphere of—.

Does this mean that the 5 Jinas are personifications of the 5 *skandhas-rūpa, vadanā, saṃjñā, saṃskārāḥ, vijñāna,* conceived as transcendental and eternal? This is how the XIIth century Tāntric author Advayavajra seems to understand the matter, but he can by no means be taken as a reliable guide, not only because his period is all too remote from that of the origin of the conception, but especially in consideration of the fact that he allows free play to his individual fancy all along the line, as e.g. the adding to the co-ordinations new categories of pentads, such as seasons, parts of the day, etc. He is clearly out for a cosmological diagram of reality, and he works in this direction without any Buddhological preoccupations. But it is certain that in no classical Buddhist tradition those Skandhas could have been conceived as the everlasting essence of the transcendental reality of the Buddha, since, on the contrary, in this tradition, the 5 Skandhas Rūpa, etc. are contingency itself and their rising and passing is the very life-rythm of contingency; it is their elimination that spells deliverance and so attainment of the Tathāgata's reality. The authors who speak of five Skandhas as the *svarūpa* or *svabhāva* of the Tathāgatas are undoubtedly basing themselves on a tradition in which these Skandhas were not the *skandhas* of contingency but their contrasting correlates, the 5 *anāsravaskandhas* or *jinaskândhas,* constituting the supramundane body of the Tathāgata. In my study on "Nāma-Rūpa" (p. 126f.) I have pointed out the reason why the original triad of these factors —*śīla, samādhi, prajñā*—was finally constructed into a pentad; which was done by developing the implications inherent in *prajñā,* in the awareness of illuminating truth, namely *vimukti,* deliverance from contingent becoming, and *vimuktijñānadarśana,* the certainty of having attained this deliverance, namely that it was so extended in order to provide a series of opposite correlates to the series of the 5 contingent Skandhas. The latter (as appears from the analysis of the rise and development of the relevant theory, cf. p. 108f. 122, 130, etc.), were originally understood in a concrete sense, as "*bodies*", (not abstractly as "components" or "aggregates", and this meaning was the one usually accepted until a very comparatively advanced period. Thus the Tathāgataskandhas as their contrasting counterparts must have been understood as the 5 bodies of the Jina constituting his soteric personality. A single step forward from this point leads to the hypostasis of these 5 bodies of the Jina as 5 Jinas. To a rōle analogous to that of the 5 pure Skandhas were also adopted the three Jñānas, *kṣayajñāna, anutpādajñāna* and *samyagdṛṣṭi;* in Hīnayāna dogmatics they were not extended to a pentad like the series of the Jinaskandhas, but were often

combined with them. Mahāyāna dogmatics substitutes to be these Jñānas the 4 jñānas *ādarśajñāna*, *samatājñāna*, *pratyavekśaṇajñāna*, *kṛtyānuṣṭhāna*. Later a fifth *jñāna* was added, *suviśuddhadharmadhātujñāna*, so that the Buddha (the Ādibuddha) was defined as *pañcajñānātmaka*. The five Jinas are characterised by one of these Jñānas each. Such is the late Mahāyānic version of the scheme of the five Jinaskandhas.

But, whether in its early or in its late form this scheme was only a pale and secondary construction. Had the object of the figuration of the 5 Jinas been no other than to impress upon the adept's awareness the sublime characteristics of the Tathāgata, no doubt some grander dogmatic datum would have been chosen for the purpose, as e.g. the Tathāgata's three or four Kāyas. As a matter of fact, a late text (the non-Tāntric comy. to the *Nāmasaṁgīti*) brings forward an identification of the five Kāyas with the five Jinas. It is however certain that the 5 Kāya series cannot have been the actual basis of the Jina series, either in virtue of essential or even purely formal criteria. As to their relation of essence, in fact, all the sources agree on the point that the 5 Jinas represent *one* Buddhakāya only, namely the Doctrine-Body, which is called Dharmakāya (in one of the Mahāyānic meanings of the term) or Sambhogakāya, according to the varying nomenclature adopted by various authors. For a purely formal derivation the indispensable prerequisite would have been an established uniform tradition of the pentad of Buddhakāyas, whereas there was no such uniform tradition: the pentadic classifications, introduced by means of learned speculative subdivisions of the Trikāya series, were at variance as to the single items and remained fluctuating; none of them won general acceptance, let alone popularity. If it is actually the series of the Jinaskandhas that was personified in the representation of the Jinas which appears to be fairly certain—the purpose of this representation must have been other, and more, than that of inculcating an important Buddhological tenet.

On closer examination we see that the series of the Jinaskandhas differs from all the other and more notable series of the Buddha's characteristics in that it represents, not so much a number of simultaneous qualities as a climax of successive attainments: it is a short history of the stages leading up to *bodhi*. On the other hand, it is equally the climax of the Buddhist adept's attainments in the realization of his aim. Thus the contemplation of the Tathāgata's nature under this aspect brings home to the adept the notion that his career is substantially identical with that of the Master. As I have shown in

various other connexions, this basic notion of the disciple's career as a career of Bodhi, while yet clearly extant in the substrata of proto-Hīnayānic doctrine, has been quasi-suppressed in the doctrinal elaboration of Hīnayāna; but it is this very notion that is given the greatest prominence in Mahāyāna. There is a way to Enlightenment, to the realization of Bodhi, in virtue of the fact that the reality of Tathāgatahood, the essence of Bodhi, is *potentially* inherent in the human being. The Jinaskandhas are mystically latent in their opposite, in the contingent Skandhas, and can be produced by a process of intimate reversal. In other words: in the context of Mahāyāna thinking, the contemplation on the 5 Jinas brings forth the notion of the *Tathāgatagarbha*, the central point of the Yogācāra conception.

Do the other constant and essential features of the fundamental type of representation of the 5 Jinas confirm this interpretation of its purport and purpose? These constant features are: the disposition of the Jinas at the 5 cardinal points of space, and the attribution of 5 colours, one to each Jina.

As to the spatial distribution factor, its reason is from the first fairly evident. While the Dharmakāya as Svabhāvikakāya, as the personality of full Illumination, is one and indivisible; the Body of the Doctrine active in the world, the personification of the Buddha's activity of illuminating the beings, the Dharmakāya as Saṁbhogakāya, is a body omnipresent in space, apparently divided, though in its ultimate realization, i.e. in its passing into the Svabhāvikakāya, it is one. I have shown (*Op. cit.*, pp. 156-159) that the essential characteristic of this Mahāyānic Doctrine-Body, of the Saṁbhogakāya, consists in its activity of integration to the totality—in that it actually is the embodiment, the hypostasis of the process of unification of reality in consciousness. As many sources aver, this body is characterised by its all-cosmic dimensions. The pattern of the 5 Jinas is a paradigm of its convergent multiplicity aspect. Their position at the 5 cardinal points of space indicates that their ideal whole is coextensive with the totality of cosmic space. Thus the sphere of this whole is *ākāsa*—not however as such, i.e. in the sense of worldly space, but in its soteric sublimation, as the *anāsravadhātu* (cf. *ibid.*, p. 183f.). The points of correspondence of this Doctrine-Body with *ākāsa* are elaborated at length in Yogācāra texts, such as the IXth chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṁkāra*. This very context adds that the specification of the depth of the Buddhas as to character, position and action in the *anāsravadhātu* is a *variegation of ākāsa in colours* (36). Which means that the totality,

if analysed into its constituents appears as a spectrum of colours. Now this cosmic consciousness-body, coextensive with universal space, is a potentiality of individual consciousness; by the process of the soteric transfiguration this microcosmic entity is made to coincide with the macrocosmic expansion of pure consciousness. This notion also is borne out by Asaṁga who, always in the same context, says that the perfection of the thought-entity is the *ākāśasaṁjnāvyāvrtti* (47). It is thus that (according to a further statement in this context) the Buddhatva of the Anāsravadhātu is omnipresent in the multitude of beings, as Ākāśa is omnipresent in the multitude of forms.(15)

This idea of the potential immanence of the Citta of enlightenment in common consciousness, of the Anāsravaskandhas in the Āsravaskandhas, underlies also a simile which occurs three times in the early Suttapitaka. Twice it is applied to the Citta in the process of deliverance, the third time to the Buddha in the process of his manifestation. The 20th para of the Kassapa Sîhanāda Sutta (DN I, p. 69) gives us an analysis of the Citta in 5 colours. In the clarified organism the Viññāna that abides therein becomes apparent as a five-coloured thread inserted in a clear gem. The passage itself provides no further explanation of what this is meant to imply, but for what the context shows, namely that the process of which this analysis of the Citta forms part is the production of the three *sampadās*, Sîla, Citta and Paññā. As we know, these 3 Sampadās cover the same ground as the 5 Sampadās, namely the 5 Anāsrasvaskandhas. The context throws light on the meaning of the 5 colours: this scheme inherently belongs to the symbolism representing the reversal and sublimation of the Skandha-personality into the personality of the Anāsravaskandhas. The second context of the same simile (Mahāsakuludāyi Sutta, *MN* II, p. 17) elaborates the motif of the 5 Dhammas of the Buddha for which he is venerated by his disciples and in which, through his agency, they share. The series is headed by Sîlakkhandha and is obviously a version—complicated and obscured by the heavy revision the text has undergone of the 5 Ariyakkhandhas. In the third context (Acchariyabbhutadhammasutta, *MN* III, p. 121) the 5 colours enclosed in the transparent gem represent the Buddha to be in his mother's womb.

This shows beyond doubt that in early Buddhist thought the motif of the 5 colours implied the notion that the potential entity of Enlightenment as it is being gradually revealed in man through the soteric process, is equivalent to the personality of the Buddha before the latter's actual manifestation.

Since however in these Sutta contexts the figurative element of the 5 colours is dealt with rather sketchily, as is the rule for traditional, well-known motifs, whereas those newly introduced, are, as a rule, treated very circumstantially), for a full and detailed evidence of its meaning we may have to go back still further, to a period previous to that of the Sutta literature. Such an older documentary background is indeed available, for, as I have pointed out on many occasions and proved in all kinds of connexions, Buddhist thought did not set out *ex nihilo,* but developed its elements along the lines of a specific tradition, documents of which are also extant in Upanishadic literature. This applies also to our case.

In the old Upanishads, such as the Bṛhadāraṇyka, the essence of consciousness is conceived as the Ākāśa in the heart, a fluid of five colours flowing through the heart-*nāḍis*. That this conception is actually a precursor of the Buddhist notion is additionally evidenced by the fact that in its context occurs for the first time the Buddhist term *āsrava*, whose basic meaning had so long been censed an enigma.[1] *tābhir vā etad āsravād āsravati:* "Through these (heart-nāḍis) indeed the ever recurrent flux ever flows." The "ever recurrent flux" is the flux of consciousness in its differentiated contingent aspects productive of Saṃsāra. But it is in this very heart-ākāśa that the transfiguration takes place which effects deliverance. I have collated on other occasions the detailed description of this process of intimate transformation, so I can now limit myself to stating that it is a process of reversal and unification. One of the relevant passages of the *BĀU* (II, 3; the others are: IV, 2, 3-4; IV, 3, 20f; IV, 4, 8-9) symbolises the fulfilment of this unification by placing after the series of 5 colours depicting the Vijñāna Puruṣa *a sixth,* which is the pure undivided light of the flash of lightning. *Lightning* is in the Upanishads the constant image of Illumination; and so it is in Mahāyāna Buddhism, which places the advent of Bodhi in *vajropamasamādhi.* From this conception is derived the hypostasis of *Vajrasattva* as the integration to a unity of the 5 Jinas. To return to our Upanishadic evidence: the Illumination, the transfiguration of the 5 colours of consciousness into the flash of lightning, manifests itself in the realization of a new entity, whose vital components are stated to coincide with the cardinal regions of space. The *neti nety ātman,* all-consciousness (in fact the third passage describes the nature of this attainment with the phrase *aham ev'edaṃ sarvo' smīti*), comes forth in the

[1] Cf. my *Il Mito Psicologico nell' India Antica,* pp. 350, 352, 597 *f.*

shape of one undivided personality coextensive with universal space.

Doctrinally, the potential immanance of the entity of illumination in the five-coloured consciousness-entity is very precisely formulated in the further continuation of the *BAU* text last referred to: "The great unborn Ātman is indeed latent in that which among the functions is consciousness, in that which is the Ākāśa within the heart" (IV. 3. 22). But its emergence from potentiality to actually can take place only under certain specific circumstances (a matter stressed in the introductory portion of the first mentioned passage as well as in the context of the last of the four) :—namely after the detachment of consciousness from its sense-bound tendency. A preliminary reversal of the orientation of consciousness is needed : on this condition the ever recurrent flux of the 5 colours of Hrdākāśa assumes the opposite character of 5 transcendental factors resulting in the entity of Illumination.

Same is the case with the Buddhist conception : it is through the orientational reversal, *vyāvṛtti*, of consciousness, at the outset of the adept's career, that the climax of the 5 Anāsravaskandhas is started upon, and thus the immanence of the final aim of Illumination is made manifest.

But what have the colours directly to do with the Skandhas, and hence by conversion with their opposite correlates the Jinaskandhas? If a genetic connexion of the two notions were detected, this would clinch the issue and complete the solution of our problem.

I shall limit myself here to the shortest possible indications and refer for more detailed information to my published works where the elements of the following evidence have been singly pointed out and analysed, though from other points of view.

I have shown (in a paper contributed to the 10th Session of this Conference) that the genesis of the doctrine of the Skandhas was parallel to that of the doctrine of the *kośas* : that they arose from analogous premises of psycho-physiological speculation and developed up to a certain limit along analogues lines. Both series imply a progression which, viewed in the sense of salvation, is at once withinward and upwardbound ; both are primarily conceived as climaxes of concentric bodies, whose latent nucleus—unrealized so long as those enclosing sheaths are *actual*, but realized at the end of a gradual sublimating process discarding them one by one—is the entity of Illumination.

)n the dogmatic level of orthodox Theravāda—dominated by he tenet of Nairātmya such as it was evolved from the notion of substantial discontinuity between the planes of Saṃsāra and Nirvāṇa—the original assumption of this innermost nucleus, of this final aim, as an entity, is no longer admitted : according to this orthodox teaching the Skandhas, when gradually transcended (in the process of psychological elimination whose description we have in the 4 original Vimokkhas[1] and in the four Satipaṭṭhānas)—do not give way to anything but the utter *nirodha* of the apparent personality which they had constituted. But the different implication of the pre-existent ideological term construction, upon which this new doctrinal conclusion was superimposed, remains obvious both in the intrinsic logic of the mechanism of progressively discarding the concentric sheaths (a notion yet surviving in the ideology, phraseology and imagery of the texts), as well as in the very notion of the Ariyakkhandhās. The earlier conception, coalescent with the ancient Yogic substrata, still lingers on in archaic doctrines surviving in the Suttas, such as that of the *prabhāsvara citta*, and re-appears among the sects, where e.g. the Pudgalavādins are reported to have literally taught that "the unsensuous *Pudgala* is realised in the fifth Kośa inasmuch as this is unutterable," meaning that his transcendent personality springs forth from the sublimation of the 5th Skandhavijñāna, into the unutterable, i.e. the purified and radiant Vijñāna—the Prabhāsvara Citta. This Pudgala of the Pudgalavādins, like the *ekarasaskandha* of the ancient Sautrāntikas and the *mūlavijnāna* of the Mahāsaṁghikas, is the precursor of the Vijnānavādin's *ālayavijnāna* as Tathāgatagarbha.

The Yogic doctrine of the Kośas, which appears in the *Taittiriya Up.* in a twofold version attesting the twofold notion of the inward progression and the upward progression, is found in an earlier form in some Yoga-doctrines of the *Atharva-Veda*, where the Kośas were not yet 5 but 3 ; the items are 4 inclusive of the transcendent Ātman potentially present as the inner latent nucleus. The 3 Kośas are actually described as the 3 "positions" of the one Kośa filled with eight (X, 2, 31-32), which is shown to mean the heart, the seat of consciousness. The positions of consciousness are 3 in accordance with the psycho-physiological scheme of the primitive Yoga-process evidenced in another hymn of the *AV* (IV, 1), which gives us the earliest form of the doctrine of the Cakras or lotuses, (they are called *madhyas* or *viṣṭhās* in the Atharvanic text). These three planes

[1] *Nāma Rūpa*, p.1218 f.

of consciousness, located in 3 centres along the Suṣumṇā are respectively: 1. the as yet subconscious, purely vegetative and reproductive life-force. 2. the life of emotion and 3. the intellectual life. The fourth stage which, inasmuch as it becomes *actual* is located no more within the psycho-physical individual organism but beyond it as well as beyond the finite world: which is attained by the egression of sublimated consciousness through the radiant Brahmarandhra—this fourth stage is the all-consciousness of Enlightenment, and is figured in the shape of the personality coextensive with the totality of space. In the Yoga process of sublimation the consciousness-entity is censed to proceed upwards from the nethermost centre to the uppermost, whence at last it issues forth through the Brahmarandhra to reveal itself in its supreme aspect of universal self-awareness. A cognate passage of the *Aitareya Up.* (III, 12) narrates how the three centres of individual consciousness were produced as stages of the descent of primal creative consciousness through the Brahmarandhra into the organism. It is thus the direction of the progression along the perpendicular line that decides whether the climax of the stages of consciousness is considered in the sense of individuation or in the sense of deliverance.

Now a third *AV* text (X, 8, 43) provides a parallel to the representation of the light-filled Kośa in its threefold position by representing the heart as a *puṇḍarīka* in which three *guṇas* are contained or inserted (the term is *āvṛta*, as in X, 2, 31, the same which is used in the *DN* with reference to the five-coloured thread) and in their turn contain the potential ātman. What these three Guṇas—these three threads or qualities of the one essence filling the heart-puṇḍarīka—stand for in this case, can be found by a comparison with the archaic doctrine of Uddālaka Āruṇi: they are the three colours which constitute reality—*śukla*, *lohita* and *kṛṣṇa*.

As if by a foreshortening in horizontal projection, the three forms of the light-essence of consciousness, such as they appear in the vertical progression of three planes, are figured on a common plane as three colours. In the later phases of the Cakra-doctrine the number of these centres or planes of consciousness, i.e. of the factor-aspects of life was extended successively up to 7. The Kośa-doctrine of the *Taitt. U.* as a correlate of the Cakra-doctrine obviously belongs to the phase when the items were 5, inclusive of the transcendent plane; the 5 colour doctrine of the *BĀU*, as a more advanced stage of the one-plane scheme found in the *AV*, belongs to the phase when they were censed to be six.

Likewise, the 5 colour-scheme of the Suttas reduces the stages of the upwardbound process of salvation to a position in simultaneity, and thus by itself no longer expresses the direction characterizing process which it stands for, but the context reveals it. Similarly, the context of the 5 colour scheme in the Upanishads regularly points to the process of deliverance. It is in this connexion only that the theory of the 5 colours attained its prominence in the Upanishadic doctrines which are a continuation of the Vedic Yoga-teaching. This is also proved by the documents of this theory in the *Chāndogya U.* In the 6th Kh. of the 8th Prapāṭhaka (entirely dedicated to the subject of Yogic realization of the Ātman by the process of sublimation and egression) the five colours are located both in the heart-nāḍis and in the sun as the door of the cosmos opening on to the transcendent sphere—the transcosmic undivided light, the *paraṁ jyotiṣ*. Through the Nāḍis and the 5 coloured rays the heart and the world-door are connected. He who is initiated to this doctrine finds the passage through the Lokadvāra to the undivided light.

In the 13th Kh. of the 3rd Prap. those 5 "divine channels of the heart" as they are called here, are co-ordinated, and identified, with the 5 directions of life-energy (in the order: *prāṇa, vyāna, apāna, samāna, udāna*), with a series of macrocosmic entities and with a series of microcosmic functions (each of these series must obviously have consisted of five items in the original text.[1] The doctrine is further unfolded by the statement that these five divine channels of the heart are the 5 Brahmic personalities (*te vā ete pañca brahmapuruṣāḥ*), the guardians of the door of the heavenly world. "And indeed thus the teaching concludes—that light beyond the sky, in the supreme world, beyond anything and everything, is essentially identical with the (undivided) light in the innermost of man."

Here the 5-Jina representation is completely anticipated, down to the secondary co-ordinations with elements and

[1] In the extant text some confusion has crept in: under 5th *ākāśa*, a 6th macrocosmic item is mentioned besides *vāyu*, thereby ousting the 5th microcosmic correlate and causing the anomaly that only 4 items appear in the latter category. The mention of *vāyu* under 5th points to *prāna* having been there as 5th the list thus restored is the most current old list of microcosmic faculties) which also explains why the uncritical editor chose to sacrifice this item, as he was faced with the presence of "prānas" as standing correlates (in reality these prānas as "directions of life-energy" in their fivefold classification have little in common with the function of breathing).

faculties.[1] The five colours of consciousness in their soteric import are hypostatised as the five personalities of the brahman; in their separate but convergent manifestation they are the spectrum, the five-fold colour-variegation of Ākāśa-hṛdākāśa, while the attainment to which they lead in their ultimate fusion is the transcendent undivided light, the oneness of the supreme Puruṣa, the personality of full Enlightenment, i.e. the unity of the five Brahmapuruṣas. The 3rd kh. of the Yogic 8th Prap. thus formulates this attainment in *samprasāda* (the instant-quietude of Illumination, which in later Upanishads such as Maitrāyaṇa is described as "lightning"-samādhi) the potential all-consciousness emerges from the body and in the supernal light stands revealed in its own form, which is that of the supreme Puruṣa.

Five colours of the consciousness-essence, representing the five constitutive factors of contingent personality as reduced in the heart to their germinal state, in which they undergo the reversal into the five factors of salvation : the latter's hypostasis as five salvific personalities, ultimately coinciding in the one all-personality of Enlightenment. This fully prefigures the Buddhist conception of five colours of the Citta as representing the five Skandhas on the point of their translation into the Anāsravaskandhas (or Jinaskandhas), and the latter's hypostasis as five Jinas, who ultimately coincide in the one all-personality of the Tathāgata as embodiment of full Illumination.

The figurative disposition of the five Jinas with their respective colours at the cardinal points of space renders the projection into a position of simultaneity of the successive

[1] Akāśa seems to have been brought in here from the separate and superior position, which it must have occupied in the original construction of the text, of the 6th item representing the "totality" and unity of the 5—even as the "yonder Light" represents the unity and totality of the five brahmapuruṣas. To the reviser's understanding was lost both the sense of that construction as well as the criterion of the identification of macrocosmic and microcosmic pentads with 5 salvific entities ultimately coinciding in the undivided supreme light. The criterion is obviously that of the former's re-orientation from divergence to convergence : as the 5 colour-channels of consciousness, the 5 trends of life-energy, divergent in the manifestation of ordinary life, in virtue of their soteric reversal are made to converge and finally coincide in their fountainhead, the innermost undivided light of the heart, so the 5 exponents of macrocosmic diversity are made to converge towards and coincide in their fountainhead ākāśa reintegrated to its primordial undiversified condition of the supernal light, while in its identical correlate hṛdākāśa coincide the corresponding faculties of the microcosm. In other words, it is not from the point of view of their normal nature and function, but from that of their reversal and translation to the hypercosmic and hypersensuous, that the cosmic and sensorial entities are co-ordinated with the factors of salvation.

stages of salvation that projection which had been effected in the Sutta representation of five colours of the Citta.

That the Skandhas and their opposites are thus reducible to consciousness whence they originate and whose central seat is in the heart—this notion was by no means limited to ancient Buddhist thinking. A late Chinese compilation explains the Buddha's miracle of transforming into one the 500 parasols offered him by the people of Vaiśālī (as described in the *Vimalakītinirdeśasūtra*) by saying that the 500 parasols represented the 5 Skandhas, and the purpose of their fusion was to show that the 5 Skandhas can be represented together by the heart which is one. As the Āsravaskandhas are aspects of the Kliṣṭacitta, so are the Anāsravaskandhas aspects of the Prabhāsvara citta. This twofold reduction is later visualized by the twofold maṇḍala of Tāntric Buddhism, representing the Garbhadhātu and the Vajradhātu. In terms of Vijñānavāda doctrine this foreshortening relies on the notion that all the Vijñānas are ultimately reducible to the Ālayavijñāna, their common matrix. Their Vyāvṛtti, the reversal of their orientation which eventually transforms them into the Jñānas of the Bodhi (and here we shall recall that these Jñānas were extended from 4 to 5 to suit their identification with the 5 Jinas), and their reunion in their fountainhead results in the final Parāvṛtti of the Ālayavijñāna to the Tathatā.

The unenlightened mind is as yet unable to conceive the transcendent unity of the Tathatā, therefore it is shown the foreshadowing of this unity in the simultaneity of the five Jinas, characterised by five colours. A Sinhalese source reported by Hardy testifies to this effect. After his Enlightenment, but before as yet starting to preach the Doctrine, the Buddha displays a pageant of colours for the joy of all the creatures (to whom he thus announces the forthcoming agency of the teaching) : he emits from his person 5 colour-rays which are propagated through the whole expanse of the cosmos.

Mutatis mutandis, to an analogous purpose is enacted the miraculous pageant at the beginning of the *Guhyasamājatantra*. In order to explain the secret of the Guhyasamāja, the *Bodhicittavajra Tathāgata* transforms himself successively into the 5 Jinas, each of whom has the word *vajra* attached to his name in token of the fact that they are partial aspects of the one Bodhicittavajra ; he disposes them into a Maṇḍala and then again by taking his stand in them effects that each of them "abides in the heart of the Tathāgata." Then they issue forth again out of the "heart of the Bodhicittavajratathā-

gata" and hereupon declare that the *bodhicitta-pravartana* is the secret of the five Tathāgatas. This is a perfectly explicit statement regarding the actual object and purpose of the 5 Jina-pageant: this object is nothing else but the *bodhicitta-pravartana*, the wakening of the self-awareness of the potential Bodhi in the adept. The very name Bodhicittavajra given to Vajrasattva as the total entity, the transcendent unity of the five, is expressive of the significance of the diagram of the 5 Jinas.

In conclusion, the attribution of the 5 colours to the 5 Jinas has provided us with the clue—whose validity is ascertained by the pre-existing speculative tradition connected with the colour-scheme in the Upanishadic and Vedic sources—to the question what the representation of the 5 Jinas was meant to intimate to the contemplating adept. It was, in the last analysis, that central awareness of Mahāyānic Vijñānavāda, the notion of the Tathāgatagarbha, in other words: the notion that Buddhahood is potentially immanent in one's own consciousness and that it is actualized in the internal process of reorientation, i.e. purification and final unification of consciousness itself.

PRAKRIT AND JAINISM SECTION

AN UNASSIMILATED GROUP IN APABHRAṀŚA

By

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In the course of the last few years the study of the Apabhraṁśa language has made rapid progress. A few years back, our knowledge of this important stage of the Indo-Aryan languages was confined to the rules of the Prākrit grammarians and the quotations found in Hemacandra and in the works of Alaṅkāraśāstra. But, of late years a voluminous and ever increasing literature in Apabhraṁśa is being brought to light and since the publication of Dr. Jacobi's edition of the *Bhavisattakaha*, a steady stream of Apabhraṁśa works is being given out to the public by various scholars. This increase of knowledge about the language and the fulness of material at our disposal have also brought in its wake a number of problems, which demand a close study for their solution.

One such problem is found in the phonology of Apabhraṁśa. The Middle Indo-Aryan stage of linguistic growth is characteristically marked by the extensive working of the process of assimilation of groups of consonants, from the Old Indo-Aryan stage, where various groups of different consonants are preserved. From the earliest records of the Middle Indo-Aryan in the form of Aśokan Inscriptions to its very late phase as represented by the Apabhraṁśa literature, we find this law working with great consistency and thus it imparts to this stage a kind of uniformity of appearance. But there are a few exceptional cases, one of which is preserved in Apabhraṁśa, although earlier stages of the Middle Indo-Aryan do not show traces of it. This is all the more remarkable as the natural trend of development would make us expect it the least in such a late phase of the Middle Indo-Aryan.

Groups of consonants with *r* as one member and the vowel *ṛ* have both suffered the normal changes in the Middle Indo-Aryan languages. Thus groups of the type consonant + *r* and *r* + consonant, are normally assimilated and cases of such assimilations can be found in the inscriptions of Aśoka, the Pāli canon of the Buddhists, the Ardha-Māgadhī language of the Jains and all the dramatic Prākrits. As regards the vowel *ṛ* there is hardly any exception in the whole range of the Prākrit literature. But as regards the assimilation of groups of *r*, a few exceptions are met with in the early stages,

particularly in the Aśokan dialect of the North-West and in a number of words in Pāli. But the Prākrit languages and the Prākrit grammarians always insist upon the assimilation of these groups, especially of *r*+consonant. The position of the Prākrit literature in this regard is quite unambiguous. The literary works always show assimilation and that also in a consistent manner. The only case without assimilation noted in this connection is that of the solitary word *vandra* (*vṛnda*) which occurs in Jain Māhārāṣṭrī a couple of times.[1] Otherwise the rule of assimilation is observed with the greatest rigour.

The Prākrit grammarians, however, show that they know a few words at least where such groups could be tolerated. All of them agree in forming a special rule for the group *dr*, which may be optionally preserved in Prākrit. Thus Vararuci (III. 4) allows optional preservation of this group and his commentator Bhāmaha illustrates it with words like *droho* (*drohaḥ ; doho*), *candro* (*candraḥ ; cando*), *rudro* (*rudraḥ ; ruddo*). According to Hemacandra (VIII. 2. 79) *vandra* is always preserved without assimilation and he also allows optional retention of *dr* (VIII. 2. 80). His illustrative words further include *bhadro* (*bhadraḥ ; bhaddo*), *samudro* (*samudraḥ ; samuddo*) and *draho* (*hradaḥ ; daho*) which last also implies metathesis. He further remarks that the words like *vodraha* meaning 'a young man' are always without assimilation and are regarded as Deśya-words. Mārkaṇḍeya has a similar rule for *dr* (III. 4). Moreover, according to him, the word *vindrāvaṇa* keeps *dr* because the word is so enjoined and as such requires no operation of the general rule. All this would suggest that the grammatical tradition about the Prākrits preserved the memory of *dr* as an unassimilated conjunct to be kept optionally. The vast amount of the Prākrit literature, on the other hand, shows no trace of such forms.

For a long time it was thought that the position of Apabhraṁśa was nearly identical with that of the Prākrits, with this difference that a slightly greater emphasis was placed on the side of preservation of groups of consonant *r*. Here the grammarians taught that the Apabhraṁśa language has a general tendency of keeping groups with *r* and retaining the vowel *ṛ*. But the literary works refused to substantiate it by their normal practice. Naturally, in the absence of confirmation from the literary form of the language the statements of the Prākrit grammarians were either looked upon with suspicion or otherwise explained in different ways.

[1] Cf. Pischel: *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen*, p. 186.

Among the Prākrit grammarians, Vararuci shows no knowledge of Apabhraṃśa and the case of Caṇḍa remains doubtful. Among others we find a difference of treatment which is usually explained by grouping them into the eastern and the western schools.[1] Whatever be the merits of such a division into schools, the important fact which immediately concerns us is that while Hemacandra and others like Trivikrama who closely follow him, treat of Apabhraṃśa as one uniform language, the so-called eastern school of Puruṣottama, Kramadīśvara, Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatarkavāgīśa knows different dialects of Apabhraṃśa and they treat of them separately.

Views of Hemacandra as regards the present problem can be seen from his three sūtras VIII. 4. 398, 399 and VIII. 4. 329. His sūtra '*svarāṇāṃ svarāh prāyopabhraṃśe*' implies the preservation of the vowel ṛ as can be seen from his illustrations *tṛṇu* (*tṛṇa*) *sukṛdu* (*sukṛta*). His other two rules lay down that *r* as the second member of a group may be optionally elided and that in some conjuncts an inorganic *r* is inserted without being found in the corresponding Sanskrit word. Thus *priya* may remain as *priya* and *vyāsa* may be met with in Apabhraṃśa in the form *vrāsu*. That these are not isolated cases to be noted by the grammarians as exceptional and out of the way forms going against the general trend of the Apabhraṃśa phonology and that these rules have a different import than similar ones in other Prākrits, becomes evident from other considerations. Besides these specific rules, Hemacandra gives other words and phrases which are peculiar to Apabhraṃśa and which evidently go to prove that the preservation of groups like consonant + *r* and the Sanskrit vowel ṛ was a feature of this language. Hemacandra tells us that in Apabhraṃśa *yad* becomes *dhruṃ* and *tad* becomes *truṃ* (VIII. 4. 360) ; the genitive singular of *yuṣmad* is *tudhra* (VIII. 4. 372) ; the root *brū-* becomes *bruva-* (VIII. 4. 391) *dṛś-* becomes *prassa-* (VIII. 4. 393) ; the word *prāyah* is represented by *prāu*, *prāiva* and *prāimva* (VIII. 4. 414) ; *dhruvaṃ* becomes *dhruvu* (VIII. 4. 419). All these rules presuppose that the Apabhraṃśa phonology can keep groups of the type consonant + *r*. For the retention of the vowel ṛ we have his rule that the root *grah-* becomes *gṛṇha-* (VIII. 4.394). Other grammarians like Trivikrama add nothing new in their treatment (Cf. Trivikrama III. 3. 5, 6).

The eastern school of the Prākrit grammarians makes a distinction of dialects in their treatment of Apabhraṃśa and

[1] Cf. Grierson: The Eastern School of Prākrit Grammarians (Mookerjee Vol. III, 2. p. 119 foll)..

the present case has a vital bearing on this problem. Among writers who tell us of the Apabhraṁśa dialects, we have the statement of Rudraṭa who, in his *Kāvyālaṅkāra* (2. 12) says that it has many varieties according to the country in which it is current. His commentator Namisādhu notes that there was another view current according to which Apabhraṁśa had three dialects called Upanāgara, Ābhīra and Grāmya. It should be noted that Namisādhu is more akin to Hemacandra in his grammatical treatment of the Prākrits,[1] as far as we can judge him from the few remarks in his commentary on Rudraṭa II. 12. Though Hemacandra makes no mention of Apabhraṁśa dialects in his Prākrit grammar, he himself names another variety called grāmyāpabhraṁśa in his *Kāvyānuśāsana,* in which were composed kāvyas like *Bhīmakāvya* in avaskandhaka metre, while works like *Abhimathana* were written in the ordinary language. We do not meet this grāmya variety of Apabhraṁśa anywhere else than in Namisādhu and Hemacandra and both fail to give us any idea about it. Jacobi[2] has suggested that this grāmya variety of these two writers may be the same as the upanāgara of the other grammarians.

Among these others Puruṣottama knows a number of Apabhraṁśa dialects (XVIII. 16-23), but his treatment pertains to the usual three viz. nāgara in detail and vrācaḍa and upanāgara as far as they differ from it. In nāgara, according to him, ṛ and r after consonants are kept (XVII. 15). In *vyāsa* and other words we have r after the consonant of the first syllable (XVII. 25) ; the accusative of *yad* and *tad* is also *jraṁ* and *truṁ* (XVII. 55) ; the genitive and locative is *jatru, tatru* (XVII. 56) ; *dṛś-* becomes *prassa-* (XVII. 79) ; *kiṁ* is represented by *kiṁpradi, kiṁpradu* and *kiṁpru* (XVII. 25), all of which show that, as in case of Hemacandra, group of consonant+r was allowed in Apabhraṁśa. The retention of ṛ is enjoined in the use of *gṛṇha-* for *grah-*(XVII. 86). In most of these cases there is an obvious agreement with the rules of Hemacandra. Next, Puruṣottama adds rules for vrācaḍa wherein he again states that (XVIII. 3) ṛ and groups of r are kept except in words like *bhṛtya* etc. In place of *vṛṣ-* comes *varha-* (XVIII. 12). Kramadīśvara also knows of this threefold division and his treatment agrees with that of Puruṣottama. In his case the most important point to be noted is that he takes as the characteristic feature of the vrācaḍa dialect the preservation of conjunct of the type of r+consonant (IV. 67). He illustrates it with the word *sarpi* (*sarpiḥ*). The comment

[1] Nitti-Dolci: *Les Grammairiens Prākrits,* pp. 165 foll.
[2] Introduction to *Bhavisattakaha,* München, 1918, p. *76.

further adds that in this dialect are used *jrum*, *trum*, which the author has also allowed for the nāgara dialect (V. 49). Jacobi[1] had first misunderstood him in regarding that groups like consonant + *r* were characteristic of vrācaḍa. Later on he corrected himself in making it consist in groups like *r* + consonant,[2] but he has not changed all the conclusions that follow from his first position and in this manner, he is responsible in starting a fictitious distinction.

Mārkaṇḍeya knows a list of 27 dialects of Apabhraṁśa which he quotes at the beginning of his grammar (on I. 4), but he himself treats of the usual three. For nāgara, which he bases on both Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (XVII. 1), he tells us that *y* becomes *r* in words like *vyāsa* (XVII. 3). His list includes *vrāsu* (*vyāsaḥ*), *vrākrosu* (*vyākrośaḥ*), *vrāḍi* (*vyāḍi*) and *vrāgaraṇu* (*vyākaraṇam*). It keeps *ṛ* and *r* in groups: *indru* (*indraḥ*), *candru* (*candraḥ*), *mṛgajūdhu* (*mṛgayūthaḥ*). But otherwise his treatment shows no such groups. It is all the more striking to note that for *jraṁ*, *traṁ* of others, he has *jattiṁ*, *tattiṁ*; for *jatru*, *tatru* he has *jattha*, *tattha*, for *prassa- pumma* (which according to Nitti-Dolcī[3] may be a mistaken reading) and for *gṛṇha-* he has *guṇha-*, all of which are attempts at getting rid of *ṛ* and *ṛ*-groups. For vrācaḍa also he lays down that *ṛ* and *r* as the second member of the conjunct may be kept except in case of words like *bhṛtya* (XVIII. 4). He gives cases like *prāṇaharu* (*prāṇaharaḥ*), *krvāṇu* (*kṛpāṇaḥ*). For Puruṣottama's *varha-* he has simply *vaha-* (XVIII. 9); while he allows *brodi* like him (Puruṣottama XVII. 34: *broppi*, *broppiṇu*). Thus there is nothing in his treatment to show, which was the distinguishing feature of vrācaḍa from among groups like consonant + *r* and *r* + consonant. There is a natural suspicion that the editor of Mārkaṇḍeya's grammar has made the changes which have removed all traces of groups of consonant + *r*, where the views of other grammarians may lead us to suppose their presence. Grierson[4] says that in a number of cases his Mss. do not agree with the readings of the edition.

The rules of Rāmatarkavāgīśa agree remarkably with those of Mārkaṇḍeya. He also knows a large number of Apabhraṁśa dialects but treats of the nāgara and vrācaḍa and makes only a remark or two about the others. According to his treatment, nāgara uses *vrāsu* and *vrāḍi* for *vyāsa* and *vyāḍi*,

[1] Ibid. p. *71.

[2] Jacobi: Introduction to *Saṇaṁkumāracariu*, München, 1921, p. XX

[3] *Le Prākṛtānuśāsana de Puruṣottama*, Paris, 1938, p. 109.

[4] The Apabhraṁśa Stabakas of Rāmaśarman IA. (reprint).

it preserves words like *priya* and *mṛga* (II. 4); the nominative and accusative singular of *yad* and *tad* is *jadruṁ, tadruṁ*, while the locative and genitive singular is *jadru, tadru* (II. 19, 20); *dṛś-* gives *prassa-* (to be read for *pumma-* and probably in Mārkaṇḍeya as well) and *grah-* becomes *gṛṇha-* (to be so corrected for *guṇha-* and probably in Mārkaṇḍeya also) (II. 29, 30). For vrācaḍa, he says, *r* and consonant + *r* are kept except in words like *bhṛtya* (III. 2), *brū-* becomes *bro-* and *vṛṣ-* becomes *varha-* (III. 4).

The general agreement among the grammarians of the eastern school is evident enough. We find them maintaining that the nāgara or the normal type of Apabhraṁśa allows (i) the vowel *ṛ*, (ii) keeps groups of consonant + *r* and (iii) adds an inorganic *r* in a few words like *vyāsa* etc. This tendency is confirmed by the use of words containing *r*-groups or the vowel *ṛ* as (iv) *jraṁ, truṁ* (or other variants all containing this group) (v) *prassa-* 'to see' (with the doubtful exception of Mk.) (v) *jatru, tatru* (Mk. doubtful) (vi) *gṛṇha-* 'to take'. To these Puruṣottama alone adds (vii) forms like *kiṁpradi* etc. The vrācaḍa dialect is distinguished from this normal type of Apabhraṁśa by the additional rules like (i) the preservation of *ṛ* and groups of consonant + *r* except in words like *bhṛtya,* (ii) *vṛṣ-* becoming *varha-* (Mk. doubtful) and *brū-* becoming *broppi* etc. (Pu. doubtful). Kramadīśvara has the additional rule that this dialect keeps groups of *r* + consonant. For the present we are not concerned with other features which are said to distinguish these two dialects.

The position of the Prākrit grammarians may be summarised as follows. Hemacandra and others do not know any dialectal distinctions in Apabhraṁśa and allow for this language the preservation of *ṛ* and groups like consonant + *r*, and the presence of an inorganic *r* in a few words. The grammarians of the eastern school, Puruṣottama Mārkaṇḍeya and Rāmatarkavāgīśa allow the first rule for both nāgara and vrācaḍa, while the peculiar feature of vrācaḍa alone is *varha-* coming in place of *vṛh-*, because it is not possible to ascertain what is peculiar to vrācaḍa in the forms *broppi* and *broppiṇu*, whether the base or the termination. For Kramadīśvara, the distinguishing feature of vrācaḍa is the retention of *r* + consonant, of which *varha-* may be regarded as a specific illustration. Now in this fact Kramadīśvara is alone and the base *varha-* is too isolated to form a clear distinction between the two dialects. Thus there is no authority for regarding groups of consonant + *r* as a feature which should separate vrācaḍa from nāgara and

the group *r*+consonant has the authority of Kramadīśvara only with the solitary illustration of *sarpi*.

In the light of these facts it will be now necessary to examine the Apabhraṁśa stanzas quoted by the early rhetoricians and particularly by Hemacandra in his grammar, in order to see how far they keep traces of conjuncts with *r*. The two stanzas of Rudraṭa illustrating bhāṣāśleṣa of Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa (IV. 15, 21) show forms like *abhramada, prasara, krīḍanti, prasaranti, praṇaya, bhramarā, mitra* and *suvibrama* all of which keep groups of plosive+*r*. The word *durdhara*, which occurs in the first verse, however, has suffered assimilation in becoming *duddhara*. In the verses quoted by Hemacandra, we find traces of *ṛ* and groups of *r* in the following words: *gṛṇhai* (336), *praṅgaṇi, dhruṁ, traṁ, bhrantri* (360), *kṛdantaho* (370), *tudhra* (372), *broppiṇu, broppi* (391) *bruvaha* (391) *gṛṇheppiṇu vratu* (394), *priya* (401), *prayāvadī* (404), *prāu, prāiva, prāimva* (414) *dhruvu* (418) *drammu, dravakkau, drehi* (422) *tṛṇāi* (422) *pemmadrahi* (424) *gṛṇheppiṇu, dhruṁ, priu* (438) *antraḍī* (445). In these very stanzas we find, side by side, forms like *mahaddumu* (336) *miaṅku* (401) *bhaṁtaḍī* (414) and *pemma* (*preman*) (424) which show that the normal assimilation and the vocalisation of *ṛ* were current in the same dialect. Another fact which emerges by the scanning of these stanzas is that, as far as the metre allows us to determine, nowhere do these cases of groups make the preceding syllable long by position. The two apparent exceptions, *antraḍī* scanned as -⏑- and *tudhra* with the metrical scheme -⏑ are due to the anusvāra in the first and the double plosive in the second, which should be better written as *tuddhra*.

In his introduction to the *Bhavisattakaha*, Jacobi was misled by the supposition that groups of consonant+*r* were characteristic of the vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa and all these verses should be, therefore, regarded as being written in this dialect. This led him to enquire whether the language dealt with by Hemacandra is hemogeneous or contains traces of different dialects and he came to the conclusion that besides this vrācaḍa, there are traces of two more dialects, one which may be called the Śaurasenī Apabhraṁśa and the other showing softening of all intervocalic stops.[1] Later on in his introduction to the *Sanaṁkumāracariu*, he had to give up the fact, attributed to Kramadīśvara, that groups of consonant+*r* are characteristic of vrācaḍa, but groups of *r*+consonant were meant by him

as such. Naturally Jacobi[1] now considered that these verses which contain groups of consonant + r and the stanzas of Rudraṭa mark an older stage of Apabhraṁśa, which thus differs from the normal Apabhraṁśa of the other verses of Hemacandra's grammar. Dr. Upadhye[2] also thinks that features of the so-called Śaurasenī basis and the retention of groups of r suggest dialectal differences in the Apabhraṁśa of Hemacandra. He differs from Jacobi in holding that the relation between the dialect showing such unassimilated groups and the normal one which assimilates them, is not chronological, the one being older than the other, but dialectal, the two coming from two different regions.

The idea of either a chronological or a dialectal difference based upon the treatment of groups of r was supported by most of the Apabhraṁśa literary works so far published. All of them uniformly followed the rule of assimilation and thus agreed with the practice of the majority of the verses quoted by Hemacandra, which left the few stanzas with the unassimilated groups either as a relic of an archaic stage of growth or remnants of a different dialect. But when Dr. Alsdorf published the *Harivaṁśapurāṇa*,[3] a part of the *Mahāpurāṇa* of Puṣpadanta, a writer of the 10th century and therefore decidedly older than Hemacandra, the problem assumed a new appearance. He pointed out that two of the three Mss. of that work do show the retention of ṛ and groups of the type consonant + r, and he was able to collect some 11 words which have conjuncts of this nature and some 7 words showing the vowel ṛ. Thereby he has naturally to reject the view of Jacobi that the retention of such conjuncts can suggest an older stage of the language and his own conclusion amounts to the fact that Apabhraṁśa has kept an older phase of phonetic development, older than that of the Prākrits with respect to such groups.

With the publication of the whole of the *Mahāpurāṇa*[4] in three volumes by Dr. Vaidya, it becomes again necessary to examine the problem anew in the light of all the material that can be collected from this work, which is the only major one which has kept traces of these unassimilated groups and the vowel ṛ. This will suppliment the collection made by Dr. Alsdorf and in part modify him, as the portion from which he

[1] p. XXI.

[2] Introduction to *Paramātmaprakāśa*, Bombay, 1937, p. 47.

[3] *Harivaṁśapurāṇa:* Alsdorf, Hamburg, 1936, pp. 137-140.

[4] *Mahāpurāṇam:* Dr. Vaidya, Vol. I, Bombay, 1937; Vol. II, 1940; Vol. III, 1941, MJGM.

has put together his 70 and odd cases, has been reedited with ampler material and which necessitates a revision of his cases, though to a slight extent.

As can be seen from the introductions of Dr. Vaidya to the different volumes of the work, the Ms. material for the whole work is not uniform. Because the problem of these sound changes depends greatly upon the way in which we may choose to handle the readings supplied by them, it will be necessary to note all the variants of the different Mss. as regards the preservation or removal of such sounds. I have been able to collect some 450 and more cases from the whole work, which show either the vowel ṛ or r in conjuncts. I have also noted all the variants shown by the Mss. which either replace them with other vowels or change the groups by the process of assimilation and cases where the editor did not feel himself justified in adopting these sounds in the body of the text as the Mss. evidence was slender, being confined to one or two of inferior value. It is just possible that a few cases may have escaped my notice, but the collection is ample enough to evaluate it for linguistic purpose and a few more cases, if detected, are not likely to change materially our general conclusions based on the available material. It will not be out of the place to point out that the editorial work has been so thorough and well done that the reader is never at a loss to make out the exact significance of the readings recorded and except for a case or two where by oversight the names of the Mss. are missing in the critical apparatus, it is always possible to state the reading of a given Ms. as regards these changes.

To understand the implications of the readings of the different Mss. noted here by the indications used by the editor with minor changes, it will be necessary to summarise the important facts recorded by him, as far as they pertain to their nature and classification. Further details may be looked into in the introductions themselves. The first 37 sandhis of the *Mahāpurāna* are based upon five Mss. designated by the editor with the letters G. K. M. B. P., P., however, breaking off in the middle of sandhi 28. These are classified into two groups, G. K. giving the older version and M. B. P. a slightly later version shown by the presence of a larger number of introductory stanzas, various readings and a few additional passages. This division is valid for the present problem as well. The group G. K. uniformly presents ṛ and r-groups, while M. B. P. change them to i and assimilated stops. In one case (9. 22. 9) the original reading of K. *tṛya* is modified into *tiya* by a later hand, which thus comes nearer to *tiya* of P. and *tiha* of M. B. Out

of 157 cases of the first volume, there are only four cases where G. and K. differ among themselves: 22. 1. 13. G. *vrata* K. *vraya*; 34. 8. 6. G. *prāṇapriu* K. *prāṇipriu*; 36. 2. 6. G. *priyahu* K. *pryahu*; 10. 4. 11. G. *dhruvu* K. *dhuvu*, where only the last case shows a real difference as regards the retention of *r*-groups. Equally close is the agreement of the remaining three Mss. M. B. P. and there is only one case 23. 11. 11. where P. agrees with G. K. as against M. B. P. *prāṇiprāṇa*, M. *pāṇipāṇu* B. *pāṇipāṇu*. Otherwise they uniformly agree in getting rid of these sounds.

For sandhis 38-80, Dr. Vaidya has used three Mss. called K. A. P. which can be grouped into K. which keeps these sounds and A. P. which remove them. Out of 189 cases in all, only in 13 cases this grouping is disturbed: 54. 4. 7. is doubtful as no readings are recorded (*uḍḍiyaprāṇaī*) and this will be the only case where P. may be said to preserve the *r*-group which, however, is naturally suspect. In 60. 16. 4. A. K. *nṛvahu* P. *ṇivahu*; 60. 20. 8. K. A. *mṛga* P. *miga*; 61. 19. 8. K. A. *mṛgaloyaṇāi* P. *miga*; 61. 19. 14. K. A. *nṛvai* P. *ṇivai*; 61. 19. 15. K. A. *mṛgaṇayaṇa* P. *miga*; 61. 20. 12. K. *nṛvu*, A. *nṛu* P. *ṇiu*; 62. 4. 14. K. A. *mṛgaṇettahi* P. *miga*; 74. 10. 6. K. A. *nṛvabalaī* P. *ṇiva*; 74. 12. 12. K. A. *mṛgeṇa* P. *migeṇa*; 80. 5. 11. K. A. *nṛvai* P. *ṇivai*, A. agrees with K. In 71. 7. 2. K. P. *migi* A. *mṛgi*; 73. 18. 15. K. P. *migamuddai* A. *mṛga*, A. is alone in keeping *ṛ*.

The sandhis 81-92 are based on the Mss. K. A. P. (=Alsdorf B.) B. (=Alsdorf A) and S. (=Alsdorf C). Here also the relation between the first three K. A. P. remains the same. Out of 72 cases K. keeps these sounds for 56 times, P. in none and A. agrees with K. in 10 cases in having them: K. A. *nṛva* P. *ṇiva* 81. 12. 1. 84. 2. 3.; K. A. *prangaṇi* P. *pangaṇe* 90. 4. 13; 92. 9. 8. K. *priu* A. *pṛya* P. *piya* 81. 12. 2. 82. 1. 11; 91. 13. 11; K. A. *mṛgāyaṇahu* P. *migāyaṇaho* 82. 8. 10; K. A. *vṛndu* P. *vindu* 81. 18. 3. K. A. *samprāiu* P. *sampāiu* 86. 1. 25. In one case 81. 1. 11 K. *ṇiva* A. *nṛva*, it has *ṛ* against K. In 88. 24. 13. the reading of P. remains doubtful, and with the express statement of Alsdorf we may regard it as not having the sound *ṛ* in *mṛga*. B. has 24 cases of retaining these sounds and S. has 72 cases of *ṛ* and *r*-groups, thus 16 times more than K.: S. *priya* K. *tiya* 89. 13. 5. S. *tṛya* K. *tiya* 91. 6. 6. S. *nṛva* K. *ṇiva* 81. 1. 11; 88. 2. 15; 88. 9. 12; 89. 18. 8; 90. 2. 6; 90. 12. 5; 91. 9. 10; 92. 3. 3; 90. 6. 15. S. *priya* K. *piya*; S. *mṛga* K. *miga* 88. 23. 15; 88. 23. 17; 91. 2. 4; 92. 1. 16; S. *vraya* K. *vaya* 92. 14. 14. S. *sṛya* K. *siya* 90. 3. 7. and one case in which K. has the sound as against S. Thus S. agrees almost always with K. in having them and

shows them in addition in many cases. B.'s agreement with any other Ms. is not obvious.

For the last portion of sandhis 93-102 the Mss. are again K. A. P. as in volume two and their interrelation remains the same. K. has 17 cases and A. has 15 cases and agrees with K. in 101. 3. 18 K. A. P. *prāṇa* which is doubtful. Otherwise P. has no case of such sounds. This is all the more remarkable when we find K. and A. agreeing in volume two in 10 cases and in *Harivaṁśa* in 10 more cases.

Our results about the Mss. may be thus summarised:

K. no date, available for the whole text, has 414 cases with and 34 cases without these sounds.

G. date 1518 A.D. for *ādipurāṇa* has 155 cases with and 2 without the sounds.

M. date 1826 A.D. for *ādipurāṇa*, no case with the sounds.

Ba. date 1602 A.D. for *ādi*. no case.

Pa. no date, for 28 sandhis, no case.

A. date 1558 A.D. for *Uttarapurāṇa*, cases 37 with and 254 without the sounds.

Pu. date 1573 A.D. for *Uttara* cases 3(?) with and 288 without the sounds.

Bu. date 1584 A.D. for *Harivaṁśa*, cases 28 with and 46 without the sounds.

S. younger than Bu. for *Harivaṁśa*, cases 71 with and 1 without the sounds.

From this list the interrelation of the dates of the Mss. and their tendency to keep the sounds of r and r-groups becomes evident. The case of S. must be judged by the fact that it is itself a recent copy of an older Ms. of the Senagaṇa. Moreover no very strict correspondence can be expected in such matters. But the conclusion should become apparent that these forms go back to the oldest period of the next tradition and cannot be attributed to later importation by the copyists. That the original text must have contained more forms than what we now possess is suggested by the fact that even the best and oldest of our Mss. do not give them in cases where others have preserved them. A direct proof of the tendency to remove such forms from the text is supplied by K. in which we find how a few forms of these sounds are changed into those without them.

More important for deciding the phonological nature of Apabhraṁśa is the fact that in spite of so large a number of such cases the range of the words in which they occur is much limited. The following are the words with the number of cases occurring in *Mahāpurāṇa* distributed according to the Mss. where they are found. M. Ba. Pa. and Pu. may be left out of consideration, as they show either no cases or one or two of doubtful value.

(1) Words with *r*-groups:

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	S.
aṅghriṇi 1				
āṇāprāṇa 1	1			
indriya	.	1		
kriya 1	1			
dratti 1				
dravakkiyau 1				
draha 4	2			
druma 1	1			
dhruvu 25	16		1	2
praṅgaṇa 26	6	2	4	6
pravari 1				
prāẽ 1	1			
prāṇa 49	24	1	4	5
prāṇaya 7	1			
prāṇi 10	4			1
prāva-2				
prāsiya 2	1		1	1
priu 15	6	4	-3	4
priyadattā 1	1			
vraṇiu 1				
vraṇa 1				1
vraya 38	11		2	8
samprāiya 25	14	1	3	3
samprāviya-9	5			
samprāsaṇu 1	1			

(2) Words with *ṛ*:

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	S.
kṛya 1				
tṛya 19	6		1	3
nṛ 7	2	1		3
nṛva 53	5	10	3	21
nṛvai 5	1	3		
parivṛddhi 1				
pṛu 14	10	1		

pṛyadattā 5	5			
mṛga 57	25	6	3	9
mṛgaṇāhi 1				
mṛgavai 1				
mṛgāyaṇu 2		1		1
mṛgāvai 5		4		
mṛgi		1		
vṛnda 2	1	1		1
sṛya 12	3		1	3

(3) Words with inorganic *r*:

K.	G.	A.	Bu.	Ś.
ṇipriha 1				
prāẽ(?) 1	1			
prāyanti 1				
bruha 1	1			
vrahiu 1				
vrāsu 1				

Traces of such forms are rare in other Apabhraṁśa works. But it will be incorrect to say that they are confined to the *Mahāpurāṇa* only. In the *Kathākośa* of Śrīcandra a few forms with *ṛ* (particularly *nṛva*) are noted. This author is placed in the 11th century. The Apabhraṁśa verses in Hemacandra's *Chandonuśāsana* also supply us with a few words of this type: *krva* (6. 116), *cakru* (7. 3) *truṭṭī* (6. 32), *drahi* (6. 60), *druo* (7. 37) *dhruvu* (6. 121; 6. 129; 7. 57) *priya* (6. 18; 6. 25; 6. 38; 6. 46; 6. 82; 6. 127) *prāṇahara* (6. 118) *vandri* (6. 34). Jacobi has already pointed out that these Apabhraṁśa verses are the compositions of Hemacandra himself and not quotations from earlier works as is the case with his grammar. This is not wholly true. A few of them are quotations and recur in his grammar, as the verse *cūḍullao cuṇṇī hoisai* (Ch. 6. 119 = Gr. 4. 395). Moreover, to ascertain the range of such words they are of importance, as it is scarcely possible that Hemacandra would have kept them even in his own compositions if he had not found them in current literature. In this sense they differ from his stanzas in the *Kumārapālacarita* where they are expressly written for illustrating the rules of his grammar and as such may distort the facts of the natural language by over-emphasis. In this metrical treatise he has no such need to change the phonology of the language, particularly when these groups are metrically harmless, i.e. make no difference by their position.

As said above, though the verses of the *Kumārapālacarita* may not be taken as good evidence for linguistic purposes,

it is nevertheless important to see how far they may help us in indicating the scope of Hemacandra's rule *vādho ro luk*, for even a poet writing *ad hoc* for the purpose of illustrating his grammar cannot write a non-existent form, especially in words not meant for illustration and when there is no metrical or other necessity for their choice. Thus besides the words expressedly taught in his sūtras, we have, in addition, *kṛva* (8. 66) *kṛvā* (8. 82) *kṛvālū* (8. 82) *drahi* (8. 68) *gṛṇhia* (8. 45) *nṛva* (8. 82; 8. 83) *prāvai* (8. 58) *prāmvei* (8. 69). That these stanzas do show the same phonological features as the quotations in his grammar can be seen from an interesting coincidence, which cannot be reasonably said to be intentional. Thus all the above words do not make long the preceding syllable in spite of the conjunct of *r*. But we find the word *tudhra* used with the metrical scheme-⏑ which is the same as found in the line *tudhra aṇuttara khanti* of his grammar (4. 372).

These facts about the phonology of Apabhraṁśa have raised a number of problems, many of which Dr. Alsdorf has dealt with, with reference to the cases found in the *Harivaṁśa* and has come to some tentative conclusions. With this fuller material, they can be now in part confirmed and in part modified. Of his forms one *pittrya* must be rejected as being not substantiated by the Mss. evidence and his reading of C(=S of Dr. Vaidya) in 84. 10. 11 *vraheṇa* (*vadhena*) is also doubtful as it is not recorded by the later editor.

As regards the question whether all such forms can be the result of Sanskrit influence on the scribes, Dr. Alsdorf has rightly pointed out that the number of such forms, which has now become quite considerable, the agreement between the illustrative words of the grammarians and the words found in the *Mahāpurāna*, the agreement of the different unrelated Mss. and the absence of any other traces of Sanskritisms on the part of the scribes, all go to show that they are not due to Sanskrit influence. But he has added two more considerations of a different nature to prove the same fact. The writing of *sṛya* for *śrī* and *tṛya* for *strī* cannot be due to the influence of Sanskrit, in which case we should expect writings like *sriya* and *triya*. Secondly there is uniformity in the writing of *nṛva* (with dental *n*) on the one hand and *ṇiva* (with cerebral *ṇ*) on the other. In case of a simple Sanskritism we should have expected a *ṇ* as well in this word. But the choice of *n* with the vowel *ṛ* may be due to the form current in Sanskrit.

If we accept the fact that the written *ṛ* in these words in Apabhraṁśa really stands for the sound *ri*, which Alsdorf

himself suggests, it is but natural to suppose that the choice of the form with either ṛ or conjunct with r was mostly decided by the nature of the Sanskrit word, as, on the whole, the distinction between the two modes of writing agrees with Sanskrit orthography. This lack of agreement in case of *tṛya* and *sṛya* may be attributed to the obscurity of their relation with the corresponding Sanskrit words, which was not quite apparent. Moreover we have the express statement of the grammarians that both ṛ and groups with r remain as in Sanskrit (*prakṛtyā*). The second point, probably, is to be explained differently. The contrast between *nṛva* and *ṇiva* cannot be pressed too far, as even Mss. and books which prefer to write *niva* continue to write *nṛva*. That the *n* of *nṛva* was caused by the *r* sound is more probable, as the two cerebral sounds cannot be easily pronounced together and we find a similar contrast as early as in Aśokan inscriptions. There we see the eastern dialect with cerebralisation and assimilation of *r*-groups contrasted with the western dialect with *r*-groups and absence of cerebralisation.

In spite of the statement of the grammarians and the nearly concordant usage of the Mss. Alsdorf is right in suggesting that all these words with ṛ and *r*-conjuncts represent the same real pronunciation. His argument to prove this, however, is not quite intelligible. The wirting of *sṛya* and *tṛya* to represent *śrī* and *strī* can only prove that their relation with the Sanskrit words was not evident for the writer, for otherwise, with the same sound and the Sanskrit mode of writing to guide him as in all other cases, we should really expect *triya* and *sriya*. That *priya* is actually written *pṛya* both as adjective ('dear') and noun (=*priyā* 'wife') and in the proper name *pṛyadattā* is clear from the above illustrations. These cases, however, were lacking in his portion of the text. Fortunately we have some more evidence to show that both the modes of writings represented the same sound and that it was the sound *ri*. In the first place, we have now the same word, now written with ṛ now witn *ri*. Thus in 69. 15. 7. there occurs the word *paramakṛya* (*paramakriyā*) while in 34. 1. 6. we find *saṇāhakriya* (*sanāthakriyā*). We have both *priu*, *priyadattā* and *pṛu* and *pṛyadattā* in the various readings. In 36. 2. 5. while G. writes *priyahu* K. prefers *pṛyahu*. All the Mss. which assimilate the *r*-groups always write *i* in case of words with ṛ which means that they had before them forms with *ri* in groups. But probably the best evidence for this sound of ṛ is to be found in the rhymes of Apabhraṁśa poetry. It is well known that final rhymes in Apabhraṁśa occupy a prominent place and the whole

of the *Mahāpurāṇa* shows them. The one peculiarity of these rhymes in Apabhraṁśa is that they pertain not only to the final syllable, which must be identical, but also to the vowel preceding it, to make it a good rhyme. Thus if a word of two syllables occurs at the end of a line so as to rhyme with another we can naturally suppose that their vowel elements must be identical. In *Mahāpurāṇa* we find the following cases of end-rhymes :

*69. 15. 7.	*paramakṛya*	*paccakkhasṛya*
34. 1. 6.	*dehi sṛya*	*saṇāha kriya*
31. 8. 8.	*prāṇapṛu*	*kuberapiu*
*45. 12. 4.	*tāsu pṛya*	*ṇāĩ sṛya*
*45. 3. 8.	*gampi thiu*	*prāṇapriu*
82. 1. 11.	*pañcamahu piya*	*paccakkha sṛya*

Three of these cases marked* may not prove anything. But the other cases clearly indicate that both the modes of writing *ṛ* and *ri* represented the same sound, which made good rhymes with the first syllable of *piu* (=*pitā*) and *piya* (=*priyā*), and this sound can only be *ri* in these circumstances.

As regards the forms of inorganic *r* as taught by Hemacandra VIII 4. 399. Alsdorf was not able to get any in his part of the text. Now we have a few cases in the following places : 49. 4. 2. *ṇipriha* (T. explains *niḥspṛha*), 42. 3. 5. *prāyanti* (*pādānte*), 16.11.7. *bruhasaṁgamu* (*budhasangama*), 99.3.5. *vrahiu* (*vadhita*), 98.8.6. *vrāsu* (*vyāsa*) of which last is the illustration given by Hemacandra and Mārkaṇḍeya. A doubtful case is 25.5.7. *prāẽ saṁprāviu prāṇaṇihaṇu vaṇi vāhẽ viddhaũ hariṇamihuṇu* which can give a better meaning by taking *prāẽ* as an adjective of *vāhẽ* in the sense of 'sinful' as the reading of M.B.P. *pāvẽ* suggests, though the explanation of T. *prāyaḥ* is just possible.

These cases amply justify the rule of the grammarians which is cautiously worded and would inspire confidence in their statements, when we see them confirmed even in obscure cases like the present. The real explanation of such forms is, however, difficult to find. Following Mārkaṇḍeya (XVII.3. *vyāsāder yasya rephaḥ syāt*) Alsdorf thinks that this *r* may have developed out of *y*. *Traṁ* may be from *tyad* and not from *taḍ* ; *bhantri* may presuppose *bhrantyi*. This explanation cannot hold good in our cases. If *vrahiu* is the result of contamination between *vadhitaḥ* and *vraṇitah* (which actually occurs in 99.3.5) others remain without explanation. Here, I think, Hemacandra is right in calling the *r* extraneous (*abhūta* nonexistent) than Mārkaṇḍeya who takes it as developing out

of *y* in a conjunct. It is quite probable that in such stray cases Apabhraṁśa has kept a genuine popular element, the mode of pronouncing some words with an intruding *r* current among the illiterate people. In Marāṭhī we actually find village folk pronouncing the word *duṣṭa* as *druṣṭa* and a similar habit may be at the basis of Apabhraṁśa.

Finally we come to the most important problem about these forms, their relation to other forms of these words which show either the full vocalisation of *ṛ* or the normal assimilation of *r*-groups. These latter predominate even in *Mahāpurāṇa* and are exclusively found in the majority of Apabhraṁśa works. They are normally so represented in the Prākrits as well. Two explanations are possible and both are put forth by scholars. The forms with *r*-groups may be regarded as indicating a dialectal and regional feature as is done by Dr. Upadhye or they may be thought to represent an older phase of growth, thus suggesting the earlier and archaic form of the language as compared to the other forms current in the younger form of the same language. This is the view of Dr. Jacobi. Dr. Alsdorf has further suggested that these forms with *ṛ* and *r*-groups also indicate a phase of growth which is even earlier than the normal forms of Prākrits and in this respect at least, the latest stage of MIA. is more archaic than the earlier dialects.

With the above evidence before us the following facts become clear and help us in deciding which of these suggestions is most acceptable. Firstly we have now forms which preserve these sounds side by side with others which assimilate the groups in the same literary work. This will certainly go to exclude the possibility of regarding them as dialectal and regional in origin. It is possible to imagine that a grammarian like Hemacandra may have formulated his rule of the language by taking into consideration all available literature, in which finer dialectal differences were neglected, and thus laying down rules applicable to different dialects side by side. But it is quite inconceivable that a poet writing a literary composition remaining in one place, can make use of forms from two different dialects, without apparent reason. That the same dialect can preserve both types of forms side by side should become evident from the Girnar version of Aśokan inscriptions and the literary Pāli.

The second fact about these forms to be noted is that in nearly all cases the conjuncts are of a different nature than those of Sanskrit and even of Middle Indo-Aryan, where they are preserved. This difference becomes plain when we consider

the metrical value of these words. In the majority of cases, all these groups in Apabhraṁśa do not make the preceding syllable long by position as do Sanskrit and Prākrit conjuncts. The only exceptions to this rule are, in *Mahāpurāṇa* : 20.23.7. G.K. *rattadrahi* M.B.P. *rattaddahi* ; 16.21.2. G.K. *ṇiprāṇau* M.B.P. *ṇippāṇau* ; 48.19.4. K. *ṇiprāṇiya* A.P. *ṇippāṇiya*. In the last two cases the prefix *nis* is responsible for the length of the first syllable. This metrical nature of the conjuncts with *r* is also apparent from the fact that in all cases one or the other Ms. does not show it and yet their readings are metrically faultless. As against the tendency of the Prākrits, they can remain even after long vowels without affecting them: 10.12.7. *āṇāprāṇa*. 35.11.20. *mahādrahi* 42.2.7. *praṅgaṇe prāṅgaṇe* 47.8.15. *cuo prāṇaindo* and so on. This rule is applicable to the forms found in Hemacandra's grammar and *Chandonuśāsana* as well. But the two stanzas written by Rudraṭa do not conform to it. In fact, the conjuncts there are of a different type as far as their metrical value is concerned.

Thirdly we find that all these Apabhraṁśa words preserve the group only initially. This is, in fact, a result of the preceding peculiarity. Here also Rudraṭa's stanzas differ in allowing words like *mitra*, *vibhrama* etc. where the conjunct occurs medially. These two facts would naturally lead one to enquire whether in all such cases we are dealing with real conjuncts or a mere graphical habit of writing them while the actual pronunciation had no groups. Such a supposition can explain their metrical value and their presence initially where alone can such conjuncts be written without violating the metre. But here, I think, there is much more than a difference of orthography. In fact, the Old Indo-Aryan and the Middle Indo-Aryan conjuncts written with *r* after consonants represent a sound in which the plosive is long or double while the conjuncts in Apabhraṁśa are pronounced with a single plosive as the first member, which satisfactorily explains the metrical value of the preceding syllable in the two cases. Thus *mitra* really represents *mit/tra* while the Apabhraṁśa form like *āṇā-prāṇa* is *āṇā/prāṇa*.

With these facts ascertained, it is obvious that we cannot put side by side the Apabhraṁśa-Sanskrit stanzas of Rudraṭa and the genuine conjuncts of Apabhraṁśa works and put them together as marking an earlier stage of growth as Jacobi does. In fact, the Apabhraṁśa verses of Rudraṭa are in a way artificial as they combine the Sanskrit and Apabhraṁśa conjuncts in spite of their difference in sound, with the help of a defective orthography.

The other argument of Dr. Jacobi is that Haribhadra in his *Nemināhacariu* writes an Apabhraṁśa which uniformly assimilates the *r*-groups, while his contemporary Hemacandra describes in his grammar a language which preserves them and it is natural to suppose that the grammarian is describing a slightly older phase of the language which has become classical by his time, probably following an older grammatical tradition. As rightly pointed out by Alsdorf this cannot mean that works which do not show such groups are younger than others having them, for the text tradition may have removed such group which was easy in view of the fact that such a change could not disturb the metre. Moreover, we now find a poet using side by side forms with and without these groups. The only reasonable conclusion to which we can arrive is to regard them as simply alternative forms current along with the others or at most, as archaisms continued in the literary language far beyond their natural date.

If this is what can be ascertained about the conjuncts of the normal type of Apabhraṁśa, it will be possible to reconsider the question about the dialectal difference between the nāgara and vrācaḍa dialects. Jacobi rejected the presence or absence of groups with consonants + *r* as marking the difference between the two in favour of regarding vrācaḍa as keeping *r* + consonants, while nāgara as having consonants + *r*, on the authority of Kramadīśvara. But expect for the illustration *sarpi* given by his commentator and two forms in Hemacandra's *Kumārapālacarita*, *narmada* and *sarmada* (8.80) we have no trace of such forms and thus we are unable to ascertain what value should be attached to Kramadīśvara's statement. On the contrary, all the other grammarians of the eastern school agree in attributing the preservation of the same type of conjuncts, consonant + *r* to both nāgara and vrācaḍa, and the mode of their writing implies a kind of distinction between the two. It may be that they implied the rule as having a limited application in nāgara while it was operative everywhere in vrācaḍa. The exceptions noted by Mārkaṇḍeya to his rule in vrācaḍa with the *gaṇa bhṛtyādi* only pertain to the vowel *ṛ* and not to *r*-groups, as can be seen from his list, *bhṛtya-bhicca*, *nṛtya ṇicca*, *kṛtya* = *kicca* and *kṛtyā* = *kiccā*. If this is possible, it follows that vrācaḍa, as distinguished from nāgara, must keep these *r*-conjuncts both initially and in the middle as well and in that case, these conjuncts can only be of the type in which the first consonant is geminated. Then the verses of Rudraṭa can continue to represent the vrācaḍa dialect and we may suggest that the two distinct pronunciations of the

r-groups distinguished vrācaḍa from nāgara with the further consequence that while in the medial position they can continue in the first, only the initial groups can be preserved in the nāgara.

In the light of these distinctions it is not possible to accept without reservation the conclusion of Alsdorf that the Apabhraṁśa forms represent an earlier stage of growth than the Prākrits. In some cases at least it remains doubtful whether the Prākrit forms went through the stage represented by Apabhraṁśa, especially in words like *nṛva*, *nṛvai*, etc. In others, the Prākrit and Apabhraṁśa forms represent divergent lines of growth. Thus the Apabhraṁśa form *mahādraha* cannot form an earlier stage of Pkt. *mahaddaha*, obviously because the geminated consonant in Prākrit cannot be a further development of the Apabhraṁśa conjunct *dr* and the same holds good in case of Ap. *āṇāprāṇa* Pkt. *āṇappāṇa*. Because the majority of the Apabhraṁśa words keep these groups initially and in such cases the Prākrit represent only a single consonant at the beginning of a word, the relation of the two is not amenable to exact proof. So the conclusion of our enquiry can only be negative. The light conjuncts of the normal Apabhraṁśa cannot be taken as a dialectal feature and may or may not represent an earlier stage of growth with reference to the assimilated forms of Apabhraṁśa itself and the Prākrits. If their relation to the other Apabhraṁśa forms may be that of archaic survival among the current usage and in this limited sense they may be earlier, their priority to the Prākrit forms remains doubtful. It is however possible that *r*-groups of the heavy type were a dialectal feature of vrācaḍa Apabhraṁśa.

THE PRĀKRIT DHŪRTĀKHYĀNA: A UNIQUE INDIAN SATIRE

By
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In isolated branches of literature, the Indian mind exhibits remarkable elevation, successful finish and consummate polish; but as contrasted with Western literature the lack of variety is apparent everywhere. The fact that ancient India which could boast of the greatest master-pieces in epic poetry and certain kinds of fiction and drama has neither a tragedy after the manner of the Greeks nor a satire in Roman fashion is to be attributed to the peculiar way in which the Indian mind evolved and the Indian author was trained for his job. The Sanskrit or even Indian 'poetic theory of super-individual emotion and its complacent attitude towards life,' as Dr. De[1] remarks, 'precluded any serious cultivation of the satiric type of literature.'

Satire as a form of literature has been conspicuously absent in early Indian literature. Satire is also an indispensable stylistic quality in some forms of literature, and the elements of this quality are found scattered, here and there, in early Indian literature: in stories, in minor poems and in plays. Daṇḍin is unconventional by temperament; and we see him in his *Daśakumāracarita* meting out some satirical lashes against gods, Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, nude monks and Buddhist nuns, just laying his finger on their weak points. Amongst the authors of minor poems Kṣemendra has developed some satiric style. His *Samayamātṛkā*, *Darpadalana* and *Kalāvilāsa* present a good bit of satiric style directed against many forms of prevalent deformity, Purāṇic deities and personalities, and distorted specimens of humanity. But throughout Kṣemendra plays the rôle not of an artist but of a teacher in morality. The moral tone is so overwhelming, that satirical touches may be lost by an ordinary reader. Among the plays it is the Bhāṇas,[2] especially the four Bhāṇas edited as *Caturbhāṇī*, and the Prahasanas that contain a great deal of satirical element. They direct their attack against religious orders and provincial

1 Some Satiric Poems in Sanskrit, *Indian Culture*, Vol. VIII, No. 1.

2 See S. K. De in *JRAS*, 1926, pp. 63-90 and *Poona Orientalist*, Vol. VII, Nos. 3-4.

people. The greatest draw-back of these plays is that their satire is buried deep under open obscenity and coarse vulgarity.

The *Dhūrtākhyāna* of Haribhadra, though casually known for the last few years, is now brought to light[1] by Śrī Jinavijayaji ; and it luckily makes up the gap, namely, the deplorable absence of any satire in our Indian literature. Haribhadra (8th century A.D.) is a genius by birth and a satirist by temperament. He has a passionate aptitude for satirical sketches and dilemmatic folk tales, some of which he quotes in his commentaries. In his *Sambodha-prakarana* he thoroughly ridicules rather objectively, the vices that had perhaps crept into the monastic order of his times. He detests, pities and condemns the vices and irreligious routine of the ascetic life. In his *Dhūrtākhyāna* he satirizes the folly of the degenerating belief of the masses in Purāṇic legends. Monks are morally and religiously degraded, and the public is on the verge of rational bankruptcy ; and here Haribhadra comes like an expert surgeon to ply his satirical instrument before any one can put the bandage of religious and didactic teaching. He is an eminent logician, no doubt ; but in this work, on the whole, we see him more as a witty critic assailing the citadel of Purāṇic mythology.

The narrative structure of the *Dhūrtākhyāna* is not complicated. During a rainy week the five rogues, four males and one female, meet in a park ; and the problem of their meal is facing them all. They stipulate like this. Every one is to recount his personal experience, and he who proves it to be a lie has to give a feast to all. Thus the ball of narration is set rolling. The four rogues narrate their experiences which are fantastical, logically extreme and absurd in details ; but the points of these picaresque tales are confirmed to be true by others after quoting parallel legends from the epics and Purāṇas. In their attempts to prove the unprovable and to confirm the unbelievable by giving Purāṇic parallels, the inevitable result has been that the Purāṇic legends themselves get fully satirised and the credulity of their believers entirely exposed to searching criticism. The female accomplice recounts a number of auto-biographical incidents which are likewise regarded as credible. But then, all this still keeps the main problem unsolved. How are they to get food for themselves and for their retinue ? That female rogue would

[1] This has been recently published in the Singhī Jaina Seires, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. To this edition I have contributed an Introduction which embodies a critical study of the different aspects of this unique satire.

give them a feast, only if they acknowledged her supremacy. This they would not easily accept. She then, continuing her narration, leads it to such a point that they have to recognise her suzerainty or give feast. They could not get out of the dilema : they accept her as their chief. She then dupes a rich merchant alleging that he killed her child and extorts a gift from him. Thus they all get a feast. The author concludes thus : the popular scriptures, when one scrutinizingly studies them, are found to contain worthless stuff ; the legends narrated in them do not stand the test of rational scrutiny ; and the pious, therefore, should follow the path of Sarvajña.

In flourishing his satirical sword, Haribhadra is uniformly rational ; and throughout he maintains a remarkable mental poise. The fantastic tales possess an air of reality, because well-known motifs of Indian literature are interwoven in them. They can be easily passed off as amusing and adventurous tales, quite innocent in themselves ; but when the author holds them side by side with the Purāṇic legends, their sarcastic potency becomes at once clear. The characters like Mūladeva are well-known figures in Indian literature. Most of the Purāṇic legends quoted by Haribhadra are traced to their sources like the Mahābhārata, Rāmāyaṇa and Purāṇas. Undoubtedly the author shows an admirable intellectual integrity in presenting these legends. His appeal is always to the intellect, and he never plays on the emotions.

The *Dhūrtākhyāna* is a satire, and a perfect one, because of its unique construction, a delicious mingling of phantasy and reality, subtle sense of characterisation (though in a limited quantity) and above all the startling situation of devils discussing scriptures, which make it an inimitable piece of raillery and a good humoured amusement for all. It has a literary form, nothing specially religious about it ; it is an out and out satire, an artist's creation ; and as a literary product, it is far ahead of its times. Most of the Roman or the English Satire is cast in the mould of a dream or an allegory. This makes it stilted and artificial. It is only in Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* and Bocacio's *Decameron* that an ingenious framework is used to impart an air of reality to the narration. The Dhūrtākhyāna is thoroughly modern both in thought and spirit and a master piece of construction. The impossible yarns concocted by the Rogues, the replies thereto, and above all the witty and surprising end of the story reveal its architectonic skill and the beauty of design. Its perfectly original structure is one of its highest distinctions, and sufficient by itself to proclaim the author's genius.

In subsequent centuries, the *Dhūrtākhyāna*, especially its construction and satirical potentiality, has been drawn upon by Jayarāma and others[1] who composed a work called *Dharmaparīkṣā*, the best representative being the Sanskrit text of Amitagati[2] (A.D. 1014). The mode of presentation in the Dharmaparīkṣā is somewhat different. The purpose is the same, and the motifs of some of the fantastical stories are nearly identical. What is implicit, artistic and detached in the *Dhūrtākhyāna* becomes outspoken, religio-didactic and propagandistic in the *Dharmaparīkṣā*. Haribhadra by his satirical genius of a very high order smashed the structure of Purāṇic mythology, but the authors of *Dharmaparīkṣā* have gone a few steps ahead that they tried to erect instead a superstructure of Jaina religious preaching.

Saṅghatilaka gives us a metrical Sanskrit version of the Dhūrtākhyāna in his commentary on the *Samyaktvasaptati*, and there is also a prose version of it in old Gujarāti. Both of them are edited with the Prākrit text by Śrī Jinavijayaji. They offer good aid to understand the original.

The precocious genius of Haribhadra, obvious in this unique work, provides a delightful field for researches in literary developments; and it is hoped that the publication of *Dhūrtākhyāna* will be followed by richer treasures which lie buried in the literature of ancient India.

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1 A. N. Upadhya: Hariṣeṇa's Dharmaparīkṣā in Apabhraṁśa, ABORI Vol. XXIII, pp. 592f.

2 Mironow: *Die Dharmaparīkṣā des Amitagati*, Leipzig 1903.

A NOTE ON THE KUTRIKĀPAṆA

By

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The Chedasūtras of the Jaina Canon are a veritable mine of social information. The Chedasūtras treat of the discipline of the community of the Jain monks and deal with the विधिनिषेध to be observed by them. The subject of the Chedasūtras is such that they contain very many important facts pertaining to political and social history, descriptions of various parts of ancient India where the monks used to travel, direct or indirect references of contemporary social and religious institutions, ceremonies, festivals, customs and superstitions, accounts of the life of Jaina pontiffs and the kings and ministers who came in touch with the early Jaina church, and semi-historical legends and such other miscellaneous information which is of much use for the antiquarian, historian and sociologist.

To-day I would bring to your notice an interesting fact from the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra,[1] one of the famous triad of the Chedasūtras, viz. Daśā-Kalpa-Vyavahāra. I refer to the long description of the कुत्रिकापण in the Bhāṣya of Saṁghadāsagaṇi (who lived decidedly before the seventh century of Vikrama era) on the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra, and the commentary of Ācārya Khsemakīrti on the same. कुत्रिकापण is the name of ancient Indian general stores where all the necessities and luxuries of life and all the animate and inanimate things of the whole world could be bought at price. The word has been explained as follows : 'कु' इति पृथिव्याः संज्ञा, तस्याः त्रिकं कुत्रिकं—स्वर्ग-मर्त्य-पाताललक्षणं तस्यापणः हट्टः **कुत्रिकापणः** । किमुक्तं भवति ? इत्याह- 'तत्र' पृथिवीत्रये यत् किमपि चेतनमचेतनं वा द्रव्यं सर्वस्यापि लोकस्य ग्रहणोपभोगक्षमं विद्यते तत् तत्र आपणे न नास्ति, × × × । Almost identical explanations of the word कुत्रिकापण occur also in several other Jain scriptures.[2]

It is also mentioned that the owner of the कुत्रिकापण used to charge the price of marketable goods according to the social status of the buyer. A man who was to become an ascetic could buy his necessary articles (उपाधि) there at the price of five rupees if he was a common man, he had to pay one thousand rupees if he happened to be a millionaire or a सार्थवाह, and ten thousand rupees if he was a king or a chieftain.

[1] The Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra has been critically edited by Muni Śrī Caturavijayajī and his disciple Muni Śrī Punyavijayajī—the latter one being my Guru—and recently published in six volumes by the Jaina Ātmānanda Sabhā of Bhāvnagar. Other Chedasūtras also require critical editing and publication.

[2] Vide the Abhidhāna-Rājendra, Vol. III, p. 584-85.

We are told in what places the कुत्रिकापणs existed. In Rājagṛha during the reign of the famous king Śreṇika there was a कुत्रिकापण, and the city of Ujjayinī possessed nine कुत्रिकापणs when the great king Caṇḍa Pradyota was ruling over the land of Avantī. It is said that the Jain sage Sālibhadra who was proverbially rich during his worldly life,[1] had bought his रजोहरण and begging bowl at the time of renunciation from a कुत्रिकापण of Rājagṛha, paying a price of rupees ten thousand for each of those things.

Several folk tales are also associated with the कुत्रिकापण. It is described how a merchant from Bharukaccha had bought a devil from a कुत्रिकापण at Ujjayinī—devil who could not be satisfied without doing some work for all the time, how he was defeated by the merchant saying him to go up and down a post, and how the devil dug a pond, in north of Bharakaccha, in memory of his defeat, which came to be known as Bhūtataḍāga. Another merchant from the city of Tosali in Orissa had bought a वानमन्तर (व्यन्तर) named Ṛṣipāla from a कुत्रिकापण at Ujjayinī. By him also the devil was defeated in the same manner, in memory of which the latter made a pond which was known as Ṛsitaḍāga. The fact of such popular folk tales being associated with the कुत्रिकापण indicates how the people preserved its memory even after it had become a thing of past.

But considering the account of the कुत्रिकापण faithfully preserved by the Jaina tradition in the Bṛhat Kalpasūtra and its mention and explanation of its meaning in several other Jaina scriptures, we are justified in believing that such large scale general stores existed in ancient India in important political and commercial centres like Rājagṛha and Ujjayinī.

APPENDIX.

Relevant Extract from the Bṛhat-Kalpasūtra (Bhāṣya and Commentary).

वत्था व पत्ता य घरे वि हुज्जा, दट्ठुं पि कुज्जा णिउणो सयं पि ।
णिज्जुत्तभंडं व रयोहरादी, कोई किणे कुत्तियआवणातो ॥४२१२॥

वस्त्राणि वा पात्राणि वा प्रायो गृहेऽपि भवेयुः । यत्तु 'निर्युक्तभाण्डं' पात्रनिर्योगोपकरणं वाशब्दस्य व्यवहितसम्बन्धतया रजोहरणादिकं वा यदन्यत्र दुर्लभमुपकरणं तत् कश्चिद् 'निपुणः' बुद्धिमान् साधूनां समीपे दृष्ट्या तदनुसारेण स्वयमपि कुर्यात् कश्चित्तु तदेव कुत्रिकापणात् क्रीणीयात् ॥४२१२॥ अनेन सम्बन्धेन कुत्रिकापणवक्तव्यतामभिधित्सुराह—

[1] The Jain merchants of Gujarat even to-day begin their New year account books with the words धन्ना-शालिभद्रनी ऋद्धि हजो (May we attain the prosperity of Dhanyā and Śālibhadra). According to tradition, Sālibhadra was a contemporary of king Śreṇika and an inhabitant of Rājagṛha.

कुत्तीयपरूवणया, उक्कोस-जहन्न-मज्झिमट्ठाणा ।
कुत्तिय भण्डक्किणणा, उक्कोसं हुंति सत्तेव ॥४२१३॥

प्रथमतः कुत्रिकापणस्य प्ररूपणा कर्तव्या। तत उत्कृष्ट-जघन्य-मध्यमानि मूल्यस्थानानि वक्तव्यानि । एतावता मूल्येन कुत्रिकापणे भाण्डस्य उपकरणस्य क्रयणं भवतीति निरूपणीयम् । "उक्कोसं"ति उत्कर्षतः सकलस्यापि श्रमणसङ्घस्य योग्या वस्त्र-पात्रप्रत्यवतारा ग्रहीतव्याः । "हुंति सत्तेव"त्ति सप्त निर्योगास्तेन ग्रहीतव्या भवन्ति, जघन्यत इति वाक्यशेषः । एष चूर्ण्यभिप्रायः । विशेषचूर्ण्यभिप्रायेण तु–जघन्यत एक आत्मनो योग्यो निर्योगो ग्रहीतव्यः । उत्कर्षतस्तु सप्त निर्योगाः, तेषां च त्रय आत्मनो योग्याः चत्वार आचार्यप्रभृतीनां पूजनीयानां पूजायोग्याः । एष द्वारगाथासमासार्थः ॥४२१३॥ अथैनामेव विवृणोति–

कु त्ति पुढवीय सण्णा, जं विज्जति तत्थ चेदणमचेयं ।
गहणुवभोगे य खमं, न तं तहिं आवणे णत्थि ॥४२१४॥

'कु' इति पृथिव्याः संज्ञा, तस्याः त्रिकं कुत्रिकं स्वर्ग-मर्त्य-पाताललक्षणं तस्यापणः हट्टः कुत्रिकापणः । किमुक्तं भवति ? इत्याह–'तत्र' पृथिवीत्रये यत् किमपि चेतनमचेतनं वा द्रव्यं सर्वस्यापि लोकस्य ग्रहणोपभोगक्षमं विद्यते तत् 'तत्र' आपणे न नास्ति, "द्वौ नञौ प्रकृत्यर्थं गमयतः" इति वचनाद् अस्त्येवेति भावः ॥४२१४॥

अथोत्कृष्ट-मध्यम-जघन्यमूल्यस्थानानि प्रतिपादयति–

पणतो पागतियाणं, साहस्सो होति इब्भमादीणं ।
उक्कोस सतसहस्सं, उत्तमपुरिसाण उवधी उ ॥४२१५॥

प्राकृतपुरुषाणां प्रव्रजतामुधिः कुत्रिकापणसत्कः 'पञ्चकः' पञ्चरूपकमूल्यो भवति 'इभ्यादीनां' इभ्य-श्रेष्ठि-सार्थवाहादीनां मध्यमपुरुषाणां 'साहस्रः' सहस्रमूल्यः उपधिः । 'उत्तमपुरुषाणां' चक्रवर्त्ति-माण्डलिकप्रभृतीनामुपधिः शतसहस्रमूल्यो भवति । एतच्च मूल्यमानं जघन्यतो मन्तव्यम्, उत्कर्षतः पुनस्त्रयाणामप्यनियतम् । अत्र च पञ्चकं जघन्यम्, सहस्रं मध्यमम् शतसहस्रमुत्कृष्टम् ॥४२१५॥

कथं पुनरेकस्यापि रजोहरणादिवस्तुन इत्थं विचित्रं मूल्यं भवति ? इत्युच्यते–

विक्किंतगं जधा पप्प होइ रयणस्स तव्विहं मुल्लं ।
कायगमासज्ज तहा, कुत्तियमुल्लस्स णिक्कं ति ॥४२१६॥

यथा रत्नस्य मरकत-पद्मरागादेर्विक्रेतारं 'प्राप्य' प्रतीत्य तद्विधं मूल्यं भवति, यादृशो मुग्धः प्रबुद्धो वा विक्रेता तादृशमेव स्वल्पं बहु वा मूल्यं भवतीति भावः, एवं 'क्रायकं' ग्राहकमासाद्य कुत्रिकापणे भाण्डमूल्यस्य 'निष्कं' परिमाणं भवति, न प्रतिनियतं किमपीति भावः । इतिशब्दः स्वरूपोपदर्शने ॥४२१६॥

एवं ता तिविह जणे, मोल्लं इच्छाएँ दिज्ज बहुयं पि ।
सिद्धमिदं लोगम्मि वि, समणस्स वि पंचगं भंडं ॥४२१७॥

एवं तावत् 'त्रिविधे' प्राकृत-मध्यमोत्तमभेदभिन्ने जने 'मूल्यं' पञ्चकादिरूपकपरिमाणं जघन्यतो मन्तव्यम् । इच्छया तु 'बह्वपि' यथोक्तपरिमाणादधिकमपि प्राकृतादयो दद्युः, न कोऽप्यत्र प्रतिनियमः । न चैतदत्रैवोच्यते, किन्तु लोकेऽपि 'सिद्धं' प्रतीतमिदम्, यथा–श्रमणस्यापि 'पञ्चकं' पञ्चरूपकमूल्यं भाण्डं भवति । इह च रूपको यस्मिन् देशे यद्नाणकं व्यवह्रियते तेन प्रमाणेन प्रतिपत्तव्यः ॥४२१७॥

अथ कुत्रिकापणः कथमुत्पद्यते ? इत्याह–

पुव्वभविगा उ देवा, मणुयाण करिंति पाडिहेराइं ।
लोगच्छेरयभूया, जह चक्कीणं महाणिहयो ॥४२१८॥

'पूर्वभविकाः' भवान्तरसङ्गतिका देवाः पुण्यवतां मनुजानां 'प्रातिहार्याणि' यथाभिलषितार्थोपढौकनलक्षणानि कुर्वन्ति । यथा लोकाश्चर्यभूताः 'महानिधयः' नैसर्पप्रभृतयः 'चक्रिणां'

भरतादीनां प्रातिहार्याणि कुर्वन्ति । वर्त्तमाननिर्देशस्तत्कालमङ्गीकृत्याविरुद्धः । एवं कुत्रिकापणा उत्पद्यन्ते ॥४२१८॥

ते चैतेषु स्थानेषु पुरा बभूवुः इति दर्शयति–

उज्जेणी रायगिहं, तोसलिनगरे इसी य इसिवालो ।
दिक्खा य सालिभद्दे, उवकरणं सयसहस्सेहिं ॥४२१९॥

उज्जयिनी राजगृहं च नगरं कुत्रिकापणयुक्तमासीत् । तोसलिनगरवास्तव्येन च वणिजा ऋषिपालो नाम वानमन्तर उज्जयिनी कुत्रिकापणात् क्रीत्वा स्वबुद्धिमाहात्म्येन सम्यगाराधितः, ततस्तेन ऋषितडागं नामसरः कृतम् । तथा राजगृहे श्रेणिके राज्यमनुशासति शालिभद्रस्य सुप्रसिद्धचरितस्य दीक्षायां शतसहस्राभ्याम् 'उपकरणं' रजोहरण-प्रतिग्रहलक्षणमानीतम्, अतो ज्ञायते यथा राजगृहे कुत्रिकापण आसीदिति पुरातनगाथासमासार्थः ॥४२१९॥

साम्प्रतमेनामेव विवृणोति–

पज्जोए रसीहे, णव उज्जेणीय कुत्तिया आसी ।
भरुयच्छवणियऽसद्दह, भूयऽट्ठम सयसहस्सेणं ॥ ४२२० ॥
कम्मम्मि अदिज्जंते, रुट्ठो मारेइ सो य तं घेत्तुं ।
भरुयच्छाऽऽगम, वावारदाण खिप्पं च सो कुणति ॥ ४२२१ ॥
भीएण खंभकरणं, एत्थुस्सर जा ण देमि वावारं ।
णिज्जित भूततलागं, आसेण ण पेहसी जाव ॥ ४२२२ ॥

चण्डप्रद्योतनाम्नि नरसिंहे अवन्तिजनपदाधिपत्यमनुभवति नव कुत्रिकापण उज्जयिन्यामासीरन् ।

तदा किल भरुयच्छाओ एगो वाणियओ असद्दहंतो उज्जेणीए आगंतूण कुत्तियावणाओ भूयं मग्गइ । तेण कुत्तियावणवाणिएण चिंतियं–'एस ताव मं पवंचेइ तां एयं मोल्लेण वारेमि' त्ति भणियं—जइ सयसहस्से देसि तो देमि भूयं । तेण तं पि पडिवन्नं ताहे तेण भन्नइ पंचरत्तं उदिक्खाहि तओ दाहामि । तेण अट्ठमं काऊण देवो पुच्छिओ । सो भणइ–देहि, इमं च भणिहिज्ज–जइ कम्मं न देसि तो भूओ तुमं उच्छाएहिइ । 'एवं भवउ' त्ति भणित्ता गहिओ तेण । भूओ भणइ–कम्मं मे देहि । दिन्नं, तं खिप्पमेव कयं । पुणो मग्गइ, अन्नं दिन्नं । एवं सव्वम्मि कम्मे निट्ठिए पुणो भणइ–देहि कम्मं । तेण भन्नइ एत्थं खंभे चडुत्तरं करेहि जाव अन्नं किंचि कम्मं न देमि । भूओ भणइ अलाहि, पराजितो मि, चिंधं ते करेमि–जाव नावलोएसि तत्थ तलागं भविस्सइ । तेण अस्से विलग्गिऊण बारस जोयणाइं गंतूणपलोइयं जाव तक्खणमेव कयं तेण भरुयच्छस्स उत्तरे पासे भूयतलागं नाम तलागं ।

अमुमेवार्थमभिधित्सुराह—"भरुयच्छ" इत्यादि ॥ भरुकच्छवणिजा अश्रद्दधता 'भूतः' पिशाचविशेषः कुत्रिकापणे मार्गितः । ततोऽष्टमं कृत्वा शतसहस्रेण भूतः प्रदत्तः, इदं च भणितम्—कर्मण्यदीयमाने अयं 'रुष्टः, कुपितो मारयतीत्ति । स च भूतं गृहीत्वा भरुकच्छे आगमनं कृत्वा व्यापारदानं तस्य कृतवान् । स भूतस्तं व्यापारं क्षिप्रमेव करोति । ततः सर्वकर्मपरिसमाप्तौ वणिजा भीतेन भूतस्य पाश्चात् स्तम्भःएकः कारयाञ्चक्रे । ततस्तं भूतमभिहितवान्—यावदपरं व्यापारं न ददामि तावद् 'अत्र' स्तम्भे 'उत्सरः आरोहाऽवरोहक्रियां कुरु इति भावः । ततः स भूत उक्तवान्—निर्जितोऽहं भवता, अत आत्मनः पराजयचिह्नं करोमि । अश्वेन गच्छन् यावद् न प्रेक्षसे' न पश्चादवलोकसे तत्र प्रदेशे तडागं करिष्यामि इति भणित्वा तथैव कृते भूततडागं कृतवान् ॥४२२० ॥ ४२२१ ॥

एमेव तोसलीए, इसिवालो वाणमंतरो तत्थ ।
णिज्जित इसीतलागे, रायगिहे सालिभद्दस्स ॥४२२३ ॥

'एवमेव' तोसलिनगरवास्तव्येन वणिजा उज्जयिनीमागम्य कुत्रिकापणात् ऋषिपालो नाम वानमन्तरः क्रीतः । तेनापि तथैव निर्जितेन ऋषितडागं नाम सरश्चक्रे । तथा राजगृहे शालिभद्रस्य रजोहरणं प्रतिग्रहश्च कुत्रिकापणात् प्रत्येकं शतसहस्रेण क्रीतः ॥ ४२२३ ॥

A NOTE ON THE VARṆAKAS OR TYPICAL DESCRIPTIONS

By

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One of the curious features of the prose portions of the Śvetāmbara Canonical Literature is the use of Varṇakas, or the set passages giving typical descriptions, of persons and things, i.e. animate as well as inanimate objects. These cliches or set passages are given in extenso in some of the works, and then elsewhere the reader is merely referred to these Stereotyped 'varṇakas', e.g. we get a sentence like तेणं कालेणं तेणं समएणं···· राया होत्था (वण्णओ) । धारिणी नाम देवी होत्था (वण्णओ) or चंपा नामं नयरी होत्था (वण्णओ) etc. Sometimes, the first and the last words in the passage are given, the two words being linked up by जाव (upto) e.g. सूमाला जाव सुरुवा etc. Besides these typical passages, there are also certain words and phrases, which, though usually synonymous and expressing the same sense or sentiments, are indicated merely by numerical figures; e.g. सक्के ३ stands for सक्के, देविंदे, देवराया; असण ४, असण, पाण, खाइम, साइम etc.

Then there are, what have been termed as 'pattern stories' (cf. Barnett *Antagaḍa Dvsao* Intr. p. IX). The Story is thus broken off by a mere reference to the story of some other character in some other text. It is mainly due to this that the European Scholars have remarked that the style of the prose works is 'as dry as dust' (Winternitz); or mechanical and uninteresting. And there is no gainsaying this much that the smooth flow of narration is certainly hampered by such devices. After every few lines, the reader is supposed to either recall or refer to some words, passages, or sometimes the whole of the story. One might then as well wonder and ask: What is the purpose of repeating such stories? Because given a sample story and a stock of proper names and names of places etc., the reader might be as well be left to weave out any number of stories and narratives out of them. And we are told that their feature is shared also by the Buddhist Canonical Literature; where also we get pattern stories and recurring passages called पेय्याल.

It is interesting to note that the Bengali has also retained this curious feature (cf. D. S. Sen: *Bengali Language and Literature,* quoted by Winternitz). "These are formulae which every Kathak has to get by heart,—set passages describing not only Śiva, Lakṣmī, Viṣṇu, Kriṣṇa and other deities, also

describing a town, a battlefield, a morning, noon and night and many othejr subects which incidently occur in the course of the narration of a story. These set passages are composed in Sanskritic Bengali with a remarkable jingle of consonances, the effect of which is quite extra ordinary." We get the Varṇakas in the Canonical Literature of the Jainas of the following :—A city, a king, a queen, a sanctuary, bath-house, gymnasium, a palace, a forest, Mahāvira and so on.

Some other time, I also propose to present a critical study from literary and other points of these Varṇakas. For the present I am going to restrict myself only to the Genesis of such a device.

It is impossible to conceive that any single person or author might have been responsible for the composition of these Varṇakas, or ready made descriptive set passages for the use of others. Every one conversant with the history of the reduction of the Jaina Canon is aware of the fact that the extant canon in its present form is due to the efforts of the two Councils, and particularly to the last Council held under the Presidentship of Devardhigaṇin Kṣamāśramaṇa (in the sixth century A.D.). It is very likely that at the last Council, the Canon was not only reduced to writing but they must have also set themselves to the work of preparing copies of all the works ; so that the Canon should be preserved in a uniform tradition in all the various Bhaṇḍāras. And it is when they undertook this task, that they probably thought of the various devices to economise labour, time, as well as the writing material. And what probably must have happened is something like this :—The Council compared all the works wherein, e.g. a king or a queen or a temple etc. was described, and they brought together in one place all these descriptions, wrote them only in one place, making it a sort of exhaustive description to be used as a stock reference. That seems to me the only reasonable explanation for the heaping up of synonymous phrases and expressions. It was thus, a mere synthesis, without much of judicious choice. They might have, no doubt, in this manner lightened their task, but they left the stamp of tediousness and monotony on these portions of the Canon. Some of these works have, thus, lost their literary merit ; and even the story interest is also negligible, as the stories, instead of being narrated in a natural form, are told in a mechanical and stereotyped form. In spite of this, we do get some occasional literary flashes, wherein the descriptive powers of those writers are evinced : cf. e.g. the description of the shipwreck in the *Nāyā*, Ch. IX. But such passages are only like an oasis in a big desert.

THE MONTH AND THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

By

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While determining the date of the Mahābhārata war, we have to settle its month and year. The first question is comparatively easier and can be answered from the internal evidence of the epic. We shall take it up first.

1. Śrikrishṇa started on his peace-making mission on the 12th day of the bright half of Kārtika—'कौमुदे मासि रेवत्यां शरदन्ते हिमागमे' (उद्योगपर्व 83, 7.)

2. Up to the fifth day of the dark half of Kārtika Kṛshṇa was in Hastināpura on his mission; but the negotiations finally broke off. Thereupon he prepared for his return journey; but before going, he made a last attempt to win over Karṇa to the side of the Pāṇḍavas.

3. Failing in this attempt Kṛshṇa forebodes a terrible war and expressed his opinion that the war may begin seven days after.

सप्तमाच्चाद्य दिवसादमावास्या भविष्यति ।
संग्रामो युज्यतां तस्यां तामाहुः शक्रदेवताम् ॥ (उद्योग, 143, 18)

4. Duryodhana ordered his army to march to the battle-field on the 6th day of the dark half of Kārtika, the moon being in पुष्य नक्षत्र,

5. But Kṛshṇa's suggestion did not fructify. The interval was too short for the Pāṇḍavas, who ordered their army to move to the battlefield only after the arrival of Kṛshṇa and final consultation with him some days later.

6. Balarāma as a protest against this decision of waging war left off for pilgrimage. The moon was in Anurādhā on that day, मैत्रनक्षत्रयोग.. This was at the end of the month of Kārtika.

7. The Pāṇḍavas not having completed their preparations delayed for some days more and hence Duryodhana sent Ulūka to goad Dharmarāja to begin the war without further delay. This mission of Ulūka and the reference therein to the

worshipping of weapons on स्कंदषष्टी proves that the war had not begun on the new moonday of Mārgaśīrṣa.

8. The verse 'मघाविषयगः सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत' (भीष्म, 17.2) indicates that the war began on the day on which the moon was in an inauspicious नक्षत्र of the category of मघा. This description is applicable to भरणी नक्षत्र and not to रोहिणी or मृग.

9. The tradition current in *Bhāratasāvitrī* shows that the battle began on the 13th day of the bright fortnight, when the Nakṣatra also was Yamadevata, i.e. Bharaṇī. It is impossible to reconcile these statements. So the Nakṣatra being more important, it is better to make the date as the 11th day, Ekādaśī, when the Nakṣatra is Bharaṇī.

10. भारतसावित्री contains further inconsistencies. Abhimanyu was not killed on the very first day after Droṇa had become Commander-in-chief, but was killed on the third day. So also Bhagadatta was not killed after the fall of Abhimanyu but before it. Mace-duel (गदायुद्ध) took place not at midnight but before sun-set. So I have rearranged the time-table accordingly.

11. Ghaṭotkaca was killed on the fourth night which corresponds with मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १०. भारतसावित्री says that घटोत्कच was killed on मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ११. I have arranged my time-table to suit the description of the time of rising of the moon on the night after the death of Ghaṭotkaca. According to भारतसावित्री the war ends on अमावास्या. My theory is that the war ends one day before अमावास्या, because that night on which Aśvatthāmā destroyed the remnant of the army of the Pāṇḍavas is described as रौद्री निशा, which predicate is applicable to चतुर्दशी and not to अमावास्या.

12. According to वेदाङ्गज्योतिष the dark half of मार्गशीर्ष of that year consisted of fourteen days only, one तिथि being क्षयतिथि. भारतसावित्री does not take this क्षयतिथि into consideration. Therefore there appears to be a difference of two days in my calculations, when I place the beginning of the war on मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११; भारतसावित्री takes मार्गशीर्ष शु० १३ as the first day of the war. But there is a difference of one तिथि only about the end of the war. My time-table is more consistent with the description in the Mahābhārata of the fighting by night when the Moon is described as rising two hours after midnight after the fall of Ghaṭotkaca.

13. My calculation is based on simple arithmetic. According to Vedāṅga-Jyotiṣa, उत्तरायण begins alternately on five different *Tithis* in the month of Māgha. The beginning

of the Mahābhārata War is sixty-eight days before the day of the उत्तरायण,. Therefore we have the following alternatives :—

Beginning of उत्तरायण		Beginning of War
माघ शु० १	....	मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ७ Māgha being an intercalary month
माघ शु० १३	....	मार्गशीर्ष शु० ४
माघ कृ० १०	....	मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १
माघ शु० ७	....	कार्तिक कृ० १४
माघ कृ० ४	....	मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११

14. If the interval between the first day of the war and the last day of Bhīṣma's life is to be sixty-eight days, the war must begin on the various days as corresponding to the change of the day of the उत्तरायण.

15. The day of the उत्तरायण must tally with the description

माघोऽयं समनुप्राप्तो मास: सौम्यो युधिष्ठिर ।
त्रिभागशेष: पक्षोऽयं शुक्लो भवितुमर्हति ।।

and at the same time the corresponding day on which the war commenced must correspond to the description

मघाविषयग: सोमस्तद्दिनं प्रत्यपद्यत ।।

and also to the rising of the Moon, when the war was carried on during night. मार्गशीष शु० ११, as the day of the commencement of the war and माघ कृ० ४ as the day of the उत्तरायण satisfy all the above mentioned conditions as the night-fighting and the time of rise of the moon corresponds with the 10th day of dark half of Mārgaśīrṣa. Therefore मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ is the day on which the Mahābhārata war commenced.

OBJECTIONS AGAINST DR. DAFTARI'S DATE.

16. Dr. Daftari's main idea of separating the ill omens into two groups is unauthorised, untenable and unreasonable.

17. There is not the least indication in the verses to show that they point out the time when the work of writing the Bhārata was complete.

18. Why should that time be described as so very inauspicious as is done in the verses which Dr. Daftari assumes belong to the second group ?

19. Dr. Daftari's astronomical calculations mainly depend upon the position of the planet Mercury which, even in ordinary clear weather, is scarcely visible to the naked eye. Is it not

then absurd to suppose that when the sky was dim with war-dust, somebody would have the leisure to see and the keen sight to find out whether Mercury was visible or non-visible on any particular day ?

20. Dr. Daftari changes the readings in some of the verses from "श्वेतो ग्रहः" into श्यामो ग्रहः", "चित्रां" into "चैत्रं" and interchanges the words 'पुष्येण' and 'श्रवणे', apparently for no other purpose than to suit his own theory. This shows that his theory has no real foundation ; he first starts with some presupposed theory and then changes the readings to suit it.

21. The verses "श्वेतो ग्रहः प्रज्वलितः" and "ध्रुवं प्रज्वलितो घोरं" describe the comet called "श्वेत" and 'सोमस्य पुत्रः' Therefore it is wrong to suppose that these verses indicate the position of the Venus or the Mercury.

22. Dr. Daftari regards the description of the rising of the moon in द्रोणपर्व as an interpolation, because it upsets his whole theory ! That description of the rising of the moon forms part of the main events of the War and cannot be ignored or regarded as an interpolation. Any date that would be given as the beginning of the war must therefore be shown to be consistent with this description of the rising of the moon. The date I suggest is thoroughly consistent with this description.

23. Even after interchanging the words पुष्येण and श्रवणेन and making the verse to read as—"श्रवणे संप्रयातोऽस्मि पुष्येण पुनरागतः" Dr. Daftari cannot point out the day on which बलराम started on his pilgrimage and how the moon was in the श्रवण constellation on that day.

24. Dr. Daftari completely ignores the भारतसावित्री tradition and also sets at naught the fact that the greater part of the war was fought in the dark half of the month of मार्गशीर्ष, as is shown by the description of darkness at night.

25. My dates differ from those in the भारतसावित्री only by one or two days, and the reason for it is that भारतसावित्री does not attach due importance to the Nakṣatras. I have adjusted the *Tithis* to suit the Nakṣatras that are specially mentioned as foreboding evil things. Thus there being a specific mention of चित्रानक्षत्र as foreboding very great loss to the Kauravas (भी०अ० 3.12) it easily suggests that जयद्रथवध and the loss of the greater part of the army of the Kauravas must have happened when the moon was in चित्रा. So also the fall of Karṇa is given on अनुराधानक्षत्र and the fall of Bhīṣma is taken to have happened on मघानक्षत्र and so on. In Dr. Daftari's time-table all the inauspicious Nakṣatras fall outside the range of his eighteen days.

Now I proceed to discuss the year of the Mahābhārata War.

26. The traditional year of the Mahābhārata War adopted by the late Mr. C. V. Vaidya is 3101 B.C., when the Kaliyuga is supposed to have commenced. This date is too early to be true and gives rise to many historical inconsistencies.

27. The Vedic period was not yet over. The शतपथब्राह्मण was not yet written. Even the most ancient Upaniṣad was not yet ready. So the Gītā, which is an Upaniṣad, and which appears to be written as an improvement upon the doctrines contained in some of the older Upaniṣads, could not be told to Arjuna by Śrīkṛṣṇa on the battlefield in 3101 B.C.

28. B.C. 3000 to B.C. 2000 is regarded as the probable period when the ब्राह्मण literature such as ऐतरेय ब्राह्मण, शतपथ-ब्राह्मण, तैत्तिरीय ब्राह्मण and the older Upaniṣads such as ईशावास्य, ऐतरेय, तैत्तिरीय, बृहदारण्यक and छांदोग्य were produced and became current.

29. The Rāmāyaṇa is regarded as history and its period is taken as somewhere between 2300 to 2500 B.C. and since the Pāṇḍavas came on the scene nearly 25 generations after, there must intervene at least some four to five centuries between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Bhārat a war.

30. The dynasties given in the वायुपुराण, which is the oldest and a reliable पुराण, show that nearly 1500 years elapsed between the birth of परीक्षित and the beginning of the reign of the Nandas. Since the date of the Nandas is B.C. 420, the birth of परीक्षित, i.e. the date of Mahābhārata War, comes to about 1920 B.C.

31. "महादेवाभिषेकात्तु जन्म यावत्परीक्षितः ।
एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशतोत्तरम् ॥" (वायुपुराण)

This is the correct reading and is accepted in the Sacred Books of the Hindoos, Vol. XVII Part I, published in Benares. There is the same reading in the वायुपुराण lately found in तंजावर in Madras Presidency. Mr. F. G. Pargiter has noted this reading in many Purāṇas.

32. We arrive at nearly the same date by the different process of adding up the years of the reigns of the various kings that ruled in India since the Mahābhārata War. Thus बार्हद्रथ dynasty ruled for 1000 years. प्रद्योत dynasty ruled for 138 years, शैशुनाग dynasty ruled for 362 years. Then the Nandas ruled for 100 years. Afterwards चन्द्रगुप्त ascended the throne in 322 B.C., which date is the sheet-anchor of all ancient his-

torical dates. The sum total of these comes to 1000 + 138 + 362 + 100 + 322 = 1922 B.C. Rai Bahadur श्रीसरच्चंद्रविद्यार्णव gives this very date.

33. There is no reason to suppose that the Purāṇas give fictitious dates. These traditions are handed down from generation to generation and they are noted down in the Purāṇas at least two thousand years ago ; for some of the oldest Purāṇas were written some centuries before the Christian Era.

34. Dr. Daftari's attempt to divide the given periods by two and thus to bring down the date of the Mahābhārata War to 1197 B.C. is an after-thought. For he starts with some pre-supposed notions and then distorts the texts to suit his own pet theory.

35. Thus historically speaking the year of the Mahābhārata War comes to 1922 approximately.

36. History cannot give more exact data than this. But if we can use astronomical evidence we can arrive at more exact dates.

37. The Mahābhārata contains many references to the position of the planets such as Saturn, Jupiter, Mars. By calculating the exact periods of their rotations we can find out the exact year in which the positions of all the seven planets tally with those mentioned in the Mahābhārata.

38. Astronomical calculation is an intricate subject, so it cannot be explained in the short space in this summary. But it will be explained to those who are interested in it.

39. By such calculations I have found out that the exact year of the Mahābhārata War is *1931 B.C.* i.e. *2009* before शककाल. And the exact तिथि of the commencement of the War is मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ and the तिथि on which the War ended is मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १४

40. For the sake of accuracy we have to take the periods of different dynasties as below :—

बार्हद्रथ 1006, प्रद्योत 138, शैशुनाग 365 (वायुपुराण), नंद 100 and the date of चन्द्रगुप्त's coronation as 322 B.C. So the sum total take us to *1931* B.C.

40. The date of the commencement of the war which I have arrived at, has apparently one defect. The passing away of Bhīṣma does not correspond to भीष्माष्टमी as is traditionally observed.

41. My explanation of this inconsistency is very obvious and simple. The epic nowhere specifically mentions that Bhīṣma passed away on माघ शु० ८. It simply says that he passed away on the day after the commencement of the उत्तरायण. But the उत्तरायण begins on different *Tithis* in different years. So after the passing away of भीष्म his श्राद्ध could not be performed on one and the same तिथि every year. So for a long time there was not one single तिथि which could be called भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि. After good many years, there was a change in the पंचांग and the उत्तरायण also began to commence in पौष month instead of माघ month. Then there was no necessity of changing the भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि from year to year. So those atsronomers who introduced the new पंचांग fixed the भीष्माष्टमी as the भीष्मनिर्याणतिथि to suit their more recent calculations. The month of माघ was specifically mentioned, and so the अष्टमी in the शुक्लपक्ष was regarded as the appropriate and convenient date coming after the रथसप्तमी, which day was once the beginning of the उत्तरायण. So भीष्माष्टमी is not to be taken as sacrosanct, because the epic does not mention that date, but only says that भीष्म passed away after 68 days from the beginning of the war or 58 days after his own fall or 50 days from the end of the war, that is on the next day after the commencement of the उत्तरायण. मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ as the day of the commencement of the war, मार्गशीर्ष कृ० ६ as the day of the fall of भीष्म, मार्गशीर्ष कृ० १४ as the day on which the war ended and माघ कृ० ५ as the day next after the beginning of the उत्तरायण all tally with the description in the Mahābhārata and are consistent with one another. The date mentioned in भारतसावित्री does not tally with these calculations. Dr. Daftari's date is inconsistent with much of the description. So मार्गशीर्ष शु० ११ is to be taken as the date which suits each and every description in the epic.

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

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(1) All the four Purāṇas that give dynasties of kings, namely the Bhāgavata, the Viṣṇu, the Vāyu and the Matsya are agreed that 37 kings ruled between the War and the Nandas, that the Nandas ruled for hundred years, and that Candra gupta Maurya then became the ruler. There is no discrepancy between the Purāṇas on these points. The date of Candragupta Maurya has been ascertained to be 322 or 312 B.C. If one generation be held to be equal to twenty years, the approximate date of the War is therefore 3+22+(20×37)=1162 B.C. There can be no doubt on this point. See paragraph 59 and the dynasties in paragraph 156.[1]

(2) (*a*) The Purāṇas no doubt say that these 37 kings ruled for 1500 years, but that number of years is unreliable, being almost double of what it ought to be, for the average reign of one generation cannot much exceed twenty years. (See paragraphs 158 and 159). (*b*) Though the years of the twenty-two Bārhadratha kings are said to be 1000 years and are found by actual calculation to be 1092 at the greatest, they are taken to be 536 by the Purānas themselves in calculating the years between Parīkṣit and the Nandas (see paragraph 161-166) i.e., about half of what they are found to be from the lists of kings given by the Purāṇas. (*c*) The number of years of the last three Śaiśunāga kings given in the Purāṇas is exactly double of those given by Mahāvanso. The years of subsequent reigns are the same in both the Purāṇas and the Mahāvanso, (see paragraphs 168-172). These three points show that the number of years given by Purāṇas in the list of kings is double of the real. Why the Purāṇas gave the years after doubling them is explained by the fact that the words '*samā*' and 'varsha' *formerly* meant half a year. (See paragraphs 173-176). Mr. Karandikar's explanation that many unimportant kings are omitted from the lists of kings in the Purāṇas, though the years of their rule are included in the total years, is untenable (see paragraph 160).

(3) The statement in the Rāmāyaṇa that the rainy season began in Śrāvaṇa proves the approximate date of the war to be 1200 B.C. See paragraph 60.

[1] Paragraphs here refer to those in my book, *The Astronomical method and its application to the Chronology of Ancient India* published by the Nagpur University.

(4) The length of the lunar month taken in the Mahābhārata calendar exceeds the real length of the same (see paragraphs 43-48, especially paragraph 46). The ratio between the length of the day and the *Tithi* was taken to be 64 to 63 (see paragraphs 145-147). In the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* the length of the lunar month is very much less than the real one and the ratio between the lengths of the day and the *Tithi* is taken to be 62 to 61 (see paragraphs 36-37). The Mahābhārata calendar is therefore proved to be an improved form of the calendar of the *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa,* whose date is proved by S. B. Dixit to be 1400 B.C. The date of the Mahābhārata calendar is therefore later than B.C. 1400. Even if we do not accept that the Mahābhārata calendar is an improved form of *Vedāṅgajyotiṣa* calendar, we will have to accept that they are very similar (see paragraphs 35-50). Therefore also we cannot accept 1900 B.C. for the Mahābhārata calendar, for had it come into existence in 1900 B.C. it must have been much improved by 1400 B.C. and then the crude *Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa* could not have come into existence at all in 1400 B.C.

(5) The statements in the Mahābhārata about the positions of the planets conflict with each other. This may be the result of interpolation or mistakes in readings. How to find out the reality is the question. This is my method to do it. Let us take the statement दीप्यमानाश्च संयेदुर्दिवि सप्तमहाग्रहाः (see paragraph 62). This may be either real or false, but it being a statement about all the planets at once, all statements consistent with it must go along with it and must form a group, named the first group ; by themselves they may be either real or false. The other statements that are left are only two verses and being consistent with each other and being near each other form the second group. We, therefore, infer that either of these two groups must be real. We find the years from each of these groups and ascertain if they can give the eclipses mentioned in the Mahābhārata. Only one year from the first group i.e. 1197 B.C. (1695.3 by my way of calculating time ; see paragraphs 82-93) stands the test. (See paras 86-93).

(6) This year gives all the eclipses mentioned in the Mahābhārata (see paragraphs 94 to 100). It also explains the total solar eclipses and the unambiguous positions of the planets mentioned in the *Harivaṁśa.* See paragraphs 101-107. Any one who proposes any other date for the war must show that he can explain all these. No one has yet been able to find out such a date. Therefore 1197 B.C. must be accepted as the real date of the war.

(7) This date also agrees exactly with that obtained from the Purāṇas (see paragraph 167).

(8) The year of the War being thus fixed, the day i.e. the month and the *Tithi* works out to be the *Amāvāsyā* of Kārtika (See paragraphs 108-114, noting the calculation in paragraph 113).

(9) Planets calculated for this day and for the 18th day therefrom explain all the statements about the planets in the first group. See paragraphs 117-132. Any one who proposes any other day and date must show that he can explain all these statements.

(10) The year 1197 B.C. also explains how the second group came into the Mahābhārata, see paras 133-141. It shows the position of the planets when Vyāsa finished the compilation of the Bhārata and was put in along with 1st group by subsequent editors.

(11) It is a fact that there are inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata and in the Purāṇas too. But what is the remedy? It is not to suppose all statements to be imaginary and false, as the late C. V. Vaidya did, nor it is is to take any one statement and to build castles of imagination upon the same and to neglect all other statements or to misinterpret them as Mr. J. S. Karandikar does (see paragraph 236). We must bear it in mind that these inconsistencies are caused by our incorrect interpretation, by mistakes in readings or by interpolation, and then we must examine all the statements and search out the hidden truth. We must not accept any statement to be an interpolation if correct reading or correct interpolation explains the inconsistencies, and we must not correct a reading if correct interpolation removes inconsistencies, see paragraphs 15-23. We should use for calculating by astronomy only those statements, the interpretation of which is not in doubt, (see para 25); but after calculating the date we can reconcile the date with the statements by supposing a mistake in reading or in interpretation if well supported; see para 25. If these points are kept in mind, it will be seen that the date proved by me is correct and that the corrections in the text and interpretation proposed by me are quite acceptable; see paras 223-227 where the interchange of "श्रवणे" and "पुष्येण" is proposed, and see paragraph 130 where I propose "चैत्रां" for "चित्रां" and see also paragraphs 126-127 and 129. About my suggestion that the description of moon-rise in Droṇaparvan is an interpolation provoked by the interchange of "श्रवणे" and "पुष्येण", see paragraphs 238-242. Thus if the corrupted condition of

the texts is properly considered and astronomy be relied upon, my date of the War can be accepted as correct.

(12) This date should rather be accepted as a basis upon which to build the conclusions about Kali Yuga etc. and should not be rejected on account of the current ideas about Kali Yuga (see paragraphs 245-248).

REPLY TO MR. KARANDIKAR'S OBJECTIONS.

(13) In paragraph 5[1], Mr. Karandikar says that Śrī Kṛshṇa's suggestion about the day on which the war was to be commenced, did not fructify. This is not supported by any direct statement in the Mahābhārata. It is an inference of Mr. Karandikar. But that inference is incorrect as shown in paragraph 236 sub-paragraph 2 of my book. Mr. Karandikar says that the interval of seven days between the day of the return of Krisṇa and the day on which the war was proposed was too short. Can Mr. Karandikar say that he knows better than Śrī Kṛshṇa or that he can make a more correct estimate of the time required for preparing for the fight, than Śrī Kṛshṇa did? Of course he cannot.

(14) Mr. Karandikar's statement in paragraph 6 that Balarāma went away for pilgrimage, on the day on which the Moon was in the Anurādhā, is quite true. But his statement in the same paragraph that the day was the end of the month of Kārtika is wrong. It was really one day previous to the day proposed by Kṛshṇa, for the *nakṣatra* of the day proposed by Kṛshṇa i.e. of the new moon day was Jyeshṭhā, as shown in paragraphs 54 and 55 of my book.

(15) None of Mr. Karandikar's suppositions in paragraph 7 are supported by any statements in Mahābhārata. That Ulūka was sent because Pāṇḍavas delayed and that *lohābhihāra* referred to by Ulūka means worship of arms on Skandaṣaṣṭī is not supported by any statement in the Mahābhārata. As a matter of fact, *lohābhihāra* means only "arming oneself" (See Apte's dictionary), and does not mean worship at all. It may almost mean worship of arms before a battle. It need not mean annual worship of arms. There is no evidence to show that the day of the annual worship of arms was Skandaṣaṣṭi in those days or to show that the arms were worshipped every year.

[1] References are to the paragraphs in Mr. Karandikar's paper at the beginning of this section, pp. —480.

(16) Mr. Karandikar's argument in paragraph 8 is fully refuted in paragraphs 62-64 of my book. The second half of the verse "मघाविषयगः सोमः" says that all the seven planets met together. Mr. Karandikar neglects this statement altogether when construing the first half of the verse. The Sun was in the Jyeshṭha or near Jyeshṭha as the day was near about Kārtika Amāvasyā. The Moon could not be far away from Jyeshṭha, for all the seven planets met together. The Moon can therefore be inferred to have been only in Mūla, Mūla being the ninth *nakṣatra* from Maghā.

(17) Bhāratasavitri is no part of the Mahābhārata. It is only an attempt, like that of Mr. Karandikar, to solve the riddle of the *Tithi* of the day on which the War began and is not authoritative, especially as Mr. Karandikar admits that there are inconsistencies in it and as he himself does not follow it wholly. The description of the last night of the fight as '*raudrī* can simply mean, "terrible", and does not necessarily mean a particular *Tithi*.

(18) In paragraphs 12 to 15 Mr. Karandikar suggests, giving reasons, that the War began on the 11th of the bright half of Mārgashīrsha, and I admit that the suggestion is a very intelligent one. But his suggestion is not supported by the positions of the planets and eclipses given in the Mahābhārata and the Harivaṁśa. The only year that gives *all these* is 1197 B.C. Mr. Karandikar's year does not give all these (see paragraph 236 of my book); nor can any other year give them. We have therefore to accept the year 1197 B.C. If that year is accepted, we have to accept Amāvasyā of Kārtika as the *Tithi* on which the war began; for the Uttarāyaṇa then begins when the Sun is in Dhanishṭhā and that must be within 68 days from the Amāvasyā of Kārtika (see paragraphs 113-4 of my book). If we do not do this, we have to reject almost all the statements about planets and eclipses. It is better to regard the description of the Moon-rise on the night of the 14th day of the fight as an interpolation. Mr. Karandikar also has to regard the verse चत्वारिंशद्दिनान्यद्य च मे etc. as an interpolation, for the Nakṣatra on the last day of the War according to Mr. Karandikar is Mūla, while according to the above verse, it is Śravaṇa. But the verse is not an interpolation as shown in paragraphs 230 to 235 of my book, in the year of the War the Uttarāyaṇa actually commenced on the 7th day of the bright half of Māgha and not on the 4th day of the dark half of Māgha. In paragraph 242 of my book I have shown why my *Tithi* and year should be accepted and I hope the reasons given there will appeal to all reasonable men.

Now I WILL CONSIDER MR. KARANDIKAR'S OBJECTIONS AGAINST MY DATE OF THE WAR.

(19) Mr. Karandikar says in paragraph 16 that I have no authority for separating the astronomical statements into two groups. This is replied to in paragraph 5 above. All statements consistent with दीप्यमानाश्च संपेतुर्दिवि सप्तमहाग्रहाः must of course group with it and the others being consistent with themselves of course form the other group. I have not assumed any of the groups to be true, but I have proved with the help of the eclipses that the first is true.

(20) Mr. Karandikar says there is no indication that the second group points out the date of finishing the Bhārata epic. The dates of the two groups stand apart by three years and Vyāsa took three years to write the work. Is not that a suffic ent indication?

(21) Mr. Karandikar asks (para 18) why the time of finishing is described as inauspicious. As a matter of fact it is not so described (see paragraph 78 of my book). All statements in which planetary positions are said to be ominous fall in the first group (see paragraphs 80, 118-128).

(22) Mr. Karandikar's contention (para 19) that my astronomical calculations depend mainly upon the planet Mercury is wrong. I have not made any use of Venus or Mercury for calculating the years from the first group. I have found the years without them and the eclipses have confirmed only one of them (see paragraphs 86 to 96 of my book). I have found the years from the second group without the help of Mercury and the eclipses have not confirmed any of them. Thus Mercury has not been used at all for getting the year. But when Mercury is calculated for the year already obtained, we get it exactly as described in the Mahābhārata and this confirms the year and also the *Tithi* still further (see paragraphs 119, 122, 123 and 120 of my book). Mercury may not be ordinarily visible; but astronomers see it very often and Sañjaya has given the position of Mercury. It must be therefore held that he tried to see it. Nor was there any impediment of the dust; for as the planet was seen in the East and in the morning before the fight began, there could be no dust.

(23) My year and my *Tithi* is proved without the help of any changes in the readings. I suggest changes in readings only to reconcile other statements in the Mahābhārata with my year and *Tithi*. See paragraph 11 above and No. 25 of my book. I have not suggested श्यामोग्रह: for श्वेतोग्रहः; I have

found it in the Madras Edition (see paragraph 124); I have suggested the interchange of "श्रवणे" and पुष्येण but I have given a very good reason for the happening of the interchange i.e. the misunderstanding the meaning of the verse रोहिणीये गते शूरे (see paragraphs 224 and 225 of my book). The word गते which really means "went to the Pāṇḍavas" was misunderstood to mean" "went away from the Pāṇḍavas". It should be noted that Vaiśampāyana, who is the speaker of the verse and who was speaking at Hastināpura to Janamejaya, could not use *āgate* for the "going of Balarāma to the Pāṇḍavas then at Upalaya or Virāṭāpura".

(24) The well-known meaning of *Śvetagraha* is Venus and that of *Somasya putra* is Mercury. Mr. Karandikar has to abandon these well-known meanings and has to resort to obscure meanings perhaps even devised to remove inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata. This is rather a point in my favour and against Mr. Karandikar and not against me as he suggests in para 21.

(25) With reference to para 22 of Mr. Karandikar, I am to observe that I am quite right in holding the description of the Moon-rise in Droṇaparva to be an interpolation. I have suggested only one interpolation, while Mr. Karandikar has to resort to many interpolations; because all the statements that he ignores are interpolations from his standpoint. What is better, one interpolation or many? I have moreover shown how this interpolation can be provoked after the interchange of *Śravaṇa* and Pushyeṇa (see paragraph 241 of my book). There are inconsistencies in the Mahābhārata; that is an admitted fact; and they ought to be removed by doing the least violence to the text. Mine is the least violence, since the only change I propose is the interchange of "*Śravaṇa*" and Pushyeṇa and the interpolation of the Moon-rise is a result of the same.

(26) In paragraph 23, Mr. Karandikar says that I cannot point out the day of Balarāma's departure from the Pāṇḍavas for pilgrimage. This is absolutely wrong. Paragraph 226 of my book shows that Balarāma went away from the Pāṇḍavas for pilgrimage on the day of Anurādhā Nakṣatra, the day previous to the day on which the War began according to me, and not on the day of Śravaṇa Nakṣatra. The previous Śravaṇa is the constellation on which Balarāma started from Dwārakā to go to the Pāṇḍavas at Upalavya; (see paragraph 223 of my book for the correct meaning of the expression श्रवणे संप्रयातोस्मि,

(27) As to Mr. Karandikar's 24th para, I have to observe that the Bhāratasāvitrī has been rightly ignored by me, it

being only quite apparently an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the conflicting statements in the Bhārata. It must be noted here that it is illogical and dangerous to rely upon astrological considerations as Mr. Karandikar does.

(28) Mr. Karandikar finds his year of the Mahābhārata War from a reading in the Vāyu Purāṇa (para 31). But he does not explain why there are also different readings in the other manuscript of the same. He does not discuss which reading is acceptable. He ignores the Bhāgavata and the Viṣṇu Purāṇas that mention in unambiguous words that 1000 years only and not 1500 passed between Parikshita and Nandas in the verse यदा मघाभ्यो यास्यंति &c. (see paragraph 162 and Note 71 on page 85 of my book). If this verse is taken into consideration, it will show that the reading relied upon by Mr. Karandikar is the result of an attempt to reconcile conflicting statements in the Purāṇas and that it cannot be relied upon in view of the very much weightier considerations set forth in paragraphs above, especially in view of the statement in the Mahāvaṃśa referred to therein. It should be noted that Mr. Karandikar's suggestion that every other king is omitted by the Purāṇas but that the years of his reign are included in those of the kings mentioned, is strange and disproved by the statements in the Mahāvaṁśa (see paragraph 160 of my book).

(29) Mr. Karandikar avoids here the discussion of the positions of the planets given in the Mahābhārata. But he has given the result of his calculations in the "Kesari" of the 27th January of 1939. He gets Jupiter in Jyeshṭhā (226/53) which agrees neither with the first group nor with the second. He gets Saturn in Jyeshṭhā (233/11) which agrees with neither group; the longitude of Jyeshṭhā is 230. It should be noted that in the first group Jupiter and Saturn are said to be near Viśākhā whose longitude is 210. He gets Mars in Punarvasu (91/35) which does not agree with any group and therefore he misconstrues the words मघास्वंगारको वक्रः to mean that, or he thinks that the retrograde Mars in Punarvasu or Pushya has its *dṛṣṭi* upon Maghā; whence does Mr. Karandikar get Punarvasu or Pushya and whence does he get the *dṛṣṭi*? He gets Venus in Purvāṣādhā (263/14) which agrees with neither group and it could not have been seen in the East in the morning on the 18th day of the war as stated in भृगुसूनुधरापुत्रौ, etc. (see paragraph 70 of my book), its longitude being greater than that of the sun. He gets Mercury in Jyeshṭhā 238/18, but it could not have been seen being too near the sun that at 237/55; and it could not have been seen in the East in the morning on the

18th day of the War, as stated in भृगुसूनुधरापुत्रौ, etc. its longitude being greater than of the Sun. This very verse shows that Mars was not in Punarvasu as Mr. Karandikar concludes. Mr. Karandikar has not given the results of his calculation of eclipses. It appears that he has not calculated them. He has not calculated the positions of the planets and the total eclipse of the Sun at the time of the killing of Kaṁsa given in the *Harivaṁśa* in unambiguous language, as I have done, see paragraphs 101-107, of my book. See also paragraph 236 there.

In spite of these serious defects, Mr. Karandikar claims that his date is based and supported by astronomical considerations; who will admit his claim? The weighty consideration given in paragraph 4 above does not even enter his mind. His discussion is quite superficial and one-sided and his proposition must therefore be rejected.

THE DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR

MR. KARANDIKAR'S REPLY TO DR. DAFTARI.

(1) Paragraph 13:[1] Kṛshṇa's suggestion was only a tentative one. It cannot be accepted as a proof that the war actually began on Amāvāsyā unless corroborated by some other reference to Amāvāsyā as the day on which war did begin. The Bhārata nowhere mentions it. On the contrary the description of dark nights just after sun-set shows that the fortnight during which the war was fought was the dark one.

(2) Paragraph 14: Balarāma started on his pilgrimage when the moon was in Anurādhā. It might be that Amāvāsyā actually had begun or that Caturdaśi was culminating in Amāvāsyā. It is after all a minor point.

(3) Paragraph 15: Ulūka was actually sent by Duryodhana to the Pāṇḍavas with a taunt for their delaying tactics. If the war did really begin on Amāvāsyā as suggested by Śrī Kṛshṇa where was the necessity to send the messenger? The very fact that such a message was sent is itself a proof that there was some delay. "Lohābhihāra" has actually been explained by the commentator Nīlakaṇṭha to be the ceremony of worship of war weapons and horses. The sixth day of bright-half of Mārgaśīrsha is the Skanda-Shashṭhī and is an annual worship-day of arms for Kshatriyas.

(4) दीप्यमानाश्च संपेतुर्दिवि सप्त महाग्रहाः is only an exaggeration of evil omens, just as on every day of calamity there is the repetition of the stock-ill-omen राहुरग्रसदादित्यमपर्वणि विशांपते। Dr. Daftari tries to fix up an eclipse of the Sun wherever this expression occurs. It is misunderstanding the colloquial phrase.

(5) Paragraph 17: Bhārata-Sāvitrī shows us what the current tradition was; so it cannot be ignored altogether. Inconsistencies creep up when later generations fail to catch the exact meaning of certain old technical words and unwarily try to explain their own interpretation in new words. But the whole of the tradition of Bhārata-Sāvitrī cannot be unceremoniously brushed aside.

(6) Paragraph 18: The whole paragraph is meaningless. It is simply an unauthorised asertion that "I am right and Karandikar is wrong."

[1] **References are to the paragraphs in Dr. Daftari's paper, ante, pp. 481-9.**

(7) Paragraphs 19-21: Dr. Daftari has separated the astronomical statements in two groups referring to two different periods. There is absolutely no proof given in support of this queer idea. What Dr. Daftari simply says is this:—"My theory is that this is one of the confusions created by subsequent editors of the Bhārata" (Page 70 of Daftari's book). Can this idea of throwing the blame on the writers carry conviction to the mind of any reader?

This idea of separating the verses into two groups is the very basis of Daftari's whole theory. So his whole theory topples down when the base is shaken.

(8) Paragraph 22: Dr. Daftari's calculation depends much upon the position of the Mercury. Dr. Daftari admits "Mercury may not be ordinarily visible; but astronomers see it very often and Sañjaya has given the position of Mercury. It must therefore be held that he tried to see it." When the mind of everybody was engrossed by the events of the war, Sañjaya was leisurely trying to see the Planet Mercury. And that too during the din of the battle and when the sky was full of dust. Dr. Daftari says that there was no dust because the Mercury was observed in the morning. But this is going against the text. The verse सोमस्य पुत्रोऽभ्युदियाय तिर्यक् occurs while describing the state at the time of the death of Karṇa, which occured in the evening.

(9) Paragraph 23: The changes in "readings" such as श्वेत: into श्याम: and interchanging the places of पुष्येण and श्रवणे is unwarranted. Even after interchanging the words Dr. Daftari cannot explain the fact that Balarāma did not start on his pilgrimage on Śravaṇa. To suppose that Balarāma refers to his starting from Dvārakā and not from the Pāṇḍavas is absurd, for while relating the account of his pilgrimage his starting from the camp of the Pāṇḍavas is relevant and not the starting from Dvārakā. Even supposing that it refers to his starting from Dvārakā, it requires corroboration and the Moon cannot be in Śravaṇa on any such day.

(10) Paragraph 24: सोमस्य पुत्र: does mean Budha; but here this planet being invisible, this expression should be taken to mean the Comet which is supposed to be the son of the Moon.

(11) Paragraphs 25-26: The description of the Moon-rise in Droṇaparva after the death of Ghaṭotkaca cannot be an interpolation, for the battle could not be renewed without Moon-light and the time of the rise of the Moon does fix up the *Tithi* correctly. This goes against the theory of Dr. Daftari;

so he resorts to the usual and convenient theory of calling it an interpolation.

(12) Paragraph 27: Dr. Daftari ignores the Bhārata-Sāvitrī tradition and gives unconvincing and fanciful reasons for it.

(13) Paragraph 28: Out of all the readings of the verse, एकवर्षसहस्रं तु ज्ञेयं पंचशतोत्तरम् is the most consistent reading and therefore I have adorted it. Whenever there are different readings, we can choose any one of them which gives the correct and consistent sense. The skill lies in making the appropriate choice and not in ignoring all the different readings.

(14) Paragraph 29: The positions of the planets given by me are consistent with my interpretation of the different verses. To make them applicable to the wrong interpretations of the verses as given by Dr. Daftari and then to say that the planets' positions are inaccurate is surely not a correct method of criticism. For instance, I have never assumed that Mercury was visible. So the position of Mercury given by me can be correct according to my reading of the verse. The same explanation is applicable to the position of all other planets. I am nowhere inconsistent with myself.

(15) One glaring instance as to how Dr. Daftari imposes any imaginary meaning on any verse in the Mahābhārata will expose his way of arguing. In Strīparvan there is the following verse :—

यस्मात्परस्परं घ्नन्तो ज्ञातय: कुरुपांडवा: ।
उपेक्षितास्ते गोविन्द तस्माद्ज्ञातीन्वधिष्यसि ।
त्वमप्युपस्थिते वर्षे षट्त्रिंशे मधुसूदन ॥

In this Gāndhārī pronounces a curse that the Yādavas will destroy one another in the thirty-sixth year. Gāndhārī is saying this at the end of the Bhārata War; so any one may naturally think that this curse is to fructify in the thirty-sixth year from the termination of the war. But this interpretation does not suit Dr. Daftari's pet theory. So he imposes his own interpretation that thirty-six years are to be calculated, not from the day on which the curse was pronounced, but from the date of the Rājasūya sacrifice. Can anyone fairly suppose that at the time of cursing Śrīkṛshṇa, Gāndhārī meant the period to be measured from Rājasūya? Gāndhārī had not even attended that ceremony and it can never have been uppermost in her mind. But Dr. Daftari imposes that meaning on the verse without the least reason or authority for it.

THE DATE OF THE MAHÂBHÂRATA WAR.

By PROF. P. C. SENGUPTA, CALCUTTA.

A CRITICISM OF DR. DAFTARI'S VIEWS.

1. Dr. Daftari has found his data from very wrong places of the great epic. The planetary positions in the *utpātalakṣaṇas* of the Mahābhārata and of chapter 3 of the *Bhiṣmaparva* specially, are *hopelessly inconsistent*; and were not true either for the time of the Pāṇḍavas or for any other time,—*a set of lies* stating bad omens portending dire consequences to come,–work of an astrologer whose data cannot be much prior to that of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.). If the word एकाह्ना means the same day of the week, the date cannot be earlier than 400 A.D. Here the mention of so many planets makes the statements most unreliable. This basis was used by Lele and it lead to the fantastic date of 5229 B.C. Bentley worked on the horoscopes of Rāma and Kṛṣṇa and arrived at the dates of the 6th April, 961 B.C. and the 7th August, 600 A.D. both of which are unacceptable.

2. Dr. Daftari, a knocker out of all traditions, pins his faith in a selection from the lies referred to above, and attempts to solve the problem of his own making, viz., to find the time when :

Sun 245°, Mars 211°, Jupiter 211° and Saturn 211° and finishes with the solution :

Sun 251° Mars 235° Jupiter 218° and Saturn 216° on November 21,—1197 A.D., at Kurukṣetra, Mean time 6 A.M.

His is only a partial solution of his own problem, it cannot have anything to do with the year of the Bhārata Battle.

3. His allegation that the new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. was the *Kārtika amāvāsyā* of the year is incorrect. It was really the *Agrahāyaṇa amāvāsyā*, both according to the modern calendar and the Vedāṅga calendar. The new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. is similar to the new-moon on December 21, 1938 of our time. In the Vedāṅga five yearly lunisolar cycle, which may be truly started from February 4, 1935 to last till February 8, 1940 A.D., the new-moon on December 21, falls in the *Anuvatsara* and not in the *Idāvatsara* or *Idvatsara*. Hence the new-moon on Nov. 20, —1197 A.D. also fell in the *Anuvatsara* (4th year) of the corresponding lunisolar cycle of the time,

In both the calendars in the first three years there are 37 lunations, hence in the *Anuvatsara* there are 12 lunations having the same names in both the calendars. Dr. Daftari's position on this point is untenable. (In the modern calendar one intercalary month comes in the mean period of two years and eight and half months of the sidereal measure, and in 2½ years of the Vedaṅga calendar. In the Saṁvatsara and the Anuvatsara the lunar months have the same names in both the calendars).

4. His solution is incorrect as he fails to bring about the *nakṣatra Puṣyā* on the day of the mace-duel. It actually comes out as *Pūrvaphalgunī*. His drastic alteration of one *Mahābhārata* text and his repudiating another *Mahābhārata* reference, viz., the rising of a crescent moon in the last quarter of the night following the 14th day of the battle, are of no avail to him. Dr. Daftari omits to give the moon's *nakṣatra* for the day of the mace-duel, for reasons best known to him.

5. Dr. Daftari's solution is again totally in error when we come to examine another point. He accepts that Bhīṣhma expired on the 68th day from Nov. 21, —1197 A.D. The date in question is readily seen to be the 27th January, —1196 A.D. on which Bhīṣhma expired according to Dr. Daftari's finding. But the Sun turned north about the 1st January, —1196 A.D. i.e. about 26 days before Bhīṣhma's expiry. In this case also Dr. Daftari avoids calculation.

6. Dr. Daftari translates (on page 18 of his book) चंद्रसूर्यविुभौ ग्रस्तावेकमासीं त्रयोदशीम् "Both the Sun and the Moon were eclipsed on the 13th *Tithi* of the same month."

He has evidently changed the order 'moon and sun' to 'sun and moon' to suit his purpose, forgetting that an eclipse fo the sun followed by an eclipse of the moon cannot be interpreted as having occured in the same lunar month, which is reckoned from the light half (from a first visibility of the crescent to the next. (उद्दृष्टः पूर्वमहर्भवति *Sat. Br.*, quoted by Dīkṣita). As he accepts that in the Mahābhārata calendar the months began with the light half, what he says in support of his finding fo the year of the Bhārata-battle on this ground on page 44 fo his book is self-contradictory. The phenomenon of a lunar eclipse followed by a solar eclipse in the same lunation is the true meaning of the text, but this is not of unusual occurrence; it cannot provide a sure basis for calculation.

7. Dr. Daftari is again incorrect when he translates the word '*Aṅgāraka*' by 'Venus'. Hence what he says in support of his solution by this process is meaningless. We may ask

Daftari if he has ever seen Mars in opposition. *Venus is the white planet* and *Mars the red planet* in Sanskrit literature.

8. It can be reasonably established that in the period in which the *Ṛgveda* was developed, of which the lower limit must have been the date of the Bhārata-battle, the only planets discovered or noticed were the Sun, Moon, Jupiter and Venus spoken of variously as *Venā*, *Vena*, *Sūrya* or *Sūryasya duhitā*. The remaining five of the nine planets, are not mentioned in the *Ṛgveda*. When about 400-500 A.D., the 'nine planets' came to be regarded as gods, the appropriate *ṛcas* for libations to be made for their propitiation could be found for the Sun and Jupiter only from the *Ṛgveda*. It has therefore been quite illogical for Daftari to base his problem on any part of the *utpātalakṣaṇas* which speak of so many planets. His wrong selection of premises has led to a wrong result.

9. Dr. Daftari expresses —1197 A.D., as 1197 B.C., and in another place —2448 A.D. as 2448 B.C. This is against the international convention. He should have expressed his dates correctly in the Julian calendar. Again in the expression 'the 9th *Tithi* of the *Chaitra Vadya* in Śaka 421', Daftari says that this figure '421' shows the current year ; the past years are 420. This is also incorrect and all this has been very confusing. For a book written in English meant for international scholars, such misexpressions should never occur. There are other misexpressions in the book, e.g., when he speaks of 'aphelion' of the sun and the moon.

The whole of Daftari's work thus loses its sole foundations as his finding of the year of the *Bhārata* battle has been vitiated by an incorrect selection of data. He is further inaccurate in the solution of the problem of his own making ; he is mistaken in calling the new-moon Nov. 20, —1197 A.D., the *Kārtika-amāvāsyā* of the year. He has failed to bring about the *nakṣatra Puṣyā* on the day of the mace-duel and has failed also in bringing about the winter solstice day one or two days before his date of Bhīṣhmā's expiry. He is also incorrect in translating and using the *Mahābhārata* text on the two eclipses in the same lunation.

Although Dr. Daftari fails to express his dates correctly in Julian calendar, he is good as a calculator of planetary positions. That he is a patient worker is also true, but it seems to us inexplicable how he could overlook such flaws in his findings.

DATE OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA WAR.

Dr. Daftari's reply to Prof. Sengupta.

(1) The data upon which I base my date of the Mahābhārata War have been described by Mr. Sengupta as "a set of lies stating bad omens, portending dire consequences to come,—work of an astrologer whose date cannot be much prior to that of Varāhamihira (550 A.D.)." This is all imaginary and has no basis; because actually in no verse of the first or the second group (see paragraphs 62-78 of my book *"The astronomical method and its application to the Chronology of Ancient India"* the planetary positions mentioned therein are described as omens or portends. The only verses that describe planetary positions as omens are

चंद्रसूर्यावुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम्। अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजासंक्षयमिच्छतः॥
चंद्रसूर्यावुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकमासीं त्रयोदशीं। अपर्वणि ग्रहेणैतौ प्रजाः संक्षपयिष्यतः॥

and these have been misconstrued by all before me. I am the first to point out the real meanings of एकाह्ना and त्रयोदशी (see paragraph 16 of my book). Accepting my meaning of एकाह्ना Mr. Sengupta objects that the days of the week were unknown in the days of the Mahābhārata War. My reply to this is given in paragraph 44 and the note to paragraph 299. It is not impossible to describe two eclipses at an interval of 14 days happening on त्रयोदशी by the calculation of these days, as omens after having actually seen the destruction caused by the War. Hence we cannot reject these verses as interpolations. On the contrary we must regard them as the true indications of the date of the War. Mr. Sengupta supposes that all discrepancies and absurdities are caused by interpolations. This is wrong. They may be the result of our misunderstanding or of misreadings also. If we have to do the least violence to the text, it is best to suppose that they are caused by our misunderstanding, and it is next best to suppose that they are caused by misreadings. But it is worst to suppose that they are caused by interpolations. Therefore the idea of an interpolation is to be entertained only as a last resort and not as a usual occurence as Mr. Sengupta does.

Failures of Lele or Bentley do not help Mr. Sengupta. They never gave their thoughts to the discrepancies and absurdities in the works before them and to the way out of the discrepancies and absurdities.

(2) Yes, I have knocked out all traditions because the traditions did not give any reliable result. Mr. Sengupta says that the solution obtained by me is partial; but he does not

give any reasons for this statement; therefore it is difficult to understand what he means. Does he mean that the planetary positions in the solution obtained differ by a few degrees from those in the problem, and hence the solution is wrong? From what he spoke in the conference, I understood that he meant this. This is extremely unlike a mathematician; for, the planetary positions in the problem are only approximate and not exact, and though we get the same positions again and again at certain intervals, we get them only approximately the same and not exactly the same, on account of the incommensurability of the Periods of Revolutions of the planets with respect to each other. Therefore we have only to see if the positions in the solution agree with the description in the Bhārata. I have shown in paragraphs 117 to 142 that they do agree.

(3) I have never alleged that the new-moon on November 20,—1197 A.D. was कार्तिक अमावास्या. In fact I have not given my day of the beginning of the war in terms of the Julian calendar. I have stated in paragraph 142 that the date was 16953 years from my starting point mentioned in paragraph 83, and I have stated that that date was कार्तिक अमावास्या according to the calendar of those days, but actually the Pratipadā of the bright half of Pausha. Therefore I mean that the कार्तिक of those days was really the मार्गशीर्ष called the आग्रहायण by Mr. Sengupta. It is absolutely wrong to say, as Mr. Sengupta does, that the 20th November was कार्तिक अमावास्या even according to the calendar of those days. Mr. Sengupta regards a modern cycle from 4th February, 1935 A.D. to 8th February, 1940 A.D. as being the same as the cycle of the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa and draws inference therefrom. This is quite incorrect. For, though both consist of 1830 days, the Sun goes 1804° in the former and only 1800° in the latter and the Moon goes only 24113° in the former and 24120° in the latter. How can we regard both these cycles as the same and apply the results in the calculation of the one to the other? In the other i.e. the Vedāṅga Jyotiṣa cycle, we get by calculation the ज्येष्ठा constellation on the अमावास्या of the कार्तिक of the 3rd year (इदावत्सर) or on the अमावास्या of मार्गशीर्ष of the 5th year (इद्वत्सर) (See Dixit's book, pages 77-78). I have shown in the parenthesis of paragraph 98 that the latter year i.e. इद्वत्सर does not agree with the beginning of the उत्तरायण described in the Bhārata. Therefore the fight began on the कार्तिक अमावास्या of the 3rd year of the cycle and not of the 4th year as Mr. Sengupta says. Mr. Sengupta does not take into consideration the fact that the Mahābhārata Sun was lagging behind its real position, and thus Mr. Sen-

gupta does not see that the कार्तिक of Mahābhārata calendar can be really the मार्गशीर्ष. The Sun could lag behind even 30° as shown in paragraphs 35 to 50 of my book.

(4) Mr. Sengupta objects that my solution does not give पुष्यनक्षत्र on the day of the mace-duel but it gives the नक्षत्र पूर्वफाल्गुनी. He ignores the distinction between the actual नक्षत्र and the नक्षत्र by the calculation of those days. The पुष्य of the mace-duel was the result of the calculation of those days and पूर्वफाल्गुनी is the result of the calculation of these days. The Bhārata gives the नक्षत्र as then calculated and not the real one i.e. the नक्षत्र as now calculated. I have met all such objections in paragraphs 206 to 212. Mr. Sengupta does not appear to have read these.

Mr. Sengupta blames me for drastically changing the text (i.e. supposing that श्रवणे and पुष्येण are interchanged) and for regarding the description of the moon-rise as an interpolation. He does not enter into the logic underlying these suggestions of mine. I have described this logic in paragraphs 15 to 25 of my book. If one properly understands the causes of discrepancies in the Bhārata and of the way out of those discrepancies, he will find that with the smallest change in the text, I have removed all the discrepancies in the Bhārata. I have also shown that the interchange of श्रवणे and पुष्येण led to the interpolation of the description of the moon-rise (see paragraph 241 of my book). Moreover it must be noted that I do not depend upon any of these changes suggested by me. I only suggest these changes to reconcile the text with the date proved independently of the changes. If श्रवणे and पुष्येण are left as they are, the constellation of the day on which the fight began would be मृग . As the constellation of the previous Amāvāsyā was ज्येष्ठा, the day of the beginning of the fight would be the पौर्णिमा of the मार्गशीर्ष. The longitude of the Sun would then be 245° approximately. This is in fact the datum used by me for calculation (see paragraphs 56-57) of the year. But when the year has been found out, it clearly shows that the war must have begun on the Amāvāsyā (see paragraphs 108-114, especially paragraph 113), and of course it further proves the interchange of श्रवणे and पुष्येण and the interpolation of the description of the moon-rise.

(5) Mr. Sengupta also objects that in the year of the war as settled by me, the death of Bhīsma occurs 26 days after the actual beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa. I have stated this objection in paragraph 206 of my book and I have given a reply to the same in paragraphs 210 and 211. The sum and substance of that reply is that by the wrong calculation of those

days, we get the beginning of Uttarāyaṇa 24 days after the actual beginning. It may be objected that it is impossible that such a mistaken calendar was being then used. The supposition that a wrong calendar was then being used is the only rational way of construing "चन्द्रसूर्याविुभौग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना हि त्रयोदशीम् (see paragraphs 45 to 48) and पंचमे पंचमेवर्षे द्वौ मासावुपजायत: " (see paragraph 35). The mention of the मासक्षय and दिनंत्यज shows that though the mistakes in the calendar were known, the remedy applied was not the correction of the periods of revolutions that an astronomer of these days would apply but it was only occasional correction of the accumulated error by मासक्षय or दिनंत्यज (see paragraphs 38-50).

(6) In the year of the War as settled by me, we get first an eclipse of the Sun and then after an interval of 14 days an eclipse of the Moon. This does not satisfy Mr. Sengupta. He objects that in the Bhārata the words used are चंद्रसूर्याविुभौ ग्रस्तौ एकाह्ना and that they mean that the eclipse of the Moon preceded the eclipse of the Sun. He further objects that as the solar eclipse occurred on the अमावास्या of the आश्विन and the lunar eclipse on the पौर्णिमा of the कार्तिक, these eclipses cannot be said to have occurred in one month, as described by the Bhārata by the word एकंमासीं. My reply is this. It is not necessary to suppose that the author of the Bhārata was so nice in the language he used. It is not necessary to suppose that by placing the word चंद्र first, the author meant that the lunar eclipse preceded the solar eclipse. Further as the interval between the two eclipses was only 14 days and not five or six months, and as the period of 14 days is smaller than the period of one month, the author could also use the word एकमासीं, i.e. in one month. We should not be so nice, especially as we cannot find another date that agrees with all the statements in the Bhārata more closely than mine does.

(7) Mr. Sengupta objects that I have wrongly translated the word "अंगारक" by "Venus". My reply to this objection is given in paragraph 127 of my book. I say we have to translate it like that if we do not throw out the verse कृत्वा चांगारको वक्रम् ज्येष्ठायाम् etc. as an interpolation. I have not based my calculation upon this verse. The year of the war is proved independently of this verse. But in that year Venus was retrograde in the ज्येष्ठा and Mars cannot be retrograde in the ज्येष्ठा in any year that any astronomer may prove, being too near the Sun. We are therefore compelled to understand "Venus" by the word "अंगारक". In the alternative we may throw off the verse as an interpolation, but that will not disprove the date proved by independent statements. I have only shown how

this verse can be reconciled with my date, and have not based my calculation upon it. I have shown that अंगारक means a descendant of fire i.e. the "Venus". Mr. Sengupta's remark that I have not seen Mars in opposition is quite unfair and unnecessary. Though fire may be red, it is not necessary that a descendant of fire also must be red.

(8) Mr. Sengupta also objects that the people of the days of the Bhārata War did not know all the planets. He supports his proposition by saying that all the planets are not mentioned in the Ṛgveda. This is very unfair to the Ancient Indians especially as Mr. Sengupta holds that they were so advanced as to find by actual observation the beginning of the Uttarāyaṇa. Non-mention of all planets in the Ṛgveda is of no significance for it is not a work on astronomy.

(9) Mr. Sengupta unnecessarily blames me for not having followed the international convention when expressing my date. I did not calculate and give the month and the day on which the War began; the date 1197 B.C. given by me is therefore clearly approximate. Had I calculated the month and the day, I would have given it as 12th November, 1198 B.C. It is only 49 days distant from 1st January, 1197 B.C. Therefore as an approximate description 1197 B.C. also is not incorrect. Calculators can easily see that I meant approximately 1197 complete years before the beginning of the Christian Era.

The day 21st November as given by Mr. Sengupta is wrong. The sun turns to the North on or about 23rd December every year. Sun's longitude from the equinox is then 270° and from my starting point described in paragraph 56 of my book, it is about 294°. The Sun's longitude on the first day of the War is 252° approximately. The Sun takes 41° days to go from 252° to 294°. Therefore the day of the War must be 41 days before 23rd of December i.e. it must be about the 12th November by the Gregorian Calendar. Even now I say that in the expression "the 9th तिथि of the Chaitra Vadya in Śaka 421", the figure 421 shows the current year, the past year being 420. Mr. Sengupta is absolutely wrong on this point.

I admit I slipped into an error in using the word "aphelion" for the apogee of the Sun or the Moon. The mistake however does not prevent anybody from understanding what I mean. Mr. Sengupta has candidly stated that my calculations are correct. I thank him very much for this. I have shown also that all his objections are futile. Therefore my date of the War stands undisputed.

WHO FOUNDED THE VIKRAMA ERA

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, Benares.

(Summary of the paper)

It is indeed strange that in the 2000th year of Vikrama era, there should be no certainty as to its founder. Unless more evidence becomes available, such will continue to be the case.

Hindu and Jain traditions no doubt attribute this era to a king named Vikrama, who is stated to have flourished in *c.* 57 B.C. at Ujjayinī. But the works which record these traditions are all late. The Kālakāchārya story no doubt mentions that king Vikrama founded this era after expelling the Śakas, but it occurs in a work of the 13th century, when the era of 57 B.C. had been already attributed to Vikrama by tradition. The colophon in the *Śatruñjayamāhātmya* would prima facie show that the era was known after Vikrama in 421 A.D., when the work is said to have been composed. But this colophon is of utterly no value from the historical point of view; for if we accept it as true we shall have to suppose that in *saṁvat* 457 or 411 A.D., Valabhi was being ruled by king Śilāditya of the Maitraka dynasty, and not by king Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty. The colophon of this work cannot, therefore, be accepted as proving the prevalence of the name Vikrama era in the 5th century. The *Gāthāsaptaśatī* V. 64 refers, according to its commentator Gadādhara, to king Vikramāditya; the commentator, however, may here be referring to current notions about the legendary Vikrama. The practice of giving a lakh of coins to a successful general, attributed to Vikramāditya by the commentator, may have been as well followed by many other kings, who may as well have been present before the mind of the author of the *Saptaśatī*. The *Kathāsaritsāgara* refers to a king named Vikramāditya as ruling at Ujjainī and describes his exploits. But the whole account of this work is legendary. History knows of no king of Gauḍa named Saktikumāra, or of Karnāṭaka named Jayadhvaja, or of Lāṭa named Vijayavarman, or of Kāshmira named Sunandana or of Sindh named Gopāla, who could have been defeated by a king of Ujjainī in *cc.* 50 B.C. It is interesting to note that this work does not mention the Śakas among the powers overthrown by this ruler, nor does it state that he founded any era.

The epigraphical evidence, on the other hand, tends to show that a king named Vikrama was not connected with the foundation of this era. Had such been the case, the era in its earliest stages would have been known after him. As it is, inscriptions show that it was known as Kṛita era in the 3rd and 4th centuries A.D., and as Mālava era during the 5th to the 8th centuries A.D. It was only in the 9th century A.D. that inscriptions for the first time describe it as Vikrama Era, but this is done only in one of the ten inscriptions of this period. We have 34 inscriptions of the tenth century; out of these only two give it the name of Vikrama. Inscriptions of the 11th and the 12th centuries give it this name more frequently. But in their case also the vast majority refers to it simply as *Saṁvat*.

If the era has been really founded by Vikrama, one fails to understand why it should not have been known after him during its early centuries. There is no doubt that the era was started in 57 B.C. But the available evidence seems to show that it was founded by Kṛta, who was an important personality or ruler of Mālavas, who had at this time a republican constitution. Kṛta may have been the President or the General of the Mālavas, who was successful in expelling the Śakas from Central India. An era was started to commemorate this event and it was known as the Kṛta Era. It is possible to argue that this Kṛta may have also been known as Vikramāditya, but there is so far no evidence to show that such was really the case. Were it so, the era should have been known as Vikrama Era in its early stages, which is not the case.

HISTORICITY OF VIKRAMĀDITYA.

By

DR. R. B. PANDEY.

This paper proposes to bring out and discuss various types of evidence throwing light on Vikramāditya, and it tries to show that the tradition that he really founded the Vikrama Era in 57 B.C. is based on solid facts of history.

I. *Folk-tales:*

Vikramāditya has been universally remembered and respected throughout India for his ideal justice and devoted service of his people. The folk-tales long known and widely prevalent insist on the following facts :—

(1) Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī,

(2) He defeated the Śakas and founded an era, and

(3) He was a patron of Kālidāsa.

II. *Indian Astronomy:*

Indian astronomy invariably associates the Vikrama era with Vikramāditya of Ujjayini in 57 B.C.

III. *Traditions:*

Traditions recorded in Indian literature substantially corroborate the folk-tales. Some of them are given below:

1. We find the earliest recorded tradition of Vikramāditya in the Gāthāsaptaśatī (V. 64): "Through her feet, satisfied at the pleasure of being massaged and spreading lac on your hand, she teaches a lesson on the life of Vikramāditya."[1] Commenting upon it Gadādhara says, "In the context of Vikramāditya संवाहन (massaging) means संबाधन (crushing of enemies) and लक्खम् means a lac of coins. Vikramāditya, being satisfied at the defeat of the enemies by his subordinate, gives a lac of coins in his hand."

It is evident from the above that in the time when the Gāthāsaptaśatī was composed it was a well known fact that

[1] संवाहणसुहरसतोसिएण देन्तेण तुहकरे लक्खम् ।
चलणेण विक्कमाइत्तचरिअं अणुसिक्खिअं तिस्सा ॥

there had been a ruler named Vikramāditya who was very victorious and liberal. It is generally accepted by historians that Hāla, the author of the Gāthā, flourished in the first century A.D. Therefore, the age of Vikramāditya must precede his reign at least by a century in order to spread his fame far and wide. This historical truth was fully vindicated by MM. Pt. Haraprasad Shastri (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, p. 320). Dr. Bhandarkar raised certain objections, based on astronomical data, against this view (*Bhandarkar commemoration Volume*, pp. 185-187), but they were fully met by MM. Pt. Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha (*Prāchīna Lipimālā*, p. 168).

2. In the Pattāvali written by the Jain Pandit Merutuṅgāchārya we come across the following tradition. "After Nabhovāhana Gardabhilla ruled over Ujjayinī for thirteen years. One Jain ascetic Kālakācharya, being oppressed by him, invited the Śakas and uprooted Gardabhilla through their help. The Sakas ruled over Ujjayinī for fourteen years. After this Gardabhilla's son Vikramāditya drove the Śakas out and re-occupied Ujjayinī. This event took place in the 470th year after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Vikramāditya ruled for sixty years. His son Vikramacharita alias Dharmāditya ruled for forty years. Then followed Bhailla, Nailla and Nahada who ruled for 11,14 and 10 years respectively. By this time 605 years had elapsed since the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra and the Śaka Era was started from this year."

Here is a tradition which refers to certain distinct facts. Firstly, it refers to a series of rulers for whose reign periods, odd figures, are given (not round and exaggerated figures, which are not so reliable). Secondly, it refers to the Śaka invasion of Ujjayinī through the instrumentally of a Jain ascetic and the expulsion of the Śakas by Vikramāditya. Dates given for the start of the Vikrama and Śaka eras fit in with astronomical dates. According to the Jain tradition Mahāvīra died in 527 B.C. So the expulsion of the Śakas can be ascribed to 527-470 57 B.C. and the beginning of the Śaka era to 605-527 78 A.D. Thus this tradition favours the historicity of Vikramāditya in the first century B.C.

3. According to another Jain work *Prabandha-Koṣa* Vikramāditya flourished 470 years after the Nirvāna of Mahāvīra. By calculation the same date (527-470 57 B.C.) can be assigned to Vikramāditya as on the basis of the Pattāvali.

4. In the Śatruñjaya-māhātmya written by Dhaneśvarasūri it has been said that Vikramāditya would arise at the expiry of 466 years after the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. Śilāditya

or Bhoja would reign 477 years after Vikramāditya. This work was written in 477 Vikrama era when Śilāditya was ruling in Surāṣtra and he restored a number of sacred places to Jainism after driving the Buddhists out of the province (cf. Dr. Bhau Daji, *Journal of the Bombay Branch of Asiatic Society*, Vol. VI, pp. 29-30).

5. In Somadeva's *Kathā-saritsāgara* (xviii. 1.) the story of Vikramāditya has been narrated in detail. According to it Vikramāditya was a ruler of Ujjayinī. His father's name was Mahendrāditya and mother's Saumyadarśanā. Mahendrāditya, desirous of a son, worshipped Śiva for many years. At this time the earth was oppressed by the Mlechchhas (barbarians). For its redemption Lord Śiva called his Gaṇa Mālyavān and said, "To save the earth from the tyrannies of the barbarians incarnate yourself as a man and be born as the son of Mahendrāditya of Ujjayinī." When the son was born, Mahendrāditya, as instructed by Lord Śiva, named him Vikramāditya alias Viṣamaśīla (as he appeared terrible to his enemies). Vikramāditya was a precocious child and in a short period of time became well-versed in different branches of learning. When his prowess was amply proved, he was consecrated to the throne. Being unsparingly devoted to the poeple, he proved an ideal ruler. "He was the father of the orphans, the firend of the helpless, the protector of the destitutes and what not of his people ?" Next comes an exaggerated picture of his conquests, exploits and romances.

There is another interesting piece of information in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* (vii. 4). It knows another Vikramāditya of Pāṭaliputra. This shows that there was no confusion in the mind of the author who flourished in the 11th century A.D., regarding the separate and independent existences of two Vikramādityas—one of Ujjayinī and the other of Pāṭaliputra. Therefore, those scholars who try to identify the Gupta emperors, bearing the title of 'Vikramāditya' with Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, molest the time-honoured traditions of the country.

6. A number of traditions regarding Vikramāditya are recorded in the Rājāvali and Tod's Rajasthāna which more or less support the traditions cited above.

The curiosity of the general masses and even learned Pandits of India, regarding the historicity of Vikramāditya, is satisfied by the above quoted traditional evidences. But the modern historians of India ask the following relevant historical questions.

Historical Questions :

(1) When did the era founded by Vikramāditya come in use?

(2) Was there any ruling dynasty or a great man in Malwa in the 1st Century B.C. when the Vikrama era is supposed to have been founded?

(3) Did any revolutionary event take place in the 1st century B.C. in Malwa which could mark the starting point of an era?

Below is given the gist of historical researches, concerning the above questions, carried on by the early batch of the historians of Ancient India.

(1) Though according to Indian astronomy the Vikrama era was founded in 57 B.C., its use has not been attested in the first many centuries of Christian era. The first local era used in Malwa is Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti known from the Mandasor stone Inscription, dated 529 Mālava era (Fleet : Gupta Inscriptions, No. 18).

(2) No important dynasty or great man has been assigned to the 1st century B.C. in Malwa.

(3) No event of first rate importance took place in the first century B.C. in Malwa from which an era could be inaugurated.

From such researches the natural inference derived by scholars was that there was no Vikramāditya in Malwa in the 1st century B.C. His personality is fictitious and imaginary. Probably Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti (Mālava era) was started in the 1st century B.C. and either some contemporary or later king bearing the title of Vikramāditya imposed his title on the Mālava era and it came to be called as Vikrama era. The result of this process of historical research was that many reputed orientalists started the race of identifying some historically known kings of ancient India with Vikramāditya. But if with due regard to tradition one tries to find out the facts of history, it will be easier for him to search out real Vikramāditya.

A Direct Quest :

To proceed with direct investigation into the historicity of Vikramāditya, one must satisfy the following conditions :—

1. Vikramāditya must be a ruler of Malwa with his capital at Ujjayinī.

2. He must be Śakāri or the enemy of the Śakas.
3. He must start the Vikrama era in 57 B.C.
4. He must be the patron of Kālidāsa.

(1) Now it has been established by historical researches that the first native era current in Malwa was the era of the Mālava-gana (Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti). The Mālava tribe (the Malloi of the Greek writers) was living in the Punjab when Alexander the Great invaded India in 326 B.C. The confeferacy of the Mālavas and the Kṣudrakas opposed the retreating march of Alexander, but owing to internal dissension, a great bane of the republican people, the Mālavas, fighting alone, were defeated by the Greeks. Thus humiliated, they were further suppressed by the imperialist Mauryas, though their existence was spared, as is evident from the Arthaśāstra. When the Mauryan empire began to decline in the end of the third century B.C., before they were able to reassert themselves, India became subjected to Bactrian invasions. Under the pressure of barbarian inroads, the Mālavas, together with many other republican tribes of the Punjab, left their original territories and migrated towards east-south in search of new homes. We know from the Allahabad Stone Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta that in the first half of the fourth century A.D., beyond the south-west frontiers of his empire, a number of republican tribes were living.[1] But still earlier, by the end of the second century B.C. the Mālava-gaṇa had reached Ākara-Avanti (modern Malwa). Here a type of coins, bearing the legends-Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ and Mālava-gaṇasya-jayaḥ in Brāhmī script have been discovered. On numismatic and palæographic grounds these coins have been assigned to the first century B.C. (Cunningham, Arch. Sur. of Indian Report, Vol. VI, pp. 165-174; Indian Museum Coins, Vol. I, p. 162). Thus the existence of the Mālava-gaṇa in Malwa in the first century B.C. has been proved. So the generalisation of many scholars that there was no Indian ruling family in the first century B.C. has been disproved. Perhaps they were in search of some monarchical state which was really non-existent at that time.

(2) In the middle of the first century B.C. the ruins of the Magadha empire were left in the form of the weak power of the Kāṇvas in the east of India. The north-western frontiers of India were invaded by a new hoard of barbarians, the Śakas. After crossing the Hindukush mountains they occupied the

[1] मालवार्जुनायनयौधेयमाद्रकाभीरप्रार्जुनसनकानीककाकखरपरिकादिभिश्च · · ।
Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions No. 1.

whole of modern Afghanistan and Balochistan and established a strong base in Seistan. From here they moved towards Sindh and from there to Avanti-Akara. It was but natural that the freedom-loving republican tribes of Central India should oppose them. As usual, they organized a confederacy led by the Mālava-gaṇa in which the President (Gaṇamukhya) of the Mālavas took a prominent part. The combined forces of the republics, perhaps in the beginning, had some set back, but eventually they were able not only to save their existence but also to rout and drive the Sakas out of India. So in their first attempt of invading India the Sakas were defeated.

(3) It was quite in the fitness of things that the President of the Mālava-gaṇa was called Sakāri. The defeat of the Śakas was a revolutionary event and it was commemorated by starting a new era, Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti and by striking coins bearing the legend, Mālavānāṁ jayaḥ (victory of the Mālavas).

(4) Lastly, we have to see whether the President of the Mālava-gana could be the patron of Kālidāsa. In many editions of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala of Kālidāsa it is found, just after Nāndi, that this drama was staged in the assembly of Vikramāditya (cf. Jīvānanda Sharma's edition of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala), which establishes Kālidāsa's connection with Vikramāditya. But it may be contested that this was not Mālava-ganamukhya Vikramāditya. Fortunately one old manuscript of the Abhijñāna-Śākuntala, dated 1699 Vikrama Saṁvat, preserved by Pt. Keshava Prasad Mishra, Head of the Department of Hindi, Benares Hindu University, has conclusively proved that Vikramāditya was really a republican President. The following two extracts from the aforesaid manuscript are worth consideration :—

आर्ये रसभावशेषदीक्षागुरोः श्रीश्रीविक्रमादित्यस्य साहसाङ्कस्याभिरूपभूयिष्ठेयं परिषत् ।
अस्याञ्च कालिदासप्रयुक्तेनाभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल नवेन नाटकेनोपस्थातव्यमस्माभिः ॥

(नान्द्यन्ते)

भवतु तव विडौजाः प्राज्यवृष्टिः प्रजासु त्वमपि विततयज्ञोवज्रिणं भावयेथाः ।
गणशतपरिवर्तैरेवमन्योन्यकृत्यैर्नियतमुभवलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः ॥ (भरतवाक्य)

From the underlined portions of the first extract it is evident that the personal name of the ruler referred to there was Vikramāditya and his title was Sāhaśānka. No monarchical titles are attached to his name. Had the extract in question been in verse, one could have maintained that they were omitted as a necessity of the metre used. But the omission of titles in prose is really significant. We know from the Arthaśāstra

of Kauṭilya (XI. 160-161) that there were three types of republics in ancient India :—

(1) Vārtāśastropajīvī, (2) Āyudhajīvī and (3) Rājaśabdopajīvī. Republican tribes in the western part of India were generally of the first type. So the omission of any regal title in the case of Vikramāditya is quite relevant.

In the second extract the term 'gaṇa-śata-parivartaiḥ', positively associates Vikramāditya with a gaṇa and a gaṇa-saṅgha. The number 'Śata' is a round and exaggerated one. It simply means 'many'. We have already reviewed the circumstances under which the republican tribes of central India combined together and formed a saṁgha. So the wide fame of Vikramāditya redound in them.

From the above observations it can be safely concluded that Vikramāditya was a Mālava-gaṇa-mukhya. He defeated the Śakas in their first attempt of invading India and in the commemoration of this great event he founded the era, Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti, which was, later on, known as Vikrama Saṁvat. He was himself a great erudite and a famous patron of poets like Kālidāsa and others. Our investigation into the general trend of historical events of India fits in quite well with the Jain and Hindu traditions of the country.

It may be asked how Mālava-gaṇa-sthiti came to be called Vikrama Saṁvat. The name of the era, in the beginning, was naturally after the gaṇa, because in a republic the gaṇa is most important and not the individual. The Mālava-gaṇa continued its existence upto the fourthcentury A.D. Either in the end of the fourth or in the beginning of the fifth century A.D., the Gupta emperor, Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya, destroyed the Indian republics finally. From this time the republican form of government disappeared from the political history of India. In the eighth and the nonth centuries A.D., when absolute monarchical states were stablished throughout India, the very memory of a republic faded away from the mental horizon of the Indian people. Consequently, in course of time, the Mālava-gaṇa was merged in the personality of its leader Vikramāditya and the republican era was associated with him. This is not the only instance of the weakness of the political imagination of the people. Who, unacquainted with modern historical researches, knows that Kṛṣṇa was a gaṇa-mukhya and Buddha was the son of a republican chief?

VIKRAMA SAMVAT.

By

DR. C. SIRCAR, Calcutta.

The records of the earliest indigenous rulers of India are dated in regnal reckonings and not according to any era. This proves the absence of any popular era in Ancient India. The so-called Nirvāṇa, Kaliyuga and other reckonings were never used in Ancient India as popular eras in the true sense of the term. The records of the times of Scythian, Parthian and Kushān kings are dated according to eras. These foreigners therefore introduced and popularised the use of era in India. It must be remembered that they came from regions where the Seleukid era of 312 B.C. and the Parthian era of 248 B.C. were prevalent. Of the two eras, i.e. the Scytho-Parthian and the Kanishka eras, the latter was known as the Śaka era due to its continued use by the Western Śaka Satraps from year 41 to year 310; and in the medieval period it was also associated with a popular traditional hero named Śālivāhana (Sātvāhana). The Scytho-Parthian era likewise was styled *Kṛta;* then it was associated with the Mālavas and ultimately in the eighth century with Vikramāditya, famous in Indian tradition and folklore. The era seems to have been carried to Rajputana and Malwa by the Mālava tribe from their original home on the Ravi in the Punjab which had been under Scytho-Parthian influence.

The fact that the Vikrama Saṁvat was earlier associated with a certain Kṛita and the Mālava Republic, and with Rājā Vikrama only from the eighth century proves the absence of the Vikramāditya tradition in the early centuries of the Christian era. Excepting absolutely untrustworthy and late traditions there is not the slightest evidence regarding the existence of a Vikramāditya or of any king having an *āditya* ending title earlier than the fourth century A.D. The Puranic chronicles of early fourh century A.D. deal with the Śakas, the Gardabhillas and the Ujjain region all associated with the traditional Vikrama, but do not mention that mighty monarch. To brand it as an *argumentum ex silentio* like that of the non-mention of Alexander in the Purāṇas is unconvincing, as the land traversed by the Greek king lay outside the geographical range of the Purāṇas.

Then the mention of *Vikramāditya-carita* in Hāla's *Sattasai* proves nothing, as the work not only contains interpolations

of the post-Sātavāhana period (cf. the words *horā aṅgārakavāra* borrowed from the Greek astronomical school of Alexandria), but even of the post-Gupta period (cf. Rādhikā and her association with Krshṇa). The identification of the founder of the Vikrama Saṁvat with Gautamīputra Sātakarṇi is impossible. The Sātavāhanas never used any era or an *āditya* title. They ruled from Pratishṭhāna and not Ujjain associated with Vikrama. Above all, Gautamīputra, whose son married the daughter of the Mahākshatrapa Rudra, must have ruled in the second century A.D. and can by no means be assigned to 58 B.C. The suggestion that there was one Vikramāditya at Ujjain and another at Pāṭaliputra is improbable, as the descendants of the Gupta Vikramādityas, in Dharwar Dist., call their ancestor Vikramāditya, lord of both Pāṭaliputra and Ujjain.

The earliest historical Vikramāditya is Candragupta II (376-414 A.D.) of the Imperial Gupta dynasty. He extirpated the Śakas, conquered western India and made Ujjain a secondary capital of the Gupta empire. Legends clustered round his famous name and the Śakāri Vikramāditya of Ujjain gradually became the most popular hero of Indian folklore. When the tribal characteristics of the Mālavas and their republican form of government were forgotten, and by the term *Mālava* people understood a *janapada*, the Kṛta era was called Mālava-pūrvā, Mālava-kāla and also Mālaveśa-saṁvatsara. It was then natural for people to identify this "lord of Mālava" with the traditional Vikramāditya who was doubtless the "king of Malwa" *par exellence*. This is how the Scytho-Parthian era came to be called the era of Vikramāditya.

WHO WERE THE BHĀRAŚIVAS ?

(Summary)

By

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The identification of the Bhāraśiva dynasty, which is credited to have performed ten Aśvamedha sacrifices in the records of the Vākāṭakas, has excited considerable speculation in recent years. King Bhavanāga, who belonged to this dynasty, no doubt ruled in the first half of the 4th century A.D. Recently the coins of Bhavanāga have been identified by me, which show that a ruler of that name was ruling at Padmāvatī during the 4th century A.D. He belonged to the Nāga family; for his coins show a striking resemblance to the other coins of this house in size, fabric and weight. They have a bull on their reverse and a *triśūla* on the obverse, as is the case with the coins of the majority of the rulers of the Nāga dynasty.

The Bharaśivas were the devotees of Siva; so were the rulers of Padmāvatī. The Bhāraśivas flourished in the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D., so did the Nāga kings of Padmāvatī. Bhavanāga of the coins flourished in the first half of the 4th century A.D., which was also the time of the Bhāraśiva Bhavanāga, who was the maternal grandfather of the Vākāṭaka ruler Rudrasena I. It therefore seems almost certain that the Bhāraśivas were the Nāga rulers of Padmāvatī. It is true that this dynasty is not so far known to have borne the name Bhāraśiva, but we have yet to find its records, which are to give its name. The coins are too small to permit the accomodation of the name Bhāraśiva in their legends. Nor can it be argued that the rulers of this house were not powerful enough to perform ten Aśvamedha sacrifices. For even the rulers of small states are known to have performed several Aśvamedhas in the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D. Some of the ancestors of Bhavanāga may have succeeded in driving the Kushāṇas from Gwalior and Central U. P., when their power had been shattered previously by the Yaudheyas; and they may have later reached the Ganges. They may have celebrated this achievement by the performance of ten horse sacrifices.

WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE? THE BHĀRAŚIVAS, THE VĀKĀṬAKAS OR THE YAUDHEAYS?

By

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The time and manner of the disappearance of the Kushāna empire from its eastern provinces (U. P. and the eastern Punjab) is still a matter of great controversy.

Dr. Jayaswal had given the credit of the overthrow of the Kushāna power to the Bhāraśivas of Kāntīpurī, modern Kantit in Mirzapur district. This theory is untenable because:-

1. There is no evidence to show that there was any Nāga family ruling at Kantit, as no Nāga coins or antiquities are found in or near it.

2. There is no evidence to show that Nava and Vīrasena were the early members of this dynasty. Like other Nāga rulers, these kings do not bear the epithet Nāga, nor do their coins bear any resemblance to any Nāga coinage.

3. The view that Hayanāga and Trayanāga, who succeeded Vīrasena and ruled from c. 210 to 250 A.D., pressed the Kushānas so hard that they were compelled to seek the protection of the Sassanian emperor has no shred of evidence in its support. The coins of these rulers are never found in the Punjab. It is extremely doubtful whether the coins attributed to them can be ascribed to them at all, their reading being very uncertain.

4. There is no evidence to show that Nava, Vīrasena, Haya, etc. were Bhāraśivas. The last paper has shown that the Bhāraśivas were most probably the Nāgas of Padmāvatī.

The view that the Vākāṭakas completely ousted the Kushānas from the Punjab under the leadership of Pravarasena I is also untenable.

1. The whole theory is mainly based upon the assumption that king Vīrasena, whose coins are found in and near Mathurā, is identical with Pravarasena, and that the coin legend, reads Pravarasena and not Vīrasena. According to Dr. Jayaswal, the coin legend on the coins is thus arranged:

वरसेनस
म ७०,६

Such an arrangement of the coin legend is unknown to Ancient Indian Numismatics. If the legend could not have been completed in a line, it would have been written not as above, but as

प्रवरसेन
स० सं ७०,६

2. Even if we assume that the issuer of these coins was Pravarasena, we cannot identify him with the Vākāṭaka ruler. For these coins have *never* been found in C. P. and Central India, which were the home provinces of the Vākāṭaka kingdom.

3. The Kushānas no doubt became Sassanian feudatories in *c.* 240 A.D., but that was because they were conquered by them, and not because the Kushānas wanted any protection against any third power.

The available evidence suggests that it must have been the Yaudheyas, who dealt the earliest blows to the Kushānas somewhere between the Jumna and the Sutlej, which was their homeland.

1. Before the rise of the Kushāna power, it is definitely known that the Yaudheyas had a strong republic federation in this territory and over a large portion of Rajputana. They had once also risen in rebellion against the Scythians in *c.* 145 A.D., when they were put down by Rudradāman I, probably on behalf of the Kushāna emperor.

2. The coins of the later Kushānas like Kanishka III, Vāsudeva II and their successors are not found to the east of the Sutlej, as is the case with the coins or coin moulds of Kanishka I, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. This shows that they had lost these provinces.

3. On the other hand, we find several hoards of the Yaudheya coins between the Sutlej and the Jumna, e.g. at Saharanpur, Dehra Dun, Delhi, Rohtak and Kangra. As the coins in these hoards belong to the 3rd and the 4th centuries A.D., it is clear that the Yaudheyas were ruling over this territory at that time, and not the later Kushānas.

4. To commemorate their victory over the Kushānas, the Yaudheyas changed the legend on their coins to *Yaudheya-gaṇasya jayaḥ*. It was a victory well worth commemorating, for it was no small achievement to overthrow an empire, which stretched from Baktria to Bihar and whose rulers enjoyed the prestige of being the Sons of Heaven. The Kushānas must have brought all their reserves from Baktria and North Western

Frontier, but they proved of no avail against the bravery of the Yaudheyas.

5. In the course of Indian history, decisive battles between the northern invaders and indigenous powers have been usually fought in the Delhi-Ambala tract, which was one of the centres of the Yaudheya settlements. It is therefore but natural that they should have taken a leading part in the overthrow of the Kushānas.

6. The Yaudheya victory over the Imperial Kushānas naturally raised their prestige. Formerly they were known as Kshatriyas *par excellence;* now it began to be believed that they were in possession of a mystic formula ensuring victory against all odds. A Yaudheya seal bearing the legend

Yaudheyānām Jayamantradharāṇām

was found in Ludhiana in the very heart of the old Kushāna empire.

7. The Yaudheyas got valuable co-operation in their rebellion against the Kushānas from the Kuṇindas, who occupied the territory between the Sutlej and the Beas. There is a marked resemblance between the Yaudheya coins and those of the Kuṇinda chief Chhatreśvara. By *c.* 250, the Kuṇindas seem to have federated with the Yaudheyas. The Arjunāyanas, who were to the south east of the Yaudheyas, also eventually coalesced with them. This confederation between the Kuṇindas, the Arjunāyanas and the Yaudheyas was probably brought about by the desire to have a strong state to oppose any foreign invasion. The federating units enjoyed complete autonomy, but the foreign policy and military operations were under the direction of a supreme council of the three presidents of the federating units. A fragmentary inscription mentioning one such president, elected by the Yaudheya republic, and enjoying the titles *Mahārāja* and *Mahāsenāpati,* has been found.

WHO OVERTHREW THE KUSHĀNA EMPIRE?

Dr. D. C. Sircar's remarks in the symposium on the Bhāraśivas and the Downfall of the Kushānas.

The Yaudheyas and Bhāraśivas may have been originally subordinate to the Kushānas and may have partially contributed to the decline of Kushāna power in India. But we have as yet no evidence regarding their hostilities with the Kushānas. The relation of the Bhāraśivas with the Nāga house of Mathurā is also unknown. Some of the Sassanian emperors of the third and fourth centuries A.D. no doubt extended their influence over considerable portions of western and north-western India, and the Indian powers including the Kushānas, the Śakas and possibly also the Yaudheyas had to submit to them. But the Kushāna power in India was already on the wane before the establishment of Sassanian monarchy in 226 A.D., probably as a result of internal dissentions. It should be noted that our views regarding Kushāna chronology is based on the identification of the Śaka and Kanishka eras and on the belief that Nahapāṇa's records are dated in the Śaka reckoning.

Epigraphic evidence (cf. the Sanchi inscription of Vāsishka) points to Kushāna occupation of Eastern Malwa. Ptolemy in his Geography appears to represent the Western Śaka Satrap Chastana as lord of Ujjain in Western Malwa. It is therefore not improbable that the earlier Western Śakas owed allegiance to the Kushāna king Kanishka I (*c.* 78-102 A.D.). The fact that Nahapāṇa (*c.* 118-24 A.D.) and Chastana (*c.* 130 A.D.) retain the title of Satrap (Provincial Governor), but do not mention the name of their overlord in their records suggests that they were semi-independent. Rudradāman (*c.* 130-50 A.D.), Chastana's successor, who was *svayamadhigata-mahākshtrapa-nāmā* i.e. one who did not owe his position to his overlord, became practically an independent ruler, although, like the Peshwas, he and his successors still called themselves Satrap and did not assume Imperial titles. The success of the Śakas appears to have been due to the fact that after the death of Kanishka I, the Kushāna Imperial power was divided among Vāsishka (Vajeshka, *c.* 102-06 A.D.) and Kanishka II of the Ara inscription (*c.* 119 A.D.) on the one hand and Huvishka (*c.* 106-138 A.D.) on the other. There is epigraphic and traditional evidence to show that both Vāsishka and Kanishka II ruled at the time covered by het reign of Huvishka. Kanishka III whose Mathurā record

is dated probably in the year 94 (A.D. 172; not year 14 as read in *Ep. Ind.*, XIX) seems to have ruled conjointly with Vāsudeva (*c.* 152-76 A.D.).

The Magha kings of the Allahabad region who appear to have used the Kanishka era and were probably feudatories of the Kushanās during the vigorous rule of Kanishka I possibly became independent or semi-independent about the same time as the Śakas. Chinese and Tibetan traditions point to Kanishka's political influence over Magadha. It may possibly be suggested that the eastern districts of Kanishka's empire passed to the Licchavis soon after his death.

Quite a number of indigenous ruling families owing allegiance to Kanishka I may have thrown off Kushāna yoke in different parts of U. P. during the weak rule of his successors. The Purāṇas that place seven generations of Nāga kings at Mathurā before the Guptas appear to indicate the extārpation of later Kushāna rule from western U. P. by the Nāgas.

KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY

Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit's remarks in the Symposium.

The only excavations which have a bearing on this problem are those at Taxtila. The evidence from the site of Sirkap clearly points out that while the coins of Kadphises alone or Hermaeus and Kadphises (joint issue) are found in the last occupied city at Sirkap, no coins of either Kadphises II or the Kanishka group are to be seen here. The proper excavation of the site of Sirsukh which appears to be founded in the Kushāna period subsequent to the abandonment of Sirkap would have yielded material having direct bearing on the problem of the priority of the Kadphises group to the Kanishka group. The coins of Śaka-Parthian kings like Mues, Azes, Kadphises and his successors or generals (Sasan, Sapedanes, Satavastres) were also found in the last occupation level of Sirkap and thus show that the time of these rulers was not far removed from of Hermaeus and Kadphises. Archæological evidence thus shows that the site of Sirkap continued at least up to the middle of the first century A.D. and that Kanishka cannot be placed before that period.

KUSHĀNA CHRONOLOGY

Dr. D. C. Sircar's remarks in the Symposium.

Scholars have suggested the following epochs of the Kanishka era—58 B.C., 78 A.D., 120-30 A.D., 248 A.D. and 278 A.D. Of these the first date viz. 58 B.C., was suggested by Fleet who believed that Kanishka ruled earlier than Kadphises I and II, who rueld by the middle of the first century A.D. according to Chinese evidence. Scholars have now given up the theory after Marshall had shown that, during the excavation at Taxila, coins of the Kanishka group of kings were found in upper i.e. later layers of the earth than those of Kadphises I and II. Epigraphic and numismatic evidence moreover stands in the way of attributing the Kadphises group of Kushāna kings in the first and at least parts of the second centuries of the Kanishka era. As to the dates 248 A.D. and 278 A.D., it may be said that the Chinese *Tripiṭaka*, according to which An-Shi-Kao (148-70 A.D.) translated the *Mārgabhūmi-sūtra* of Sangharaksha who was Kanishka's chaplain, proves the existence of a Kanishka earlier than the middle of the second century A.D.

Without going into the details of the arguments in favour of the dates, it is possible to suggest that the existence of a king named Kanishka in the first, second or third century A.D., does not necessarily prove his identity with the founder of the Kanishka era. There is evidence to prove the existence of several kings of this name in the Kushāna dynasty. The fact that no era of the epoch 120-30 A.D. was known to Al Birūnī in the land associated with the name of Kanishka stands in the way of assigning the founder of the Kanishka era to that epoch. There seems nothing against the identification of the Kanishka era with the Śaka era. In that case we find kings named Kanishka in the first, second and third centuries A.D., to suit the other theories. If Kanishka was the originator of the Śaka era, epigraphic evidence would place Kanishka I in *c.* 78-102 A.D., Kanishka II of the Āra inscription in *c.* 119 A.D. Kanishka III of the Mathurā inscription of 94 (not 14 as in *E. I.*, XIX) in *c.* 172 A.D. Numismatists like Smith and R. D. Banerji definitely assign coins of some Kanishka to a period long after Vāsudeva i.e. to the third century A.D.

VIKRAMA AND KĀLIDĀSA—THEIR IDENTIFICATION.

By

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Tradition has linked Vikrama and Kālidāsa together and for the popular mind one is unthinkable without the other. But history has so far failed to discover any king of the name of Vikrama in the first century B.C. and therefore all the theories about the founder of the Vikrama era have remained conjectural and none has given universal satisfaction.

Literary evidence, apart from any numismatic or epigraphical evidence, however, points to the definite existence of a King Vikrama prior to 1st century A.D. and probably in the 2nd century B.C. In Hāla's Saptaśati which is credited to be a work of 1st century A.D. a King Vikramāditya is mentioned who was noted for his generosity. Many have pointed out the mention of several Vikramas in the Kathāsaritsāgara which goes to prove that at least one King Vikrama lived in times anterior to Guṇādhya's Bṛhatkāthā on which Kathasaritsagara is based. Vāyupurāṇa, especially the edition published by Asiatic Society of Bengal in Samvat 1843, has the following verse—

ततो वै विक्रमित्रस्तु समा राजा ततः पुनः।

द्वात्रिंशत् भविता चाऽपि समा भागवतो नृपः॥

(V. P. Ch. 37. v. 335)

In other manuscripts the readings give alternate forms of Vikramitra such as Vajamitra, Vajramitra, Vrajamitra, Vannamitra, Vakśamitra, Vadramitra, Vajramindra and so on. (Vide Pargiter—*Dynasties of Kali Age*, p. 32). To me these variants appear to be due to misunderstanding of the significance of the name Vikramitra. Pargiter, in appendix I page 77, seq.) of his above work, has shown that this portion of Vāyu and other *purāṇas* was probably adapted from a common Prākrit original. The Sanskritisation of the Prakrit verses is clumsy and full of unnecessary expletive particles and defective from the standpoint of Sanskrit prosody. So what was probably Vikkammitta (विक्कंमित्त) in Prākrit was understood to be विक्कमित्त by the dropping of the अनुस्वार by the copyist and then rendered into Vikramitra by the Sanskrit redacter.

In *Mālavikāgnimitra* certain incidents are mentioned, which though of a trivial character were such as to possess special significance to those who lived in times contemporary to the Śungas. The contrast in character and disposition of Queens Dhāriṇī and Irāvatī is one such instance. While the former is depicted as the model of a Hindu wife, patient and uncomplaining even in the face of her royal husband's infidelity, the latter is irascible and jealous and even spurns the King when the latter falls at her feet and begs for pardon. She is even brought on the stage in a drunken condition, an incident which not only offends against good taste, but is unnecessary for the development of the plot. In his invitation to Agnimitra, to the capital of the Empire, on the occasion of the Rājasūya sacrifice, Puṣya-mitra asks him to come free from anger (विगतरोषचेतसा). To posterity living in times long subsequent to the Śungas, all these incidents carry no meaning. But to an audience of the time of Vikramāmitra, who came to the throne only 33 years after the death of Agni-mitra, these incidents were pregnant with suggestions. In the drama Prince Vasumitra, the son of Queen Dhāriṇī, is more or less depicted as the crown-prince, but the Purānic account makes it plain that it was Vasu-jyeṣṭha who ascended the throne after the death of Agnimitra, on accountof his being the eldest,—*jyeṣṭha*, Incidentally is there any suggestion in the following verse of *Raghuvanśa* :—

अथेतरे सप्त रघुप्रवीरा ज्येष्ठं पुरोजन्मतया गुणैश्च ।
चक्रुः कुशं रत्नविशेषभाजं सौभ्रात्रमेषां हि कुलानुसारि ॥ ?

(*R.V.* XVI. I).

Five successors on the Sunga throne, within 33 years after the death of Angi-mitra, suggest palace revolutions and it is possible that Vikrama-mitra, who was descended from Vasumitra, the son of Dhāriṇī, may have acquired the crown after setting aside violently or otherwise, a scion of the race through Vasu-jyaṣṭha, the issue of Queen Irāvatī. This would explain the indecorous manner in which a rival queen is depicted in the drama. The words *vigata-roṣa-cetasā* may mean nothing to us ; it had great significance to those for whom a reconciliation between father and son would certainly mean a respite from the evils of a civil war or a foreign invasion, after the death of the reigning monarch. All these point to the poet living in the times of the Sungas and the tragic note struck by him in the last canto of *R.V.* would appear to be due to his being a pained witness of the despicable character of the last of the Sungas and his sad end.

Other evidence is not wanting to prove that Kālidāsa could not have lived in the Gupta times. It is generally believed, but the present writer does not agree, that Raghu's Digvijaya in Raghuvanśa is based upon and is indeed a rehash of Samundragupta's conquests. This is not so. The *R. V.* counts the Pāṇḍyas of the far South as among those who came into conflict with Raghu and whose pride he humbled. But Kālidāsa does not mention the Pallavas, who under their king Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī was in fact the greatest power in the South in the times of Samundragupta. The poet also does not mention the Śakas of the North as being defeated by Raghu, although their expulsion was the chief glory of Śākari Vikramāditya. Both these incidents clearly point to the fact that the poet lived in times long anterior to the Guptas and that he must have been a court poet of some Śuṅga king.

Life and environmental details, as depicted by Kālidāsa, have a great similarity with that idealised in *Manusmṛti*, which is supposed to be, by Jayaswal, a work of Śunga times. The period of about three centuries and a half preceeding the Guptas, was a period of great upheavals and distress. Kālidāsa nowhere hints at such upheavals. Even a cursory perusal of Yuga-Purāṇa chapter of the *Garga-samhitā*, proves that the distress was terrific and the devastation caused by the Śāka incursion was terrible. The poet nowhere mentions his patron as being one who had brought peace and prosperity to his empire after a protracted period of devastation. Indeed *R. V.* pictures the sub-continent as enjoying peace and prosperity for long periods. The occasional picturesque conflicts between local princes, as on the occasion of Indumatī's *svayamvara*, provided occasions for Kśatriya princes to satisfy their itch for fighting and left the country unaffected. Art and craft flourished as never before and. in the respect shown by King Agnimitra to Āchārya Guṇadāsa in the drama, we get a glimpse of the honour which the greatest of Indian poets received at the hands of his patron Vikrama-mitra in the second century B.C.

The correct form of the name appears to have been Vikramamitra, which belonging to an otherwise undistinguished king was lost to public memory. He may have, however, been noted for his generosity and patronage to poets as mentioned by Hāla, but whatever glory he may have achieved thereby faded on account of his short reign and eclipsed by that of the other great Vikrama viz. Chandragupta Vikramāditya II of the Gupta dynasty. It is well known that the later king had a poet of the name of Kālidāsa in his court, who

was sent to the court of Pravarasena, the King of Kuntala, as an ambassador. He is also reputed to have written a work known as *Kuntaleśvara-dautyam,* the original of which has not yet been discovered. He is also said to have written or corrected the work *Setubandha Kāvyam,* which is reputed to have been written by King Pravarasena of the Vākāṭaka dynasty, a grand son of Chandragupta Vikramāditya by his daughter Prahbāvatī-Guptā. Until very recently nobody had heard of the great Kālidāsa having written any Prākrit Nibandha-Kāvya or *Kuntalevśara-dautyam.* It is quite clear that an inferior poet possessing the honorific title of Kālidāsa was confused with the great poet of that name and Vikramamitra (Mitra—Aditya) was confused with Vikramāditya, because of the popular belief that the greatest of Indian poets could not have but lived in the court of one of the greatest of Indian Emperors.

That Kālidāsa had an intimate knowledge of Śuṅga history is apparent from his drama—*Mālavikāgnimitra.* One or two incidents mentioned in the drama point to the fact that he must have been familiar with Śunga affairs and was an eye-witness to certain incidents in the court of Agnimitra. In *Meghadūta* (Śl. 24) he calls Vidiśā a *Rājadhānī.* At no other time than that of the Śuṅgas was Vidiśā ever a capital of the Indian Empire. The Vidarbha war and the division of this province of the Mauryan Empire between the two brothers Mādhavasena and Yajñasena, whom he calls Maurya-Sachiva, are incidents for which no other evidence except that of Kālidāsa is known. They, however, like the defeat of the Yavanas, on the river Sindhu, by Prince Vasumitra, have all the stamp of historical truth, and any conjectures to the contrary are based on no irrefutable evidence.

HARṢA AND DHRUVABHAṬA

By

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Earlier scholars like Smith[1] believed that Dhruvabhaṭa or Dhruvasena II Bālāditya (c. 629-48 A.D.) king of Valabhī was a vassal of king Harṣa (606-47 A.D.) of Kanauj and that the former's kingdom formed an integral part of the latter's empire. Some recent writers on the subject however appear to believe that Dhruvabhaṭa was an equal in political status with his mighty ally and that the kingdom of Valabhī was free from Harṣa's influence.[2] The theory of the second group of scholars appears to me rather unwarranted. I am inclined to believe that Dhruvabhaṭa was either a feudatory or at best a subordinate ally of Harṣa.

In the Nausari grant of Jayabhaṭa III the Gurjara king of Broach, the donor's ancestor Dadda II Praśāntarāga is given the credit for protecting, sheltering, rescuing or saving from ruin (*trāṇa*) the king of Valabhī who had been defeated (*abhibhūta*) by the great king Harṣa.[3] This lord of Valabhī is no doubt Dhruvabhaṭa who was a contemporary of both Dadda II of Broach and Harṣa of Kanauj. It is significant however that Dadda II is not given any credit for having anything to do with a discomfiture of Harṣa. The obvious import of the above passage of the Nausari grant seems to be that Dhruvabhaṭa after having been defeated by Harṣa had to take shelter at the Gurjara court. Later he made friends with the king of Kanauj and, as a result, was reinstated in his kingdom. The alliance was cemented by the marriage of Dhruvabhaṭa with a daughter of Harṣa. A lasting friendship with Valabhī was no doubt of considerable importance to the king of Kanauj, who apprehended a northward move on the part of Pulakeśin II. The main point to note in this connection is however that Dhruvabhaṭa was defeated and probably driven out of his country and that Harśa reinstalled him on his paternal throne.

[1] *Early History of India,* 4th ed., p. 354.

[2] R. C. Majumdar, *J.B.O.R.S.*, 1923, p. 319 ff; R. S. Tripathi, *History of Kanauj*, p. 109 ff.

[3] *Ind. Ant.*, XIII, p. 77 ff. Cf. *parameśvara-śrīharṣadev-ābhibhūta-valabhīpati-trāṇa*, etc.

Some recent writers believe that Dadda II who was a feaudatory of Pulakeśin II, his overlord Pulakeśin II himself and Dhruvabhaṭa of Valabhī combined their strength against Harṣa who was defeated and compelled to make friends with the king of Valabhī.[1] The suggestion does not appear to be convincing. Firstly, if Dadda II who was a petty chief had any share in the humiliation or discomfiture of a mighty emperor like Harṣa, the Gurjara court-poet or officer responsible for the draft of the Nausari grant, world certainly have dwelt on it with considerable exaggeration. He would in that case have hardly remained satisfied with giving Dadda II only the humble credit of sheltering Dhruvabhaṭa. Indian writers of charters and eulogies are never known to have erred on the side of moderation. Secondly, the Aihole inscription, which notices the defeat of Harṣa by Pulakeśin II[2], refers to the Lāṭas, Mālavas and Gurjaras as feudatories of the Calukya emperor.[3] Had Pulakeśin helped Dhruvabhaṭa in any way to get back his throne, his *praśastikāra* would no doubt have included the name of Valabhī in the above list of feudatories. He could not possibly have passed over such a great achievement (*bhraṣṭarāja-pratiṣṭhāpakatva*)[4] of his patron in silence. The court-poets, as we know, even represented the friendly offering of presents by one independent king to another as the acceptance of feudatory position.[5] Thirdly, Valabhī was a petty state between the mighty empires of Harṣa and Pulakeśin II. It was difficult for its king to preserve his existence without being a friend of one of the two kings who were both bent on *digvijaya*. And the friendship of the wolf with the lion is usually no better than a subordinate alliance, especially when the former is known to have once been driven out of his place by the latter and afterwards reinstated.

Dhruvabhaṭa's subordinate position is further indicated by his stay for a considerable length of time at Harṣa's court in the company of the feudatory kings "of the eighteen countries of the Five Indias" in connection with the unimportant celebrations known as the assembly of Kanauj and the quinquennial

[1] Majumdar, *loc. cit.*; Tripathi, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Ep. Ind*, VI, p. 4 ff; verse 23.

[3] *Ibid*, verse 22.

[4] Cf. the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta, line 23 and the Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman, line 12; Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, pp. 172, 258.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 258. Cf. *daivaputra-ṣāhi*, etc.

assembly of Prayāga[1]. It is most unlikely that an ally of equal standing would attend the court of his friend in person and live there for months, as did Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman at Harṣa's court.[2] If the status of Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman was equal to that of Harṣa, they would have naturally responded to their friend's invitation to those gatherings by sending proxies such as a minister or a prince of the royal blood. Dhruvabhaṭa is himself known to have held such gatherings in his realm[3] and there is no reason to believe that his father-in-law ever attended a single of them.

It may be pointed out that, from an examination of the evidence of Huen Tsang and his biographer, Dhruvabhaṭa's position at Harṣa's court appears to have been inferior to that of Bhāskaravarman, another ally living at the court about 643 A.D. At the assembly of Kanauj, Harṣa assumed the role of Śakra and Bhāskaravarman that of Brahman and both were riding on stately elephants. It is however significant that Harṣa's own son-in-law was not called to assume any role of honour.[4] The subordinate position of both Dhruvabhaṭa and Bhāskaravarman at the court of their mighty ally is, again, not only proved by their long stay there, but also by the remarkable fact noticed by the biographer of Huen Tsang[5] that none of them was allowed the music-pace-drums which always accompanied Harṣa.

Dhruvabhaṭa is called "lord of the Deccan" by the biographer of Huen Tsang and this is supposed by some scholars to indicate his political importance.[6] The epithet however appears to be of little worth. If the petty king of Valabhī was styled "lord of the Deccan" when the Calukyas were ruling, it could only satisfy the vanity of his father-in-law who had been denied entrance into the Deccan; but it obviously

[1] Cf. Tripathi, *Op. cit.* pp. 151-61. That Dhruvabhaṭa was not Pulakeśin's friendis known from the Aihole record.

[2] Dr. Tripathi refers to the "installation cermony of Cakrāyudha which was attended by nine independent powers" (*op cit.*, p. 105, n). The *bhūpas* are however referred to in this case as *vyālola-mauli-praṇati-pariṇata* and were apparently of no independent rank (*Gauḍalekhamālā*, p. 14). *Bhūpa* may indicate here a feudatory prince who stood proxy for the king of his country. But there is obviously a conventional element in the verse of the Khalimpur grant.

[3] Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[4] *Ibid*, pp. 152-53.

[5] Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsiang*, p. 173.

[6] Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

could not bring for him a single inch of land in that region. The Gurjaras of Broach were a bar to the southerly expansion of Valabhī, even though in the troubled years of the Calukyas (*c.* 642-55) Dhruvabhaṭa might have been tempted to advance southwards.

It may be pointed out in this connection that no great importance can be attached to Huen Tsang's reference to or silence about the king of a country visited by him. There is no basis for the supposition that the countries whose kings are barely mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim without comment were independent states and that his silence about the king of a particular state indicates its dependence on some other kingdom.[1] That the foreign traveller always roamed in high circles and in all cases received definite and correct information regarding the political status of a country seems to be unconfirmed guesses. He came into contact with Harṣa and Bhāskaravarman only about 643 A.D. on the eve of his departure from India.

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[1] Cf. Tripathi, *op. cit.*, p. 114 f.

THE SĀTAVĀHANAS AND THE ANDHRADEŚA.

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The connection between the ancient Sātavāhanas and the Andhra country is still a matter open to doubt and difference of opinion. Was the Andradeśa included in their dominions even from the beginning of their rule? Or was it conquered by them at a subsequent date and added to their dominions ? This is a question which has yet to be answered satisfactorily. A recent writer has focussed the attention of scholars on this question and tried to answer it. This paper aims at proposing a different answer in the light of this writer's view.

The older theory has been that the Andhra country was the original home of the Sātavāhanas, that they proceeded from there to Mahārāṣṭra, conquered it and ruled over both Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra for some time and that they retreated into their home provinces when pressed hard by the Sakas in western and central Deccan. As against this view the following objections are mentioned---

1. All the inscriptions, monuments and coins of the early Sātavāhanas are found exclusively in Mahārāṣṭra and not one of them is found in Andharadeśa.
2. None of the early records of the family contain any reference to Andhra.

   The earliest inscriptions and coins discovered in Andhradeśa belong to the latter Sātavāhanas from the time of the great Pulomāvi.

4. Khāravela, king of Kaḷinga, refers to Sātakaraṇi as the ruler of the west while Andhra is to the South of Kaḷinga
5. Even in the Nasik inscriptions of Bālaśri which enumerates Gautamīputra's conquests and dominions there is no mention of Andhradesa.

   It is necessary to examine these arguments in detail.

1. *Sātakarṇi and Andhradeśa*-This king had the title Dakṣiṇāpathapati. It is argued that it cannot be taken to mean that the king was the lord of the entire Dekkan and that the Dakṣiṇāpatha included in the title must be taken to mean only Mahārāṣṭra, the Dacinavbades of the Periplus. This interpretation is not convincing.

Everywhere in Sanskrit literature the word Dakṣiṇāpatha means the entire Deccan and not a part of it.[1] Further, the Nānāghāṭ inscription of Sātakarṇi's queen enumerates the variety of sacrifices performed by him and the rich presents distributed on these occasions. Moreover he is said to have performed two Aśvamedhas and one Rājasūya.[2] These indicate beyond doubt that he had a vast empire and great resources and was not the ruler of Mahārāṣṭra alane. The Hathigumpha inscription states that disregarding Sātakarṇi, Khāravela despatched his armies to the west. It does state that Sātakarṇi was the ruler of the west. The Kaḷinga armies seem to have invaded the interior of the Dekkan twice. On one occasion they besieged Muṣikanagara and reached the Kṛṣṇā ; on another they destroyed the city of Pithuṇḍa and went to Dramira[3]. It is obvious that on both the occasions the armies of Khāravela passed through Andhradeśa. The mention of Sātakarṇi in connection with either of these expeditions becomes irrelavant and meaningless unless he was connected with the region through which these expeditions were conducted. Otherwise Khāravela's disregarding Sātakarṇi becomes a mere boast. It is a grievous mistake to suppose that the Andhra country is to the south of Kaḷinga and not to its west. A large part of Andhradeśa, now known as Telingana, lies certainly to the west of Kaḷinga. Further, the people of the Vizagapatam district, which was part of Kaḷinga, are considered by the people of the Godāvary district as their eastern neighbours. Similarly, the people of Vizag and Godavary refer to the people of Krishna and Guntur as western neighbours. In a copper-plate grant of the time of the Reḍḍi king Kumāragiri it is said that the rulers of the west and south were his friends and the rulers of the east alone had to be subjugated. The monarch commissioned his general Kāṭayavema to undertake this task and the latter invaded Kaḷinga. It is clear beyond doubt that the Andhra country lay both to the west and south of Kaḷinga and not to the west alone, as generally supposed. Sātakarṇi is known to have performed two Aśvamedhas, and one Rājasūya. Even if it be supposed that one Aśvamedha was performed in token of his conquest of Mālwā, the performance of the second horse sacrifice and of the Rājasūya in addition becomes inexplicable. J believe, therefore, that soon after the expeditions of Khāra-

[1] In the Purāṇas and in the *Mahābhārata* when the peoples of the time are enumerated the Andhras, Konkaṇas and Kuntalas are described as the inhabitants of the Dakṣiṇāpatha.

[2] Buhler, *ASWI*, vol. V. p. 86.

[3] The Hathigumpha inscription in *E.I.* XX. pp. 71-89.

vela were over, Sātakarṇi re-established his rule over Andhra and performed the second Aśvamedha as a measure of defiance of Khāravela's disregeard of his authority and the Rājasūya as token of his overlordship over the entire Deccan, not withstanding its temporary challenge from the ruler of Kaliṅga. Another matter of controversy is with regard to two early Sātavāhana coins discovered in Andhra which are assigned to this Sātakarṇi. One of them is admitted to be a coin of this king. The other bears the legend "Rano—vi (bhi) rasa".[1] It is argued that this coin ought to be assigned to Rājā Kubhiraka of the Bhattiprolu inscriptions, the worn out space after "Raṇo" being filled by the letter "Ku".[2] This suggestion is very unreasonable. Two letters have to be supplied and not one before "Virasa" and the name of Kubhiraka does not therefore fit in here. Further, the name seems to read..'Vīrasa' and not 'bhirasa'. Sātakarṇi is described in his queen's record as "Vīra" and "Sūra". This reminds us of Bālaśrī's description of her son as Èkavīra.[3] I would, therefore, suggest that the blank space on the Sātakarṇi coin should be filled by the expression "Sada" and the full legend should be read as "Rano Sadavirasa "meaning the king, the great Sātavāhana hero". The discovery of these two coins, Sātakarṇi's title Dakṣiṇāpathapati and his performance of two Aśvamedhas prove beyond doubt that he was lord of Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra also.

2. *Gautamīputra and Andhradeśa*—The absence of any mention of Andhradeśa in connection with the enumeration of this king's conquests and territories in his mother's Nāsik inscription is cited to prove that he did not rule over Andhra. A careful examination of the inscription will indicate the erroneous nature of this view. Among his territories mention is made of Asika, Asmaka and Mūlaka. Mulaka is identified with the neighbourhood of Paiṭhān and Asmaka with the country to its south and south-east.[4] If this be accepted Asmaka corresponds to the north-western part of the Andhra country. Among the hills of which Gautamīputra was the overlord, mention is made of Mahendra, Cakora and Siriṭhana. Mahendra is applied to signify the famous Mahendragiri in Kaliṅga and the name is not known to have been borne by any other hill. Siriṭhana is identified with the Sriśail amhillsin the Kurnool district. Śrīparvata and Cakora are mentioned

[1] Rapson, *CAC* pp. 2,28; Elloit, *CSI* p. 23 n.

[2] Gopalachari, *EHA*. p. 10.

[3] *E.I.* VIII, Nasik Ins. no. 2.

[4] *I.A.* XLVII. p. 150.

together in literature. It is likely, therefore, that the Cakora hill also lay in the neighbourhood of Śrī-parvata. The Iksvāku records from Nāgārjunakonda indicate that a local hill was also known Śrīparvata.[1] It will be reasonable to suppose that the Nāsik inscription was referring to the entire eastern ghauts through the expressions Mahendra, Cakora and Śirithana. The ghauts above the Godāvary seem to have been known as the Mahendragiri range and those between the Godāvarī and the Kṛsnā as the Cakora range, while those to the south of the Kṛsnā went under the name of Śrīparvata range. The bulk of Andhradeśa lies on either side of these ranges and the statement that Gautamīputra was the lord of these hills cannot but mean that he was ruler of the Andhra country lying about these hills. Of the inscriptions of Gautamīputra found in Mahārāṣṭra the earliest is dated in the 18th year of his reign,[2] and issued from the victorious camp of the Vaijayanti army. It is well known that he conquered Mahārāṣṭra from the Kṣaharātas. Obviously, he could not have ruled over western India before conquering it from the Kṣaharāṭas and must have therefore ruled outside Mahāraṣṭra for some time. Would it be unreasonable theto suppose that he was the ruler of central and eastern Dekkan i.e. Andhradeśa before he effected the conquest of the Kṣaharatas and Mahārāṣṭra? This supposition is borne out by the recent discovery of two coins of this monarch from two celebrated sites in the coastal region of Andhradeśa.[3] Further, his son Pulomāvi is known to have ruled over both eastern and western Dekkan.[4] There is no evidence to show that either he or Gautamīputra himself conquered Andhradeśa. If, as is argued, Gautamīputra himself did not rule over Andhra and if Pulomāvi did not conquer it, how could the latter be the lord of the coastal region? Moreover, the general trend of Sātavāhana history seems to indicate that ever since the foreigners began to press upon the Dekkan, the Sātavāhanas began to retreat towards the east. The prevalence of the rule of the latter Sātavāhanas over both Andhra and Mahārāṣṭra may be taken to mean that eastern Dekkan was an integral part of the Sātavāhana dominion from

[1] *E. I.* XX. P. 22

[2] *E. I.* VIII. pp. 71-73.

[3] These coins were obtained from Chebrolu in the Guntur district. See my Numismatic notes in the Journal of andhra History and Culture I-Nos. i & 2.

[4] His Inscriptions are found at Nasik and Karle in the west and Amaravati and Dharanikota in the east. See nos. 9–17 of my Ins. Andhra in the *JAHC I*—1.

the beginning, and that they retired into this part of their kingdom when their conquests in the west were lost.

3. *Provenance of early Sātavāhana inscriptions and coins*—It is really very strange that all the coins, monuments and inscriptions of the early kings of this dynasty are found exclusively in the west. But this need not be taken as an argumentum silentio. The foundation of Sātavāhana power is generally assigned to the years immediately following the death of Aśoka. This event was followed in north India by a division of the Mauryan empire and the inroads of the Greeks. The Sātavāhanas who had just conquered Mahārāṣṭra and founded their independent rule there realised that these were unhappy portents. Prudence and foresight required that they should be present in the west in order to meet any possible invasions by these foreigners. Next there was the Śuṅga usurpation of the Mauryan throne and the nearness of the border of the Śuṅga territory to Mahārāṣṭra necessitated the continued stay of the Sātavāhana rulers in the west in order to be ready to meet this new danger. Then came the Śaka erruption. Thus important developments in north India one after another compelled the Sātavāhanas to prolong their stay in the west and they seem to have ultimately decided upon fixing their capital at Paiṭhān on the Godāvary. No other ruling family is definitely known to have risen to power in the Andhra country before the time of Pulomāvi. This absolute security of the home provinces in the east also helped the rulers to prolong their stay in the west for generations. Since generations of them stayed in Mahārāṣṭra, their benefactions were also confined to that region. This explains the find of their early records and monuments in this region.

4. *General progress of early Andhra Power*—It is very wellknown that the Andhra possessed thirty walled towns and a powerful army and ranked next in importance to the Mauryas in the first quarter of the fourth century B.C. There is no evidence to indicate that the Andhras had any thing to do with western India till a later date. Obviously, they were in central or eastern Deccan. According to the Purāṇas, Śiśuka, an Andhra, conquered the west with the aid of his fellow tribesmen.[1] From this it is clear that the Sātavāhana conquest of Mahārāṣṭra was a national enterprise of the Andhra people. It follows from this that what Simuka founded was not the power of his own family but a national monarchy on behalf of the entire Andhra people. It seems as though this is a very

[1] *Cf. Śiśuko-ndhras-sajātīyaḥ prapsyati-mām vasundharām.*

good instance of war begetting the king. If this view is not conceded, and if no other family is known to have ruled over Andhra before Pulomāvi, we have to suppose that it was a no-man's land from at least the 3rd century B.C. to the middle of the second century A.D. It was this period that witnessed remarkable artistic activity on the banks of the Kṛṣṇā and the building of the Stūpas of Bhaṭṭiprolu and Amarāvati and the excavation of caves like those at Guṇṭupalli. The peace, security and settled conditions that are necessary for the prevalence of this kind of activity would not have been possible unless there was orderly and good government. No other power held sway in the Dekkan except the Sātavāhanas of the Andhra nation at this time.

In view of what has been stated above, the conclusion is irresistible that the Andhradeśa was included in the national kingdom founded by Śimuka and that while the newly conquered Andhra dominions were subject to vicissitudes of fortune, the original provinces of the Andhra-Sātavāhanas enjoyed uninterrupted peace and progress. Domination over Mahārāṣṭra was a passing phase in the history of the early Andhras. Their first known ruling family proceeded from Andhra, returned to it in the face of misfortune and ended in Andhra.

INTERREGNUM IN THE HISTORY OF CAḶUKYAS OF BĀDĀMI

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The history of the kingdom of Bādāmi between the years A.D. 643 and 655 is very obscure. Although the huge kingdom which Pulakeśin II built up at the expense of his neighbours perished with him, it was not completely wiped out. The southern districts were appropriated by the Pallavas. All those, whom Pulakeśin forced to submit to his authority, took advantage of the circumstances under which his reign closed, to reassert their independence. His sons, however, seem to have managed to keep their control over a few districts in the neighbourhood of the capital. Whether they also managed to maintain their independence cannot be ascertained at present. Considerable mist hangs over the events which had taken place immediately after the death of Pulakeśin. One of the most important problems pertains to the identity of his successor. Who succeeded Pulakeśin II? According to Sir Ramakrishna Bhandarkar, "Pulakeśin was succeeded by his second son, Vikramāditya. In the grants he is called Pulakeśin's *priya-tanaya* or favourite son; so that Pulakeśin had arranged that Vikramāditya should succeed him at the principal seat of government."[1] Dr. Fleet holds a similar view: "The records describe him," he says, as "*priya-tanaya*", or "the dear favourite son of his father; and this especially in connection with the facts that he was not the eldest son, and that the expression is applied to him even in the charters issued by his elder brother, Candrāditya, seem to indicate that he had been selected by his father for succession."[2]

In the opinion of these writers, therefore, Vikramāditya who had been specially selected by his father to succeed him on the throne, became the king after his demise. Vikramāditya, however, did not ascend the throne until A.D. 654, a dozen years after the death of his father. What became of the sons of Pulakeśin during the interval? Was there a period of interregnum in the Chālukyan history? These questions are left unanswered both by Sir R. Bhandarkar and Dr. Fleet. Unless these questions are answered, the reconstruction of the history of the Bādāmi Cāḷukyas cannot be said to be complete.

[1] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I part 1, pp. 186.

[2] *Bombay Gazetteer*, Vol. I part 1, (Kanarese Dynasties, pp. 361)

There is no reason for believing that Vikramāditya was specially selected by his father to succeed him. The expression '*priya-tanaya*' occurs in almost all the Cālukyan inscriptions, and no special significance need be attached to it. Thus, e.g. in the Mahākūṭa pillar inscription, Pulakeśin I is described as the *priya-tanaya* of Raṇarāga.[1] In the Kopparam plates, Pulakeśin II is said to be the *priya-putra* of Kīrtivarman.[2] Therefore, the expression seems to have been made use of to describe in a conventional manner the relationship of a son to his father. This mode of describing the relationship appears to have been copied by the Cālukyas from the Kadambas whom they superseded.[3] That Vikramāditya was not the only favourite son of Pulakśein II is revealed by the inscription of Ādityavarman. This is how he describes himself: *Satyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvarasya priya-tanayaḥ...... Ādityavarma-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja*-Parameśvaraḥ.[4]

If we have to follow the *priya-tanaya* theory of Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet, we should believe that Pulakeśin II had specially selected two of his sons to succeed him. It is said that the expression *priya-tanaya* occurs even in the inscriptions of Candrāditya.[5] This is not strictly accurate, as no inscription of Candrāditya has been discovered so far. However, there are two copper plate grants issued by his wife Vijayamahādevī or Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, in which the abve words occur; Vijayamahādevī was at the time a widow, and a subordinate of Vikramāditya. The writer of the grant, who was probably the same as Vikramāditya's scribe, copied the language of the royal grants. The assumption that Candrāditya was alive at that time is not reasonable. One of Vijayamahādevī's grants is dated in her fifth year. According to Dr. Fleet's calculations, it was issued on September 23, 659 A.D.[6] Vikramāditya ascended the throne in 654-55 A.D. Therefore, the reigns of both Vijayamahādevī and Vikramāditya commenced in the same year. If, as Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet assert, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's reign were the same as Candrādityaś, he should have come to power in A.D. 654-55 also. There should have been two sons of Pulakeśin ruling as kings of what was

[1] *I.A.* Vol. XIX p. 7
[2] *E.I.* Vol. XVIII p. 257.
[3] *I.A.* Vol. VII p. 33
[4] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* XVI, p. 223
[5] Fleet : *The Kanarese Dynaties*, p. 361
[6] Fleet : *Kanares Dynasties*, p. 365

left of the Cālukyan dominions at the same time. In order to get over the difficulty of two co-ordinate rulers, Candrāditya, although he was the eldest son of Pulakeśin, was made a subordinate of his younger brother.[1] No explanation is offered for this unusual arrangement. Candrāditya, who was the eldest of Pulakeśin's sons, ought to have become the king, and Vikramāditya his subordinate. Yet our authorities declare that the reverse was the case. The only reason offered is that Vikrama was specially selected. I have shown above that the special selection theory is not tenable. In the absence of even this justification, why did Candrāditya, whose birth right it was to ascend the throne, not only give up his claim, but consent to become a subordinate of his younger brother who supplanted him? No answer is forthcoming to this question. A study of the titles, which are ascribed in Vijayamahādevī's inscriptions, is interesting in this context. The text of the Kochre grant runs thus: *Satyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-parameśvara-bhaṭṭarkasya priya-tanayaḥ....Vikramādityaḥ tasya jyeṣṭhabhrātā śrī Candrāditya-Pṛithvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirājah.*[2]

Similarly in the Nerūr plates, the following passage occurs: *Satyāśraya-śrī-Pṛthvīvallabha-Mahārājādhirāja-Paramēśvara bhaṭṭārkasya priya-tanayo rājā....Vikramādityaḥ tasya jyeṣṭhabhrātuḥ śrī-Candrāditya-prithvīvallabha-Mahārājasya.* &c.[3] Vikramāditya, who according to Drs. Bhandarkar and Fleet was the king is mentioned in one of the grants simply *anivārita* Vikramāditya; and in the other, the title *rāja* which was common to all noblemen is added to the above. Candrāditya, who is said to have been the subordinate of Vikiramādtya, has the royal titles.

It is strange that the king should be mentioned without any title, and his alleged subordinate should have titles that properly belonged to a ruler. The wife of Candrāditya was not an enemy of Vikrama. If she were an enemy, she would not have referred to her husband as the elder brother of Vikramāditya; at least she would not have praised him as she had done. Therefore, her relations with Vikrama should have been amicable. Nevertheless, she does not mention his royal titles; instead she attributes them to her husband. Why?

A complete and satisfactory answer is not yet possible in the present state of our knowledge. Nevertheless, one thing

[1] *B.G.*, Vol. I part 1, pp. 185-6

[2] *I.A.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 44

[3] *Ibid*, Vol. VII p. 163

is certain, that is, Vijayabhaṭṭārikā was a subordinate of Vikramāditya. Was her husband living? No. He who bore the title *Pṛthvīvallabha* and Mahārājādhirāja could not have been a subordinate. He should have been the crowned king of the Cālukyas, whatever might be the extent of his power. These titles were also borne by Vikramāditya from 655 A.D. onwards. It is clear that he should have been ruling as the king from that date. Since one of the grants of Vijayabhaṭṭārikā is dated in A.D. 659, Candrāditya, if he were alive, should also have been reigning as a rival king. It is evident from Vijayabhaṭṭārikā's inscriptions that there was no rivalry between Vikramāditya and Candrāditya. Are we to suppose that Candrāditya and Vikramāditya were ruling at the same time as the supreme kings of the Cālukyas? Such a state of affairs would not have been possible. The truth appears to be that Candrāditya who was crowned king of the Cālukyas in 643 or 644 A.D. ruled until A.D. 654. Then commenced the reign of Vikramāditya who seems to have permitted Vijayabhaṭṭārikā, the dowager queen, to rule the district containing the modern Sāvantawāḍi State.

The events connected with Candrāditya's reign have not been recorded. He should have been a vassal of the Pallava king Narasimhavarman for a short time. Whether he made any attempt to throw off the Pallava yoke is more than what can be said at present. Probably the conquest of some of the kings whom Vikramāditya is said to have subdued to resusciate the Cālukyan kingdom took place during Candrāditya's reign.

The death of Candrāditya created a new situation. He left no son to succeed him. His brothers began to quarrel with each other for the throne. Ādityavarman proclaimed himself king, and probably succeeded in seizing the throne and the kingdom. He claims to have acquired supreme sovereignty of the whole earth by the strength of his arm and prowess;[1] but he was not able to maintain his authority for long; for Vikramāditya who appears to have suffered some reverses at the beginning of the struggle came out victoriously at the end. The phrase *Sarvān dāyādān vijitya* of Vikramāditya's inscriptions appears to be an allusion of his final victory over Adityavarman.[2]

It is in this connection that we have to notice a statement which occurs in a Santāra epigraph of the 11th century.[3]

[1] See *J. B. B. R. A. S.* Vol. XVI p. 223

[2] *Ibid* pp. 240

[3] Vol. VIII, Nagar 35

It is said that the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta defeated on a field of battle a Kāduveṭṭi (Pallava king) ; and established his own daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the descendents of Jayasiṃhavallabha. Now, the founder of the Chālukyan kingdom was Jayasimhavallabha, and no other kingdom of the time could claim a Jayasimhavallabha as its founder. Therefore, Durvinīta's victory over the Pallava king had as its direct consequence the establishment of his daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the Chālukyas of Bādāmi. As the epigraph under consideration belongs to the 11th century, the statement regarding the achievements of Durvinīta preserved in it should be regarded only as a 11th century copy of an old tradition ; it is, however, probable that it contains an element of truth ; for, in an early stone inscription found at Nirgund, it is said that Nirvinīta's younger son assumed the Kongani crown from Kāḍuveṭṭi and the Pallava king.[1] Nirvinīta is the same as Avinīta as the prefixes *Nir* and *A* mean the same thing. Avinīta had at least three sons, the eldest of whom he wanted to make his successor ; his second son by a princess of Punnāṭa was Durvinīta and probably he had a younger brother. Therefore, it was Dīrvinīta who wrested from the Kāḍuveṭṭi and the Pallava king the province of Kongu. According to his inscriptions, Durvinīta "wages sanguinary wars for the possession of Andari, Alathur and Pennagaram which are said to be places included in Kongu.[2] Therefore, there is sufficient epigraphic evidence to show that Durvinīta was fighting with the Pallavas in Kongu. We may accept the tradition preserved in the Santāra inscription as genuine. In that case, the connection between the defeat of the Pallavas by Durvinīta and the establishment of his own daughter's son in the kingdom belonging to the dynasty of Jayasiṁhavallabha should be discovered. Since the person established in the kingdom belonging to the dynasty of Jayasiṁhavallabha was a daughter's son of Durvinīta, he could not have been a member of the Gaṅga family. Durvinīta's daughter should have been married into some other royal family ; since his daughter's son was established in the territory of Jayasiṁhavallabha's family, it is reasonable to suppose that he was also a descendant of Jayasiṁhavallabha.

Now which of the Cālukyan kings of Bādāmi was a daughter's son of Durvinīta ? As the Santara epigraph does not mention any name in this connection, it is not easy to find

[1] Vol. VI cq 50

[2] Rice : *Mysore and Coorg from Inscriptions* pp. 36.

the name of the king. We must get at it in an indirect fashion. A survey of the history of the Bādāmi Cālukyas shows that there were only two occasions during the seventh century A.D., when the heir to the throne stood in need of external help. Once at the close of the reign of Maṅgaḷīśa who attempted to prevent his nephew Pulakeśin II from ascending the throne. Pulakeśin was "either banished by Maṅgaḷīśa; or voluntarily banished himself."[1] A civil war broke out in the Cālukyan kingdom during the course of which as noticed already, Maṅgaḷīśa was killed and Pulakeśin II became king in his place. Was Durvinīta one of the neighbouring princes whom Pulakeśin asked for assistance during the days of his exile? This question must be answered in the affirmative, if we believe that Pulakeśin was the daughter's son of Durvinīta. But was he Durvinīta's daughter's son? Pulakeśin II, it is true, was a contemporary of Durvinīta; but he could not have been the daughter's son of the latter; for Durvinīta ascended the throne in 605 A.D., that is some four years before Pulakeśin's accession, and he died in 650 A.D. that is seven years after Pulakeśin's death. It is probable that Durvinīta was a comparatively young man at the time of his accession, and he could not have had a grown up grandson like Pulakeśin at the time. Moreover, it is said in the Chiplun plates that the Sendraka prince Śrīvallabha Senānanda Mahārāja was the maternal uncle of Pulakeśin II.[2] Therefore, the mother of Pulakeśin could not have been a Gaṅga princess.

The second occasion when a Cālukyan prince stood in need of external help was at the close of the reign of Candrāditya. The Cālukyas did not yet succeed in emancipating themselves from the Pallava yoke. Both Ādityavarman and Vikramāditya, as we have already noticed, attempted to ascend the throne: the former was able to make good his claim probably with the assistance of the Pallavas. It would not have been possible for Vikramāditya to contend successfully against such a powerful combination without external assistance. It was only natural that he should have sought the help of the Gaṅga king, whose position on the western frontier of the territory belonging to the Pallava confederacy should have made his services invaluable. Durvinīta, who wanted to expel the Pallavas from Kongu, appears to have gladly joined Vikramāditya in his struggle against them. That Vikramāditya was assisted by Durvinīta in his war upon the Pallavas is shown

[1] See *E. I.*, Vol. VI pp. 9 note 5

[2] *E.I.*, Vol. VII p. 50

by an epigraph at Jaingamarapalli in the Pāvagada Taluk of the Tumkur district according to which Vikramāditya and Konguni Arasa (i.e. Durvinīta) fell upon Kāḍuveṭṭi and captured Kāñchīpura.[1]

Was Vikramāditya, then a daughter's son of Durvinīta? I believe that he was; because,

(i) Durvinīta was a contemporary of Pulakeśin II and Vikramāditya I, the descendants of Jayasiṁhavallabha, the founder of the Cālukyan dynasty, and he was old enough to be the grandfather of the latter.

(ii) Durvinīta had a daughter's son whom he established on the throne of the Chālukyas by defeating the Kāḍuveṭṭi.

(iii) He is known, from contemporary epigraphic records, to have waged war on Pallavas for the sake of the province of Kongu.

(iv) Vikramāditya had also to wage war against the Pallavas, to regain the lost territory which they had annexed at the time of the death of his father.

(v) Vikramāditya had a relation, probably his mother, who was known as Gaṅgamahādevī.[2] She was probably a daughter of the Gaṅga king, Durvinīta.

The allies appear to have commenced hostilities by invading the province of Kongu, which was governed by a Kāduveṭṭi. They defeated him in a battle or series of battles, and occupied the Kongu Nāḍu. Who was the Kāḍuveṭṭi whom Durvinīta is said to have defeated. In a paper contributed some years ago to the Triveni,[3] I identified him with Narasiṁhavarman I. It is, however, more likely that he wasa different Pallava chief, one of the members of the Trairājya Pallava, who was governing the Kongu country. He seems to be the same chief as the Kāḍuveṭṭi who according to the Mahāvaṁśa, showered gifts on Mānavammā, the Ceylonese exile who sought refuge with Narasiṁha I. If there is any truth in the sequence of events as narrated by the Santāra inscription, the attack

[1] *MAR*. 1941. pp. 220-21. The inscription under consideration has been attributed to Vikramāditya II in the Report, but it really belongs to Vikramāditya I.

[2] See The Gadwal Plates Ephigraphia Indica Vol.X pp.100. The Honnūr Plates (MAR 1939 no. 30) shows clearly that the Ganga and the Cālukya royal families were bound together by marriage ties.

[3] The Triveni Vol. III pp. 112-120

upon Kāḍuveṭṭi was the first step which they took against the Pallavas. They wanted, probably, to deprive Ādityavarman of the assistance which the Pallavas were giving him. Having succeeded in achieving their object, they next proceeded against Ādityavarman himself. The events connected with this struggle are not known. The war however terminated favourably to Vikramāditya. This is cryptically alluded to in one of his early copper plate grants. It is stated in the Karnul plates No. IV[1] that Vikramāditya subdued all his *dāyādīs* or kinsmen, which can refer only to his victory over Āditya and his partisans.

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[1] *J.B.B.R.A.S.* Vol. XVI pp. 228.

RELATION BETWEEN BENGAL AND CHINA IN ANCIENT TIME

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The Chinese Annals mention India by the name Thien-chu. Thien-chu was sometime called Shin-tu, Mo-kie-tho (Magadha), P-lo-men (Brahman), or Chen-tou. It consisted of five parts viz., Northern Thien-chu, Middle Thien-chu, Eastern Thien-chu, Southern Thien-chu, and Western Thien-chu. Ma-Twan-Lin relates that "Southern India is bounded by a Great Sea, the northern extends to the snowy mountains." "Eastern India is bounded on the east by a great sea, it is near Fu-nan (Siam) and Lin-i (Tsiampa), it is only separated by a narrow sea." "Western India touches Ki-pien and Po-sse (Persia)." "Central India is situated in the middle of the other four divisions of India."[1]

The general Pan-yong submitted his Report to the Chinese Emperor in 125 A.D. He lays down that "the kingdom of T'ien-teuon is also known as Chen-tou." "If after leaving the kingdom of Kao-fu (Kabul), which belongs to the Yue-tche, one goes south-west, one reaches the western sea; in the east one gets to the kingdom of P'an-k'i; all these lands form part of Chen-tou."[2] Ma-Twan-Lin also states that all the countries from Kao-fu to Pan-khi on the east belong to Shin-tu.[3] Chavannes remarks that P'an-k'i is apparently situated in Annam or in Burma. In my opinion it may be taken as identical with Vaṅga or Vaṅgāla.

Sometime the term T'ien-chu was used in a limited sense in some Chinese literature. *Hsiang-chiao-pi-pien*, a Buddhist cyclopædia of the Ming dynasty, lays down that "Pang-ka-la is in the east of T'ien-chu; Chao-no-p'o in the middle; Magadha in the south; Kapila in the west; and Ka-she-na in the north."[4] Dr. F. Hirth identifies Pang-ka-la with Bengala. It seems

[1] *IA*, IX, 15.

[2] *IHQ*, XIV 502; K. A. Nilkantha Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India*, p. 10.

[3] *IA*, IX, 15.

[4] *JRAS*, 1896, p. 496, fn.

to be identical with Pan-yong's P'an-k'i, referred to above. Ka-she-na is identified with Kusinara, modern Kasia in the Gorakhpur District, and Kapila with Kampilya, modern Kampil, in the Farrukhabad District, U. P.

Hiuen Tsang places Karṇasuvarṇa, Kāmarūpa and Samataṭa in Eastern India.[1] According to I-Tsing Harikela was the eastern limit and Tāmralipta was the southern limit of Eastern India.[2] It apparently follows that Harikela was to the east of Samataṭa. But according to Yādavaprakāśa and Hemcandra Harikela is a synonym for Vaṅga.[3] I-Tsing's Harikela might have been a country in which Samataṭa was situated.

I-Tsing relates that "about forty stages to the east of the temple of Nālandā, descending the Ganges, one arrives at the temple of Mṛgasthāpana." "Not far from this is a ruined establishment, with only its foundation remaining, called the Tchina (or China) Temple. Tradition says that formerly a Mahārāja called Śrīgupta built this temple for the use of Chinese priests. He was prompted to do so by the arrival of about twenty priests of that country who had travelled from Sz'chuen to the Mahābodhi Temple to pay their worship. Being impressed by their pious demeanour, he gave them the land and the revenues of about twenty villages as an endowment. This occurred some five hundred years ago."[4]

I-Tsing's forty stages are equal to more than two hundred twentyeight miles. If one travels two hundred twentyeight miles east from Nālandā following the bank of the Ganges, one arrives in the Maldah District, which is situated in ancient Varendrī. That Mrgasthāpana was situated in Varendrī is attested by a miniature label in a Nepal manuscript of the eleventh century.[5] If the extent of the period that elapsed from the date of the foundation of the China Temple to that of the time of I-Tsing, as given by I-Tsing, is taken as literally

[1] Watters, II.
In the Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta Samaṭaṭa is mentioned as a frontier territory ; *CII.*

[2] Takakusu, *Record of the Buddhist Religion* etc., XLVI.

[3] Author's "*Yādavaprakāśa on the Ancient Geography of India*", *IHQ*, XIX, 220.

[4] Chavannes, *Voyages des Palerins Bouddhistes*, 82; Beal, *Life of Hieun Tsang*, XXVI.

[5] Author's "*The Early Home of the Imperial Guptas*", IHQ, XIV, 532; *History of Bengal*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, I, 69,48. Foucher, *Icon.*, 62,63 *Bhāratavarsha.* Āsādha, p. 25.

true, the date of the visit of the twenty Chinese priests in India will have to be placed in the latter part of the second century A.D. Mr. Allan identifies Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, mentioned above, with the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, and places the date of the foundation of the China Temple in the middle of the third century A.D. Lands granted by Śrī-Gupta for the maintenance of the China Temple were obviously situated in the neighbourhood of that temple, i.e. in Varendrī.

Fa-hien lived in Tāmralipti for two years in the early part of the fifth century A.D. Hiuen Tsang, who visited Bengal in 639 A.D., mentions Puṇḍravardhana, Samataṭa, Tāmralipta and Karṇasuvarṇa.[1] Ta-ch'eng-tang (Mahāyānapradīpa), a pupil of Hiuen Tsang, came to Tāmralipta via Ceylon and South India. He lived there for twelve years.[2]

I-Tsing reached by the sea-route to Tāmralipta in 673 A.D. At this time Mahāyānapradīpa was there. I-Tsing learnt Brahma language (Sanskrit), grammar and Śabdavidyā there. He lived in Tāmralipta for less than a year and started for Nālandā in the company of Mahāyānapradīpa. When he was ten days journey from Nālandā he was attacked by the robbers, who stripped him off his garments. Sometime after 685 A.D. he returned to Tāmralipta and sailed for Ka-cha.[3]

In the latter part of the seventh century some more Chinese pilgrims visited Bengal. Tan-kwong, a priest of King-chan, in Hupeh, in China, came to Harikela by the southern sea-route. He found favour with the king of the country, who built a temple and handed books and images over to him.[4] About this time Wou Hing visited Harikela by the same route.[5] Seng-chi visited Samataṭa by the sea and received honour from the king of that country.[6]

In 692 A.D. "the king of the kingdom of Eastern India Mo-lo-pa-ma, the king of the kingdom of Western India, Che-lo-ito (Śīlāditya), the king of the kingdom of the South India Tche-leou-k'i-pa-lo (Cālukya Vallabha), the king of the kingdom

[1] Waters, II,

[2] Beal's, *Life*, XXV.

[3] Takakusu, XXXI, fn.

[4] Beal's, *Life*, XXIX.

[5] *Ibid*, XXXI.

[6] *Ibid*, XXX.

of Northern India Na-na, the king of the kingdom of Central India Ti-mo-si-na and the king of the kingdom Kieou-tse Yen-yao-pa all came to render homage and make presents" (to the Chinese Emperor).[1] Mo-lo-pa-mo may be restored as Mūlavarman. According to I-Tsing Devavarman, king of Eastern India, who was in possession of lands granted for the maintenance of the China Temple, in Varendrī, built by the Mahārāja Śrī-Gupta, flourished in the third quarter of the seventh century.[2] Mūlavarman, the king of Eastern India, was in all probability, the successor of Devavarman.

In 976 A.D. Yang-kie-shue-lo, son of the king of Eastern India, came to pay homage to the Chinese Emperor. Yang-kie-shue-lo may be restored as Yajña(?)śūra. He seems to have been a scion of the Śūra dynasty which was ruling Dakṣiṇa-Rāḍhā in the first quarter of the eleventh century.[3]

Ma-Twan-lin[4] states that "the king of Eastern India had a son called Man-chu-shi-li (Mañjuśrī), who arrived at the capital in the trains of Chinese monks. Thai-tsong (who mounted the throne in 976) ordered him to be lodged in the Siang-kue-sse convent. He observed rigidly the Buddhist precepts and won the esteem and admiration of the inhabitants of the capital. The emperor having loaded him with riches and favours, all the monks envied and hated him, and as he did not understand the Chinese language, they fabricated a false petition, in which they represented him as asking permission to go back to his own country. The emperor granted him permission." Mañjuśrī was obviously a Buddhist. He seems to have been a prince of the Pāla or the Candra dynasty. About this time Vigrahapāla was ruling north Bengal and Śrīcandra was ruling East Bengal.

Ma-Twan-lin[5] lays down that "in the seventh year of the *Thai-p'ing-hing-kue* period (896 A.D.), Kuang-yuen, a monk of I-cheu, went to India, and on his return brought the Emperor a letter from the king of that country whose name was Mo-i-nang." The following is the text of the letter—"Lately I have learnt that there is in the kingdom of China a king as great as he is enlightened, perfectly holy, perfectly intelligent, and who by his majesty and power reigns supreme. Every day

[1] N. Sastri, *Foreign Notices*, 116.
[2] Beal's, *Life*, XXVII.
[3] *IA*, IX 22; *EI*, IX.
[4] *IA*, IX, 22.
[5] *Ibid.*

I think with confusion of my bad fortune, and lament that I cannot go in person to pay homage to you. From afar I look affectionately towards the capital of China and wish your holy person ten thousand felicities."

"On the arrival of Kuang-yuen, I had the honour to receive a holy statuette enriched with diamonds, representing Śākyamuni seated in the attitude of felicity and divine calm. I clothed myself in *ka-sha*, and made offerings to him."

"I humbly desire that the august emperor of China may enjoy long life in order to guide every creature to happiness, and that he may enable all those who are exposed to shipwreck, to sail over the immense sea of life and death. Now I have entrusted Kuang-yuen with some relics of Śākyamuni, that he may present to your majesty on my behalf."

It follows from the above statement that Mo-si-nang, king of India, was a Buddhist. He was not, however, the paramount sovereign of India. In 986 A.D. Bhīmagupta was ruling in Kāshmīr, Jayapāla in the Punjab, Pratihāra Rājyapāla in Kanauj, Pāla Mahīpāla in Gauḍa and Magadha, Śrīcandra in Vaṅga, Tyāgasimha of the Pralambha dynasty in Kāmarūpa, Lonabhāra of the second Kara dynasty in Orissa, Gaṅga Vajrahasta in Kaliṅga, Bāḍapa in Andhra, Rājarāja in Drāviḍa, Taila II in the Deccan, Mūlarāja I in Gujarat, Muñja in Mālwā, Yuvarāja I in Tripuri, Dhaṅga in Bundelkhand, and Vigraharāja IV in Śākambhari.[1] Of these kings Mahīpāla I of Gauḍa and Magadha, and Śrīcandra of Vaṅga were Buddhists. Mahīpāla's kingdom extended at least upto Benares in the east. He was virtually the king of Tien-chu in its limited sense. He may quite reasonably be identified with the king Mo-si-nang, referred to by Ma-Twan-lin.

In 983 A.D. a Chinese monk named Fa-yu came to India in search of Buddhists, but shortly afterwards returned to China. "Being desirous of returning to India he asked imperial letters of recommendation to the foreign princes whose dominions he would have to travel through. He presented them to the king of San-fo-tsi (Sumatra); whence he came after a long voyage to the Prince of A-ku-la, and Kiemang (Kāma ?), steward of cavalry, chief of the kingdom of Ko-lan and Tsan-ta-lo (Chandra) and king of Western India[2]. . . ." Tsan-ta-lo, referred to, may very reasonably be identified with Candra-

[1] *IA.*, XIV, 139.
[2] *Ibid*, IX, 23.

dvīpa, which was the name of the southern part of the Bakhar-ganj District, Bengal.

Chao-ju-kua (A.D. 1205-1258) gives a short description of Ch'a-na-chi, the capital of Peng-ka-lo (Bengala). He states that the common people there are combative and devoted solely to robbery. The medium of exchange was the white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The principal productions of the country were superior double-edged sword blades, cotton and other cloths.[1]

Mahuan, an interpreter, attached to the suite of Cheng Ho, who was sent to various kingdoms by the Chinese Emperor, Yung-lo, came to Bengal shortly after 1405.[2]

All the evidence, referred to, indicate that a cordial relation was established between Bengal and China in ancient time. The kings of Bengal in different ages built monasteries for the residence of the Chinese pilgrims and took utmost care for their comforts. The Chinese emperors on the other hand did not fail to receive with great honour the princes and chiefs of Bengal, who visited the Chinese court from time to time.

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[1] *JRAS,* 1896 p. 495,62

[2] *Ibid,* 1895, p. 523.

FOREIGN INFLUENCE ON THE LIFE AND CULTURE OF GUJARAT (Summary)

By

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Since early times Gujarat has been attracting foreigners, as it is a maritime province. The Romans came only as traders and could not influence its culture. The Śakas came as conquerers, but they soon became completely merged in the local population and their rulers like Rudradāman became great admirers of Hindu religion and Sanskrit language. The Parsis came as refugees and therefore naturally assimilated themselves with their hosts. They did not much influence the life and culture of Gujarat.

The Muslims came as conquerors and converters, but very soon a tendency to compromise manifested itself. Many of the converts like the Khojas of Kathiawar stuck to their old customs and costume. Hindus began to show respect to Pirs and Muslims began to join the Hindus in their Divali celebrations. The two communities lived side by side and one could not non-co-operate with the other. Muslim art and culture has contributed much to the culture of Gujarat, especially the architecture. The Muslim architecture on the other hand is not purely Saracenic; it is influenced by the Jain architecture of the province. The Muslims however could not influence the Gujarati literature to any extent: it is unaffected by Persian literature.

The influence exercised by the British rule is much more all pervading than that exercised by the Muslim culture. It need not be however discussed here in detail, as it is manifesting itself in the same degree in all the provinces of India.

EMPEROR HUMAYUN AND RAO MALDEO

By

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Emperor Humayun ascended the throne at Agra on December 29, 1530 A.D. But when on May 17, 1540 A.D. he suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of Sher Khan at Kanauj, he roamed about the country for about two years, and on the 7th May 1542 A.D. arrived at Uchch. On the 2nd July, he left for Marwar in the hope of securing the help of Rao Maldeo, who was at that time the mightiest of the Rajput rulers of India. On the 31st July, he encamped at a place situated about 24 miles from Bikaner.

We learn from the Persian chronicles that before the Emperor reached Jodhpur, Sher Shah managed to win over Rao Maldeo, through his emissary, to his side, and therefore the Rao planned to capture the Emperor and hand him over to Sher Shah. But as the Emperor got scent of the intrigue, so he, with a handful of his followers, proceeded towards Umarkot[1] via Phalodi. As the Rao at that time was unwilling to incur the displeasure of Sher Shah, he deputed 1500[2] of his soldiers after him. Near Satalmer, they had a skirmish with the rear guards of the Emperor, consisting of at the most 22 persons, and were defeated.[3]

But the version given in the Rajput chronicles is as under :

When Humayun, after his defeat at the hands of Sher Shah, arrived near Jodhpur to seek the help of Rao Maldeo, the Rao received him with befitting honours and offered Bikaner for his maintenance.[4] Here the Emperor expressed his desire to encamp at Phalodi rather than near Jodhpur, which was gladly accepted. Accordingly, when he left Deijar for Phalodi, the Rao deputed some of his soldiers to follow him to ward off any conflict in the way. But the Imperial party took it as a plan to do away with them on the way and plunder their

[1] Tabkat-i-Akbari (Elliot's *History of India*), Vol. V, pp. 211-212 and *Humayun Nama* by Gulbadan Begham (English translation by Mrs. Beveridge) p. 154.

[2] Tazkare-al-Waqayat, pp. 40-41.

[3] Tabqat-i-Akbari (Elliot's *History of India*), Vol. V, pp. 212-213 and *Humayunama* (English translation by Mr. Beveridge) pp. 154-156 and *Akbar-Nama* English Translation by Beveridge) Vol. I, pp. 373-374.

[4] *Humayunama* (Eng. trans. by Mr. Beveridge) p. 154.

treasures. When Humayun reached Phalodi, some of his retainers slaughtered a cow there. This provoked the Rajputs, which increased the suspicion already existing in the mind of the Emperor, and therefore he left Phalodi and proceeded towards Umarkot. But the Rajputs took this slaughter as an insult to their religion and to avenge it, they attacked the rear guards of the Imperial cavalcade near Satalmer and then turned back.

Though no mention of this it is found in Persian chronicles, yet we learn from Jauhar, the author of *Tazkare-al-Waqayat,* that when the Emperor entered into the territory of Jaisalmer, his followers committed the same mistake and slaughtered some cows there. This offended the religious susceptibilities of Rao Lunkaran, the then ruler of Jaisalmer and he commanded his son Maldeo to fill up all the wells with sand, which happen to fall in the way of the Imperial cavalcade, to deprive them of water. This resulted in the death of a number of Imperial followers. In this way, facing so many vicisitudes, the Emperor reached Umarkot.

Further Nizamuddin, the author of *Tabqat-i-Akbari* writes :—On his way, two Hindus were captured and brought before the Emperor. With a view to draw true facts out of them the Emperor ordered that one of them should be put to death. But at that moment they freed themselves from their captivity and snatching the daggers from the two persons standing nearby, fell upon their captors, and after killing a number of them they themselves were slain. In this scuffle the Emperor's own charger was also killed.

This statement depicts the true Rajput character and therefore it is also impossible to believe the defeat of 1500[1] Rajput cavalry at the hands of only eight[1] or twenty-two Imperial horsemen as mentioned above.

We learn from *Akbar-Nama* too that Humayun's party, at that time consisted of only 20 nobles, and a few soldiers and followers.

Considering over the facts. the version narrated in the Rajput chronicles seems to be more reliable, because if the Rao had any mind to capture the Emperor to gratify Sher Shah, he could have easily done so, with the help of his 80,000 brave Rajput warriors, while the Emperor accompanied by a very small number of followers was encamped only eight miles from Jodhpur.

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[1] *Tazkare-al-Waqayat,* pp. 40-41.

EARLY ARAB EXPEDITIONS TO INDIA

By

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The first Arab expedition to India was in the year 15 or 16, A.H. when 'Uthmān, son of Abul 'Asī Ghakafī, was appointed as governor of Bahrain and 'Oman. This was a naval expedition and the Arabs proceeded to Thana in Bombay Presidency where they were successful. 'Utmhān's younger brother Hakam sent Mughīrah to Debul (somewhere near Karachi or Thatta as most of the historians say). Mughīrah defeated Samba, son of Dīwā'ij, the governor of Debul. He did not die there as the Chachnama asserts, rather he escaped and lived for a good long time afterwards. The third naval expedition was for Broach called Baros by Arabs.

At Caliph 'Omar's commands, who had a great dislike for naval expeditions, these expeditions by sea were given up and 'Uthmān along with Hakam turned their adventure seeking activities to Persia.

In the year 22 A.H. Arabs under Hakam, sonof 'Amr' reached the Sindh border by land defeating the joint armies of Makrāns and Sindhis. Had Hakam been permitted to proceed on, he says, he would have conquered on to River Indus. Suhār al-'Abadī,' who was sent with the booty, described Makrān in such words before Caliph 'Omar' that th forbade Hakam from proceeding on.

These words of Suhār al-'Abadī have wrongly been attributed to Hukaim bin Jabalah who is stated to have been sent during the next Caliph's reign to reconnoiter and report about India, because :—

1. Hukaim's character as described by Ṭabarī does not vouchsafe for his having been entrusted with such an important mission.
2. This story has not been corroborated by any other historian.
3. Arab opinion about India had been favourable as expressed by Ibnul Kirrīyyah and not so bad as spoken of by Hukaim.
4. The words uttered by him can be true about conditions in Makrān but in no case can they be applied to India as stated.

During Caliph 'Uthmān's reign 'Abdur Rahman attacked the Indian border on the Sistan side. He is the only companion of the Holy Prophet (Sahābī) under whose banner Muslims set foot on the Indian soil.

In the days of 'Alī' th fourth Caliph, Hārith bin Murrah a 'Abadī volunteered to fight on the Sind border in 38 A.H. Taghār was probably his general who is mentioned by Elliot on the authority of the Chachnamah and Tuhfatul Kirām as having been successful in Kaikānān, Kohpayah and Bahraj. These are the persons about whom Col. Tod says that generals of 'Ali made conquests in Sind.

During Muāwiyah's Caliphate Rāshid and Ibn-i-Sawwār made conquests on the Sind frontier while Muhallab bib Abu Sufra, a lieutenant of 'Ābdur Rahmān the Companion entered India on the North Western side and pushed on his way to Lahore. He returned by the Gomal pass reaching Karmān and Sīstan in 44 A.H.

Rāshid succeeded Ibn-i-Sawwār and stayed in these parts for about two years. He was eventually killed by the Meds who gathered to the strength of 50,000 persons to obstruct his way while returning. Sinān took up the leadership after his death and established his rule in these parts.

Mun*dh*ir was another person who invaded Būdha (Gandava) and Kaikānān, and was successful there but he went on to Kandahar.

Ibn-i-Harrī al-Bāhlī as a general of Sinān or as a independant commander was much successful on this frontier. He it seems is the person about whom Col. Tod says, "It was at this era that Rajasthan was first invaded by the arms of Islam. Manika Rae, then prince of Ajmer, was slain by Asuras (Muslims) and his only child Lot, then an infant of 7 years of age, was killed by an arrow while playing on the battlement....; whatever were the means, however, by which Ajmere was captured and Doola Rae slain, the importance of the event has been deeply imprinted on the Chauhans, who in remembrance of it, deified the youthful heir of Ajmer. 'Lot-putra' is still the most conspicuous of the Chauhan penates." This happened in c. 65 A.H.

On the Kabul side Abbad bin Ziyad was active who had a lively quarrel with Ibn-i-Mufarri*gh*, the poet, in one of his expeditions.

In 75 A.H. Hajjāj or 'Abdul Malik appointed Sa'id al-Kilābi to this border. Sa'id was killed by Mu'āwiyah and Muhammad, sons of Hārith al-'Allāfī- for having killed one of their tribe. Mujjā'ah was then sent in his place with orders to punish the 'Allāfīs. They again murdered 'Abdur Rahmān, a lieutenant of Mujjā'ah. Then fearing Hajjāj, they ran away to Sind where Raja Dāhir gave them protection for having destroyed an army of 80,000 men who were marching against Dāhir, in a night attack.

Muhammad bin Hārūn was the next man to be entrusted with the task of punishing the 'Allāfīs. It was during his governorship that ships, bearing presents from the King of Ruby island along with some orphan daughters of the Arab merchants who had settled theirin, were plundered by Sindi pirates. A Yarboo'ī woman in her distress called upon Hajjāj for help. He, when informed about this incident, wrote to Raja Dāhir for redress. Dāhir declined. Hajjāj sent 'Ubaid-ullah bin Nabhān to Debul, who died on the battle-field. Budail succeeded him and Muhammad bin Hārūn was ordered to help him. Budail did not live long, for after the battle his horse overthrew him and he was taken prisoner and killed.

After Budail's failure 'Omar volunteered but his request was not granted and Muhammad bin Kāsim aws sent in his stead he conquered the whole of Sind upto Multan and a part of Rajputana.

PIRACY, PRIVATEERING AND REPRISAL IN INDIAN WATERS, *DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.*

By

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Clashes between different groups of Europeans and Asiatics were not infrequent in our seas during the period under review.

The end of the first phase of the conflict between Indians and Europeans curiously coincided with the passage of the sixteenth century. Even though the advantage might have remained on the whole with the European, the Indian had not failed to cover himself with glory.

The heroic tale of the fifteen hundred Indian sailors who assisted the epic landing of the United Nations in France in 1944, undoubtedly has its beginning in our naval annals of these days.

Into the seventeenth century there came the Malabaris with their proud battle-scars of the Portuguese wars; the Gujratis with their victories over several Lourenzos;[1] the Arakanis with their terrible maritime record in the Bay of Bengal; the Bengalis who were about to add fresh laurels in their brilliant expedition against the Maldives, under a chivalrous admiral; the Ceylonese, Kanarese, Marathas, etc. The Marathas had distinguished themselves on the waters in the 16th century under "Timoja,"[2] Malhār Rāo[3] and others. These sea-captains had their successors in those of Shivaji and Sambhaji who fought with the English and the Portuguese, the Mughals the and Abyssinians.

The Portuguese who in the sixteenth century had struggled so hard against the Indians on the seas, often with the help of many Indian sailors, fighters and pilots (on a number of occasions supported by this very "Timoja") now found their hard won maritime position and their dentures on the Indian coast-line challenged by new arrivals—the Dutch, the English, the French, the Danes, etc. In this "bellum omnes contra omnes" for commercial monopoly and plunder (a state of affairs that was certainly "nasty, poor, brutish", but long) no one,

[1] They "engaged certain vessels of the Franks (Persian Farangi, Firingi) capturing the largest of them, and obtaining a complete victory" (Tohfut-ul-Mujahideena transld by Rowlandson, 92 and 93) See Portuguese accounts also.

[2] Whom Dames even in 1918 calls a pirate (The Book of Durte Barbosa, I, p. 176 n.)

[3] Rāoji.

either Indian or European, desisted from tearing out the throats of his rivals on the sea.

It is however certainly to the credit of our forefathers that inferiority in equipment, and dissensions in their own ranks, did not deter them from picking up the gage of battle that was in very many cases wantonly flung to them by these European races. Indian bows and obsolete guns bade defiance to European artillery, in many a hard fought encounter. On one occasion the English chronicler himself admits that the Malabaris (in one of their fights with the English) were "so resolut that they would not step aside" even from the muzzell" of the English cannon. The English had blown up the upper deck of their ship in defence, and "divers of the Malabaris had been "slayne and maimed." But "this seemed little or nothing to diminish or quell their courage."[1] Secondly, overcoming the various obstacles put in their way by man and nature, Indian trading ships continued to sail to Arabia and Persia, Burma and Malay, Ceylon and the East Indies, almost in unending streams.

But while the land forces of the Mughal Emperor were thundering across the length and breadth of India, Destiny, calmly seated on the deck of the ship from the West, was busy in weaving out the future history of his successors in imperial sway. The Mughal's face was however never turned towards the sea, and one can easily perceive that if that "about a kos" voyage of Jahāngīr from Cambay had been longer and more frequent, the whole course of our history would have flowed in a different direction. The Mughal expelled the Portuguese from Hughli; undertook naval campaigns against the Arakanis; fought the Maratha fleets; but failed to grasp the fact that his successor had already arrived from the West. The founders of the modern British Empire in India were not Clive and Hastings but Middleton and Saris. The latter demonstrated that by holding Indian ships to ransom on the high seas, concessions might be wrung from the Indian authorities on land. In other words, if the overland route "unto the court of the Great King of Mogor and Cambaia"[2] had become the usual one, the English might perhaps have risen to be our agents in big business with Europe, but never to be our rulers. When at least a part of their cargo. Leaving aside the judgement

[1] My paper, "The Malabar Corsair" etc. in Bengal Past and Present, Vol LX, Parts 1 and II, pp. 86 to 100; Marine Records Vol. LXII, etc.

[2] Tūzuk-i-Jahangīrī (Rogers and Beveridge) Vol. I, p. 417; Mildenhall's letter from Kazvin of 3rd Oct. 1606.

it was definitely proved in the seventeenth century that English guns could overcome any conceivable opposition which could be put up by us on the high seas, in defence of our trading and maritime rights, an orientation of the Company's policy (perceptible even in the Charter of Charles II) began to creep in. The influence of sea-power on our history has never been so forcibly illustrated as during this century.

Amidst the din of these maritime clashes, Marakkārs and Angrias were called pirates in European documents, and the Malabaris dubbed as a "thieftuous nation." On the other hand, in connection with the English attack on the Taufīqī (for example) it was recorded that "such violence was never done to any Musulman by any Portugall or other English before." The "Farangī ships alone", says another record in the same strain, "did not keep the peace. The Muhammadan ships were the special objects of their fury."[1]

But when President Wylde himself speaks of "pilfering surprizals" by the English against Malabari trading vessels which "doe the nation and your (of the Company) accion much wronge" , no doubt need be felt about the category under which these depredations are to be placed. "Such is the preying disposition of your seamen", adds the President, "that all is fish that commeth to nett.[2]"

Then there was the custom established by the Portuguese of forcing their system of passes, without the possession of which Indian ships would be liable to capture on the high seas. The principles on which this policy rested have been enunciated by Barroes thus :—(1) "There does exist a common right to all to navigate the seas": (2) "But this right does not extend beyond Europe": (3) "Therefore" "the Portuguese as Lords of the Sea are justified in confiscating the goods of all those who navigate the seas without their permission.[3]" In addition to the huge sums that Indian ships had to pay for sailing in their own and neighbouring waters, heavy gratituties had to be paid to the Portuguese captains who happened to intercept them on their way. Even the granting of a safe conduct was no guarantee against subsequent molestation. Thus Albuquerque himself on one occasion secretly instructed one of his captains-Duarte de Sousa—to camouflage himself as a

[1] English Factories 1634-6, p. 197 etc, Panikkar, Malabar & the Portuguese, p. 146 etc; Gray & Bell : Voyages of Pyrard ; Barroes, Barbosa,etc, Tohfut p. 177 etc; Maratha Records, etc; Kerala Pazhama p.164 etc.

[2] O.C. 1306; E.F.1630-33.

[3] Panikkar p. 41 ; Barroes, Vol. I, Bk. I.

mutineer, cruise off Dabul and capture all ships making for that port, even if they carried Portuguese passes. Dabul was at that time under a friendly power. The pretext, that the governor of that port had entertained" several Portuguese of humble birth magnificently" seems to be a flimsy one. In 1613 the Portuguese plundered the huge Rahimi—a ship belonging to no less a person than the (Mughal) Queen-Mother "notwithstandinge (according to Withington) their passe which they had of the Portugales." Hundreds of persons from those aboard the vessel are also said to have been transported as prisoners to Goa.

Among the Indian powers, Calicut also issued passes more or less as retaliatory measures, and Cochin complained that various ships were no longer applying for safe-conducts to her, but were procuring them from Calicut. "None may passe", says all English document of the 17th century, "without the Portugals passe, for what, how much, and whither they please to give licence."

Middleton [1]with the sane English conception of sea-power, warned the Mughal of this system, in a letter of 18th May, 1612:—"Your Highness beinge soe greate a monarke to live as it weare in slavery to the Portugalls, in such sorte that your subjects' shipps cannot make any voyage any where butt they must first pay tribute to the Portugalls." He was "much marvellinge that it can be sufferred by your Highness, such open injuryes within your owne land"[2] But the English themselves naturally followed this lucrative practice of granting "cartazes" in the seventeenth century and the ships detained by Middleton himself" desired to have "pasports" from the English, to avoid further levies by any of their compatriots whom the Indians might meet on their voyages later.[3]

This practice had its origin in the contemporary European conception of maritime rights, and has travelled through some of the phases of Napoleon's Continental System to even modern times. But when during this period the Portuguese seized a ship belonging to the Viceroy of Lahor on its way to Arabia, because it had not cared to obtain a pass, the Khān must have called this act as one of piracy.[4] Then Hall—a captain acting on behalf of the Company—seized eight Indian ships

[1] Danvers : The Portuguese in India, Vol. I ; Foster : Early Travels p. 135, p. 203.

[2] English copy in Journal of John Jourdain, p. 218 et seq. (Hakluyt).

[3] Purchas III, p. 400.

[4] According to Father Pierre du Jarric.

on one occasion and held them captive under his guns off Swally. Van den Broeck says that all these veesels had been granted passes by the English. Taking the 'consultations' held on 13th February and 23rd October, 1622, and other evidence into account, we may safely conclude that Hall had the approval of the agents of the Company in India, behind him.[1]

The English certainly took the law into their own hands. But they had their grievances to redress. They had been turned out of the Surat factory, an embargo had been laid on their goods at Ahmadebad and Cambay, two of their factors—Hughes and Parker—had been imprisoned. The Indians could retort by pointing out that the English had seized money from a ship belonging to Mughal royalty, taken away 23,000 lārés of Safi Khan, and Bickley's sqardon had captured a frigate from Sind. To sum up. We find in these acts the operation of the Law of Reprisal (of those days) mingled with the use of the sword of sea-power by a nation strong on the waters against another which is powerful on land.

Interloping again is sometimes interpreted as piracy. Wade of Courteen's Association accused the "London Company" itself of being "sharers and abettors of piracies," "thieves" and "confederates." By about this time we also find that "the Bristol's men were looked on as pirates, and Mr. Mews a supercargo was arraigned before the General's Tribunal."[2]

Another broad principle must not be forgotten in course of interpretation—the distinction between privateering and piracy. Even the first voyage of the Company has been regarded as more a privateering rather than a trading venture in relation to attacks on Spanish—Portuguese shipping. Thus on one occasion a Portuguese ship was chased, seized and plundered, and 146 buts of wine, 176 jars of oil etc. were seized.[3] By the close of the 16th century not only England but other European nations were freely issuing commissions to privately equipped ships to seize (usually) the enemy's trading vessels in a spirit of reprisal. It was his opinion regarding the distinction between privateers and pirates which cost Oldys his office during the period that followed James II's. Oldys held that even "deposed of the Crown", James, recognised by Louis XIV, could issue valid commissions which justified acts which might

[1] Factory Records Surat etc.

[2] Bruce: Annals ; Fawcett : The first century of British Justice in in India ; Wheeler : Madras in the olden times etc.

[3] Purchas II, p. 394 etc. ; Holdsworth, Vol. XII ; I A. LIII, p. 53 ; Callendar : The Naval side of British History, p. 54, p. 80 etc.

otherwise be condemned as piracies. Littleton held that James "was now a private person," and "those that adhere to him are not enemies but rogues." Littleton naturally succeeded Oldys in office.

In the 17th century to exact reparations for the raid of Olive of Newhaven "who" violentline did enter upon the coast of Englande thwarte the Portlande," it was ordered that "a commyssion out of the court of Admiraltie" be issued to "staie the goods of any Leaguers either by lande or sea". Similarly, in consideration of the allegation (?) that Sir John Bankes and Alderman Mico "had suffered a loss" of £64,000- from the Dutch....in the East Indies", "Oliver presently after the peace, they delaying to pay them the money, sent then word that if they did not pay them by such a day, he would graunt letters of mark to those merchants against them." Examples are numerous. But the historian must remember that those Calicut and other armed Indian vessels who seized shipping on the high seas with the express or tacit consent of various Indian States must also on kindred grounds be regarded as legitimate privateers.[1]

To illustrate this point further, Sir Henrey Middleton "took a Portugall ship and frigat, out of which he" "tooke some quantitie of goods." "And from thence," says Hawkins, "we departed the fift of March" 1612, "for the Red Sea, with an intent to revenge us of the wrongs offered us both by the Turkes and Mogols."[2]

The English held the Indian vessels captive, compelled them to barter indigo, cloth, carpets, rice, butter, ginger, sugar etc. for kersies, lead, iron, tin etc.[3]

The Rahīmi hersel was there. "We shot," says Jourdain, three peeces at her before shee would anclour"[4] Saris tells us that Middleton demanded a lakh of "rials of eight" from the Arab authorities in "satisfaction for the losse of his mens lives and for his tyme spent, having lost his monsone to the overthrowe of his voyage." As the Turk could not be coerced directly, pressure was exerted on him by keeping these Indian ships away from his ports and thus making him lose trade and customs dues. Secondly, to compensate himself for the losses, Middleton in his attempt to trade with India, thought himself justified in 'impounding' these Indian ships and taking away

[1] Pepys (Globe) p. 244 etc.

[2] Foster : Early Travels in India, p. 96.

[3] Lists in Purchas III, p. 401 etc.

[4] Journal, p. 209.

of contemporary Indians, Withington himself refers to "the late facte of Sir Henry Middleton whoe not longe before had robbed divers in these parts." But at the same time it must not escape our attention that the English captain was an agent of a Company chartered by a soveriegn power ; Saris has given two pages of the "accounts" that were kept, "accounts" where even a quarter of a rial has been entered. Some sort of legality was attempted to be given to all these proceedings on the sea. Roe himself once threatened "to set his chop" (chāpa=stamp) on "one of the (Indian) vessels", and "send her for Surat."[1]

But how privateerings degenerated during this period into piracies, partly because of regional considerations, can be illustrated by the commission granted by Charles I, himself, "to make prize of all....treasures, merchandises, goodes and commodities" which the captain (Willian Cobb) "shall be able to take of infidells, or of anie other prince, potentat or state", not bound to him in a friendly alliance, and reigning "beyond the line" of the Equator. In course of the depredations that followed, both the hands "of the nākhudā (captain) of the Indian ship were "bound". The raders "tyed match to his fingers which burnt them unto the bones", to make him confess "where the money lay." Other officers of the ship were similarly treated "until they were neare dead, and then they confest whatsoever they knewe."[2]

With reference to the regional factor it must be remembered on the other hand, that Finch (for example) got the impression that Asiatics did not think that justice required repayment of moneys they owed to Europeans. "Perhaps on like ground," he adds, "as some Europeans think it lawfull to make price of the goods and ships of Ethnikes." Prize is however applied strictly (in English law) only to "a ship or goods" taken from the enemy by a maritime force. Darby Mullins who was executed (along with Kidd) on 23rd May, 1701, had pointed out in his defence that he had not known" but that it was very lawful....to plunder ships and goods etc. belonging to the enemies of Christianity." Even the cultured Coke was of opinion that Christians were justified in regarding pagans as their inveterate enemies at all times.[3]

[1] Journal p. 213 n; Foster : Early Travels, p. 203, Purchas III p. 401 etc ; Foster : Sir Thomas Roe, p. 428.

[2] My paper on "Dutch and English piracies..and their effect on the Company's trade with India, in New Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, no. II, February, 1939, p. 649 to p. 665.

[3] Foster : Early Travels, p. 147 ; Laws of England, Vol. XXIII (Halisbury) etc.

We must not also forget that even when their countries in Europe were not formally at war with each other, it was considered more or less legitimate, by different European establishments in India, to fight among themselves. Depredations on shipping which took place during these periods of quasi-war therefore cannot be categoried as piracies, although jurists perhaps would support a different point of view.[1]

Thus inspite of the truce of 1609, the Portuguese attacked Pulicat and "to Dutchmen on the coast, the Portuguese were still the enemy." Again, though England and Spain remained officially at peace, the Portuguese squardons attacked English ships on the West Coast in 1614, and later. Then inspite of the fact both nations were friendly, the English helped the Persians to take Hormuz from the Portuguese. Lord Digby, the English ambassador, had to explain in Madrid that the Persians had forced the English to do so. But among other things, it is admitted (for example) in the letter of Fursland from Batavia (of 20th February, 1623) that the English obtained 18,000. in money and ten brass guns.

Then there are the acts done in exercise of maritime rights. A writer of this period points out that an enemy was to be "compelled to compliance" by capture and confiscation even of neutral ships. Louis XIV's Marine Ordinance of 1681 has been regarded as "le chef d'oeuvre de la législation établie par cet incomparable monarque."[2]

On the whole, the historian in his judgement which must be the same for foreigner as for native is to take into consideration the facts that piracy ex jure gentium may be different from piracy by municipal law and municipal law only;[3] that the events of the 17th century must be viewed through glasses three centuries old; that states of quasi-war prevailed in Eastern waters; that a nation strong on the sea must be given due latitude when it chose to flourish the sword of sea-power; that the 'judgements' of sveenteenth century authorities made in the heat of the strife must be reviewed properly; that though in some cases it might not be possible to readily distinguish between full-dress and tail-coat piracies and other acts of violence on the sea which are more or less legitimate, the utmost care should be taken against pronouncing an inequitable verdict.

[1] Wheaton: Lawrence; Kenny; Hall; Botsford in Ency. of the Social sciences; Wharton in the Law-Lexicon etc.

[2] Court Min. 1624; E.F. 1622-23; Factory Records. Mis. Vol. VIII; Proceedings of the British Academy Vol. XI; Lawrence: International Law etc.

[3] Stephen: Digest, atricles 104 to 117; Oppenheim, Int. Law etc.

SHAH ALAM II AND THE DUTCH

By

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The *Public Consultations*, dated the 5th August, 1761[1] contain two significant letters. In one Rajah Ramnarain, *Naib Nazim* of Bihar, wrote to the Dutch : "Your Bravery and Capacity has been represented by my friend Meer Seid Allee Cawn Bahadur to His Majesty (Shah Alam II) after the conclusion of the affairs of the Sircar; whatsoever you shall represent to the King shall be granted by the means of Seid Mahmud Afzul Cawn because the said Seid attends on his Majesty and is my entire friend". In another, Shah Alam II addressed the Dutch as follows : "Your loyal attachment and faithful services and duty and obedience have been set forth in the Royal presence both by our trusty servant Meer Seid Alle Cawn Bahadur in Person and by the addresses of the Noble Seid Mahomed Afzul Cawn; wherefore we have dispatched the said noble Seid from our Court to you. It behoves you whatsoever commands he shall deliver to you from us to look upon it as authentic and act according thereto. Be in every respect satisfied and attend with Diligence and zeal to the care of the Royal Country. By the will of God you will become shortly worthy object of the Royal Favor and protection. This caution is given you for your conduct."

The exact occasion for this exchange of correspondence is not definitely set forth in these letters. But a study of their contents with reference to certain other contemporary evidences leads to the conclusion that they are connected with Shah Alam II's second invasion of Bihar and raid into Bengal in 1760 and his third invasion of Bihar in 1761.

The battle of Bedara (25th November, 1759) dealt a crushing blow to the ambition of the Dutch " to rival the political power of the English in Bengal". "Thus ended an affair," observed Clive in recognition of its significance, "which had the event been different, threatened us in its consequences with utter destruction ; for, had the Dutch gained the same advan-

[1]Preserved under the custody of the *Imperial Record Department, New Delhi*.

tage over us, we have now the most convincing proof to conclude that the remembrance of Amboyna would have been lost in their treatment of this colony"[1] It "decisively foiled", remarks Mallenso aptly, "the attempt to establishe an Indo-Batavian empire"[2]

The Dutch entered into two separate conventions on the 3rd and the 5th December, 1759, with the English and the Nawab of Bengal respectively.[3] These made them entirely dependent[4] for all practical purposes, on the English and the Nawab. But they must have nursed in their hearts feelings of discontent and resentment, which naturally led them at times to try to utilize some political disturbances within the province with a view to improving their own condition. Thus at a critical period for the Nawab's government and the English in Bengal in 1760 and 1761, when the important zamindars like Kamgar Khan Main of Narhat in the Gaya District, the Rajas of Birbhum, Burdwan and Vishnupur (in the Bankura district) and a few others, and Khadim-Husain Khan, Governor of Purnea, were hostile to the Nawab's government, portions of western Bengal were subject to ravages of the Marathas under Sheo Bhat Sathe[5] who "gave out that he came to support the cause of the Emperpr"[6]. Shah Alam II, encouraged by some local disaffected zamindars[7], invaded Bihar and Bengal; the "English force in Bengal was musch divided, and Moorshedabad, the population of which was inclined to disaffection, as was also a portion of the troops stationed there, was left nearly defenceless"[8]. The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar may have tried to act in cooperation with some of the malcontents and the Prince invader. It is definitely known to us that the English and the Nawab took all possible precautions in September, 1760, to "prevent the Dutch from uniting with the Raja of Birbhum"[9]. On the 27th March, 1761, Nawab Mir Qasim requested

[1]*Clive's Narrative* in Malcolm, *Life of Clive, Vol. II, p.* 89.

[2]Malleson, *The Dicisive Battles of India,* p. 124.

[3]Broome, *Bengal Army,* Appendix '*M*'.

[4]Stavorinus, *Voyage to the East Indies,* Vol· I, pp. 499-501.

[5]Long, *Selections from Unpublished Records of the Government, Vol. I,* Nos. 537, 539, 558, and *Calendar of Persian Correspondence,* Vol.I, p. 40 and p. 46.

[6]Broome, *Bengal Army,* p. 289.

[7]Sarkar, *Fall of the Mughal Empire,* Vol. II, pp. 537-548 ; *C.P.C., Vol. I,* p. 46.

[8]Broome, *Bengal Army, p.* 228.

[9]*C.P.C.,* Vol. I. p. 30; Long, *op.cit.,* p. 235.

the Council in Calcutta to write a letter to the Dutch "desiring them to alter their insolent Conduct"[1]

The Dutch were accused by Nawab Mir Jafar of having carried on "a private correspondence" with his "known and public enemies"[2] and "tendered and promised their assistance to the Moghal Prince (Ali Gohur), who was in full march against" him.[3] Most probably the charge was not groundless, as would appear from the expression 'Your loyal attachment and faithful services and duty and obedience" in Shah Alam II's letter to the Dutch quoted above. The fact that the Dutch received a letter about the same time also from Rajah Ramnarain lends additional support to the view that the contents of both are connected with Shah Alam's movements in Bengal and Bihar in 1760 and 1761 A.D.

In his letter Shah Alam II assured the Dutch that they "will become shortly worthy object of the Royal Favour and Protection". Nothing most probably came out of this assurance. In fact, the Delhi Emperor was then a helpless wanderer, "a broken adventurer"[4] subject to vicissitudes of fortune and like a drowning man trying to catch at a straw. Major Carnac aptly observed in his letter to the Select Committee in Calcutta, dated 6th March, 1761, written about three weeks after he had escorted Shah Alam II from Gaya to Patna[5] that "the unhappy prince is reduced so low, as to be much more an object of pity than of fear."[6] It should be, however, noted that the fiction of his sovereignty was sought to be utilized by the respective competitors in the race for political supremacy in India during the greater part of the period of his formal headship of the ruined Delhi Empire.

[1] *C.P.C.*, Vol. I, p. 80.

[2] *Public Proceedings, 12th May*, 1760.

[3] *A fresh complaint lately exhibited to the States of Holland and West Friezland by the Dutch East India Company against the servants of the English East India Company in Benagl, 2nd December*, 1761.

[4] Broome, *Bengal Army, p.* 278.

[5] *Ibid,* p. 328.

[6] Vansittart, *Narrative, Vol.I,* p. 185.

A NOTE ON THE ORIGIN OF CHAUTHAI

By

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Much has been written on the system of *Chauthāi*, which was adopted by the Marathas for collecting tributes and revenue.[1] It is contended that the system of payment of "*Chouth*" is not of Maratha origin but was begun by the Portuguese, the prince receiving this payment from them being known as Chouthia.[2] Before accepting this view one will have to consider the characteristically Maratha aspect of the terms *Chouth* and *Chouthāi* and the existence of the payment of *Chouthai* perhaps even before the Portuguese settlement in India.

(*i*) Firsty, *Chouth* and its derivative *Chouthāi* are Marathi words. They signify one forth of a given thing and, what is more important, they are not used as technical terms with some fixed fiscal meaning but are freely used to convey their sense for all general purposes. This can be made clear even by quoting a few examples of their use in the Maratha period. In an old paper the expression used is *Chouthe Velā* meaning "the fourth time[3]". An order of Shivaji II dated April 1707 says that in a village which is given in *inām* to a temple, the cultivators should pay the full revenue, whereas the headman (of the village) should pay only one-fourth (*Chouthāi*) towards the upkeep of the temple.[4] On one occasion when King Shahu wished to reprimand two of his wayward generals he wrote: "If you will obstinately levy certain contributions, you will have to pay one fourth of the collection (*Chouthāi*) to the government.[5] On another occasion the same king wrote to an officer who had committed ravages in the kindogm of his cousin, the king of Kolhapur, "We have agreed," wrote Shahu, "that you should surrender one fourth (*chouthāi*) of your money collections and one half the number (*nimme*) of the horses and elephants that you may have seized[6]."

[1]Prof. Pissurlenhar has referred to all these writings in his article—*A origem do tributo chouto* included in his book *Antigualhas*, p. 62 (f. n.)

[2]See *Idem* and also Dr. Sen : *Military System of the Marathas*, pp. 28-38.

[3] *Shri Rāmadāsāchi Atihāsik Kāgadpatre* Vol. 3. 1.

[4]*Aitihāsik Sankirna Sāhitya*. Vol. I.1.

[5]*Shāhu Rojanisi*, Entry No. 184.

[6]*Shāhu Rojanisi*, Entry No. 180.

Any number of such instances can be cited to show that even during the historical period the word *Chouthāi* was used in the ordinary sense of one fourth. It is to be particularly noted that the word "*Chou*" meaning four is an ancient Marathi[1] word and other formations than *Chouth* and *Chouthāi* are met with. Thus, for example, the word *Chouhotrā* meaning four per cent was freely in use during the Maratha period.[2] It should further be remembered that the word *Chouthāi* is formed in the same way as the well-known Marathi word *Tijāi*, meaning one third of the given thing. For all these reasons it seems clear that *Chouthāi* is originally a Marathi word. It will be hard to prove, even if it were attempted, that all these words came into vogue in Marathi only after the Portuguese mention of the word *Chouthia*.

2. Secondly, *Chouthāi* even in its fiscal sense menaing one fourth of the revenue of a district, province or state appears to have been known to the kingdoms of the Deccan even before the settlement of the Portuguese along the Western coast of India. On Nov. 11, 1426 the Sultan of Bedar issued a Sanad in which he said: "The petty chief on the bank of the Bhimā river has rebelled and remitted no dues. We proclaim to all our nobles and generals that any one who will put down Rājā Bāterāo (the rebel) and establish peace and order in that country will receive the rights of *Chouthāi* and *Deshmukhi*."[3] This is indeed the earliest reference so far known to not only *Chouthāi* as a fiscal right but also to the use of the word *Chouthāi* itself. From another document[4] of somewhat later period it appears that the custom of collecting *Chouthāi* was not unknown in the Deccan Sultanates. Documents relating to the early period of Deccan history are rather few. But it is likely that further research may bring to light cases showing the nature and origin of *Chouthāi* in a still more unambiguous manner.

[1]For its early use in historical Marathi papers see *Shivacharitra—Sāhitya*, Vol. 1. Nos. 2, 3.

[2]Parasnis : *Sanadāpatrātil Māhiti* P. 182. The words used in this Sanad are *Dohotrā* two per-cent ; *Dāhotrā* ten per cent ; and *Chouhotrā* four per cent.

[3]*Selections from the Peshwa Daftar* Vol. 31. 1. The expression in Marathi signifying the contents of the grant is *Chouthai ammal deshamukhi*. This may mean (1) the rights of *Chouthāi* and *Deshmukhi*, or (2) *Deshmukhi* including the rights of *Chouthāi*. Whatever meaning is to be attached to the Marathi expression, it suffices here to note the prevalence of the *Chouthāi* custom even in the early years of the fifteenth century.

[4]See Rajawade Vol. 15. 122, which is an order of the Adil Shahi governor of the province of Wāi.

From the details given above, it is permissible to conclude that *Chouthāi* is a Marathi word signifying one fourth. The use of *Chouthāi* as a fiscal or revenue term, again, is older than the Portuguese contact. Under these circumstances it is difficult to accept the theory of the Portuguese origin of *Chouthāi*. On the contrary, one may even hazard the guess that the Portuguese themselves may have adopted a prevailing practice which had a native name and a native significance.

THE FOLK SONGS OF THE SINHALESE[1]

By

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In Ceylon unlike in India traditional bards or wandering minstrels may not have wandered the country,[2] singing the age old popular melodies drawn from a common reservoir and transmitted orally through generations. Nevertheless, the Sinhalese possess a vast store-house of such popular expression in song, some of which at least may go back to very ancient times. This is a common heritage to which the rich and poor, educated and illiterate, men and women have contributed a share. The body of folk-songs has grown, ever changing but always acquiring fresh sweetness in enriching the delicacy of their flavour, sweetness of their melody and charm of expression. Out of this national store-house the people drew unreservedly according to the occasion and requirement so repeatedly and to such an extent, as for certain melodies and songs to be particularly associated with certain avocations. Hence we have by usage the songs[3] of the ploughman, reaper, watchman, boatman, fisherman, carter, traveller and so on. There are also the lullabies used in inducing children to sleep. The list is not exhaustive but quite representative.

The folk songs of the Sinhalese can still be heard among the remote villages where the pleasures of living, labour and enjoyment are understood. There in the open sun-bathed field, through wild jungles, across rugged paths, up and down the silvery streams, the highways and byways, one can still hear the sweet music of rustic melodies whose appeal strikes at the

[1]The existing collections cannot all be accepted as scientific, since the majority of these have been modernised by untrained collectors. If a real study is to be undertaken the songs will have to be collected on proper scientific lines.

[2]A class of beggars who sing extempore compositions in the praise of a particular householder in the expectation of immediate material gains wander from house to house. The Viridu singers who appear in public for singing praises of patrons may have started during the late Kandyan period, but the idea may be much older.

[3]The songs of the plumbago miners are modern as the activity was started after the British occupation. But it may be possible that the songs of the gem miners may have formed the basis of their origin and development.

very soul, specially in the silent stillness of tropical moonlit nights. Both men and women, boys and girls, young and old alike indulge in singing in marked contrast to the almost complete absence of the custom today. A reactionary modern tendency among the present day educated section of the population is to attempt to popularise the fading treasures of song through school competitions, national festivals and the radio. But the attempt is foredoomed to failure, since it may be impossible to recapture the balance and rhythm of that peasant society. These songs belong to the past and also to certain spheres of the present, and can not be so revived ; but they can be remembered, studied and preserved.

There is a striking similarity between the early folk songs of the Sinhalese and the Veddas,[1] as regards their strain and melody. The appeal lies in their profound simplicity, rustic beauty and simple charm. To one who is familiar with both types of song the dramatic repetition, terms of address and the long drawn strain strike as a common element. In the 'Mevara Sellama '[2] and the 'Oliñda Keliya'[3] these points emerge clearly. The episode over the loses of a braid of hair is also sung in a similar strain.

> "Blackie, please grind the *kurakkan* grain. Where is the flour under the mortar ? Bake a lump of flour, Blackie, and give it to mother, Blackie." "In what lands are found the olinda seeds. Olinda seeds are found in the land of. Bengal. To what countries are they brought for decoration ? They are brought to ornament Sinhala."

The cradle songs and nursery rhymes refer to a peasent society in which the woman appears to have been the chief food gatherer. This takes her to the woods, jungles and fields. Her child grows in the arms of a younger sister, an old aunt or an aged grandmother. Nevertheless the songs refer to the mother's activities. This perhaps may exnlain the blinding loyalty of the Sinhalese to their mother and village.

> "Soon mother will return, bringing olives in her hands, vegetables in her lap and gathering a heavy load of firewood."

[1]Veddas are a primitive jungle tribe living in the wild parts of Ceylon. They have borrowed many things from the neighbouring Sinhalese.

[2]A game played by Sinhalese children in the villages.

[3]A board game played with small olinda seeds. An olonda seed is small, red in colour, oval in shape and has a black eye on a side.

"Having gone to the Hena[1] your mother will be returning with a bag full of sweet potatoes and a lap full of āmbilla[2]"

Mother love and the love of mother continue throughout life. In many songs deepest affection is expressed with a power that may appeal to anyone. Such gems of beauty are rare. But those that have been preserved are sufficient proof of such loving sentiment. The general feeling is that love and gratitude should be shown to one's mother, if not for anything else, at least for having brought one into this world. She is loved, honoured and worshipped as a deity. It is the pious hope and cherished desire of all peasants that after death one's mother[3] will be born in a heaven where she will enjoy all happiness.

"O younger brother, treat not mother in that fashion. She sucked both of us at her own breast. Whatever she has left will also be given to us. Adore mother even as one adores the Buddha"

References to the family circle are fond. The children received many presents from their relatives. Both girls and boys wore ornaments, but the girls alone were heavily laden with them.

"Daughter, how did you get bangles for the arms ?
How did you get anklets for the feet ?
How did you get chains for the waist..........?"

The uncle and aunts and other near relatives are mentioned by name as having given this or that present. There was a spirit of tolerance and a familiarity of bearing between children and their uncles. The songs reveal the exact nature of this mutual affection. Mother and children, brothers and sisters are greatly attached to each other through bonds of family affection. The brothers were associated in work and play. A younger sister is often considered an ornament, more so, if she happens to be the only girl in the family. She is in her turn realises this position of which she becomes proud.

"There is only one tree whose shadow is pleasant. Sweet and delicious milk was drunk only at the

[1]A primitive form of cultivation where the jungle is burnt and quick crops are sown or planted. Every year or so a fresh plot is cleared.

[2]A small sour fruit that grows wild.

[3]A reference to dead parents or any form of ancestor worship is not found It would be interesting to discover one although it would not be surprising to find any.

same breast. You have only one sister, my dear elder brother. Have you any other sister except me......?".

Special consideration, love and respect are always shown to the mother. Many songs reiterate the same theme. Also a pathetic case of ungrateful treatment is sung as a lesson and warning to all.

"Stricken with hunger I went to my son's house. And he gave me two measures of paddy in a bag. I was wondering whether to take it or not, thinking to myself, did I give you milk in measured amount? To the mother who gave as much of sweet milk as mountain, not so much as a handful of paddy was given. Having received two measures of paddy in a bag, what does this old woman say, get out of the house...."

The women, specially the girls enjoyed life as much as anyone else. The peasant girl was as fond of sport as her more enlightened sister. She roamed the woods, swam the streams and paddled the swings. Many a song descriptive of the limbs and ornaments of youthful maidens is sung, as they swing in the air.

"The young maidens are like golden images. Their eardrops wave on either side. They wear the waist-cloth firmly fastened (to the body). Maidens, ride on the swing....

Their beautiful and expansive foreheads are like the crescent moon. Ride on joyfully, clap hard, shouting hurrah and making crackling noises that gladden......"

The gathering together for work and play helped a certain amount of display and love play that later led to permanent romances.

"I shall give betel to beautify your mouth. I shall give golden cloth to drape around your waist. I shall pluck Sapu flowers to be worn around your head.[1] If you come with me, I shall give you royal pleasures...."

Despite such sweet sentiments and unrestricted freedom there rested at the back of their minds a colossal inferiority

[1]A very fragrant large flower known to English readers as Champak.

complex. This psychological make up made the woman yearn for the state of manhood. For, one woman addressing another says ;

> "My dear cousin, I am very worried now. We suffer bitter sorrows thus as a result of (sin committed in) our previous birth. Let us wish to be born as men in our next birth........"

The family life was not what it is understood to be today. The husband and wife lived together and loved each other, the wife of course ministering to her husband as lord and master. The peasant at times wondered why of all beautiful women his spouse seemed the only one created by Mahābrahmā[1]. In estrangement one pines for the other. Whilst the husband is pining away in a distant and far away land the wife spends restless days and nights awaiting his return.

> "During the thirty hours of the day[2] I keep watch on the road and during the thirty hours of the night I turn away in fear. The hand placed on the head is wet with tears. Why in the name of heaven does my husband not return......"

Even this love that makes them long for each other in affection can change to wrathful hatred in dissension. The songs also allude to the proverbial position of the mother-in-law. She obviously had little authority in the disposal of her daughter although at first she acted as an intermediary. A young man says, "mother-in-law, I will be a loving son to you." Further on he adds, "My mother-in-law, will you give me your daughter in May...." There is a curse added as a bitter warning against a refusal.

> "May painful boils appear in the throat; may a film grow in your pair of eyes that now see all round; may your knot of hair that is tied to the left catch fire ; may the heart of the mother-in-law who will not give me her daughter, burst...."

It is not only love and romance, the grim realities of life and the painful partings that the peasants expressed through the medium of their songs. They display a fine sense of humour as well and accepted their unprofitable hours and disappointed moments with philosophic resignation. Humour and irony are not wanting. One song says :

[1]The supreme creator according to Hindu religion.

[2]According to the Sinhalese the day is reckoned as having sixty hours.

"When my brother and I went sporting about the Ovita,[1] a butting female buffalo confronted us. Looking around I could not see any tree to climb. Tucking up my cloth I climbed a Tuttiri[2] plant.."

A whole class of songs deals with play acting of incidents and functions in the daily life of the peasants. The games are in fact vocational training exercises. The actual activities have been forgotten but the songs have been preserved. Honey gathering and smithery are two of them. Many dramatic elements are found in most of such songs. The Sinhalese peasant lived close to nature in close communion with her. He tamed a few birds and animals as pets. Other animals he loved. Some he despised and some he feared. The beasts of burden, chiefly the oxen, he considered companions of high esteem. The bulls were ornamented with trappings and bells. The best and noblest of these animals were believed to have come from Ruhuna and Kataragama [3]. The animals employed in agriculture, specially threshing, were considered to belong to the gods.

"Look, whose is the bull ? This belongs to the Sungod. Look, whose is this one ? This one belongs to the Moongod............"

Natural beauty has not been omitted. He was too observant to miss it. In fact he must have derived a great deal of joy from nature. Such romantic settings as moonlit lakes, forest glades, sunkissed hills, flooded fields, trees, creepers and flowers - all these contributed to make his simple life interesting and eventful.

Popular music and drama did not exist as rigidly separated forms of art. Whatever human interest was satisfied by them, that same measure found fulfilment at every festival and ritual of an agricultural or other nature. These helped sufficiently to satisfy the emotional yearnings of men and women whose busy life afforded little leisure for the appreciation of art apart from its functional associations. Nature lore was considered an important phase of the peasant make up. Such a knowledge was acquired by experience and intelligent observation of their environment. This body of lore was essential for the life in the jungle and the village. The habits of animals and the movements of birds, their cries and foot-prints were all observed.

[1] An elevated area of land surrounded by fields.

[2] A very small little plant about one and a half feet in height.

[3] Two very popular areas in the extreme south of Ceylon.

The accumulation of this body of lore led most probably to the art of divination.

Every tree and hill, every stream and lake, every natural phenomenon such as the sun, moon and stars and every direction was believed to be the abode of a permanant deity[1]. These were worshipped in the normal course of life and appealed to for help during crises, some of which were of course accepted as being beyond human control. It is therefore, natural that magic should play an important röle in the life of the peasant. The fulfilment of prayer was duly acknowledged by material offerings to the godheads concerned. They were also worshipped.

> "Whose is the threshing floor ? It belongs to the moon god. The moon god has come here. The moon god will grant plenty.

Such deities are believed to supervise agricultural activities. Therefore magical rites must be performed to purify and ward off any possible element of danger.

> "Having erected posts, put up scare crows.. After inspection sprinkle charmed sand. These drive away flies and worms. Thus the peasants protect and look after the fields...."

It is also extremely interesting to find that the threshing floor is considered the property of the kings of Coḷa and Pāṇḍi[2]. A final appeal to all the gods is made for increasing the grain. Not only in economic pursuits but also in such activities as sports, the favour of gods is sought for obtaining victory. In return for such beneficient intervention all the deities are made to participate in the merit acquired by peasant.

> "May merit accrue to the sungod who shines at dawn ; to the moongod who shines after sunset ; to the gods living in the four oceans. May the four Varam[3] gods participate in our merit'........

[1]Reference to spirits of the dead or other gods and goddesses belonging to an earlier society have not yet been found. There is no reason for them not to exist. It may be that such songs have been deliberately forgotton. These, if discovered would be most valuable.

[2]Two Tamil kingdoms in south India. At times they overran Ceylon and conquered parts of it.

[3]Four regional gods are in charge of the four quarters. They are Dhrataràstra, Virūdha, Virūpākṣa and Vaiśarvaṇa.

KUMĀRĪ VRATA-CHAḌĀS[1] OF BENGAL

By

S. R. DAS, M.A., CALCUTTA.

Chanting of the Chaḍās or Mantras (or spells, formulas, incantations, etc.) connected with each Kumārī-vrata play the most important part in the performance and observance of these Vratas. These Chaḍās have been composed in poems of local dialects. They differ from district to district, but there is an underlying unity in all cases. This difference is due to the fact that they have been handed down to us from generation to generation through the word of mouth. A study of the character of the Bengali words and phrases which have been used in thses folk ballads proves that they are very old. According to some they represent the pre-Pauranic culture of Bengal. Main features of these chaḍās or formulas consist of an appeal or prayer for the fulfilment of worldly desires: the character of magical spells is not also at all absent from these Chaḍās. Primitive minds even today see in these formulas a magical power and their character resembles to a great extent the primitive incantations. Indeed the subjects and other features are so closely connected that we can safely regard them as magical spells or incantations.

Most of the Chaḍās contain the subject matter of the heart's desires of the girls as well as the practices to be followed. Thus in the Gokāl-vrata we have the following Chaḍā:

By fanning you,
Conch bangles coated with gold shall I wear.
By fanning you,
Free from co-wife shall I my family rear.
Away shall fly sorrow and disease,
Away shall go worms and fleas.

[1]Various are the *vratas* or the vowed observances that are observed in different parts of Bengal. Numerous *vratas* have been mentioned in the Purāṇas and in other connected literature; but the *kumārī vratas* are not found mentioned in the Puranic literature. The practices and the observances of these *vratas* are purely indigenous and they have not yet been fully absorbed by Brahmanism. There are of course traces of Brahmanical influence but these are later introductions. These *chaḍās* have been collected mainly from the districts of Barisal, Faridpur and Dacca. I have used *chaḍās* of the following *vratas*-Gokāl-vrata, Sāñdhyamani-vrata, Tārār-vrata, Yamapukur-vrata, Tilkujārī-vrata, Sīvapūjā-vrata, Māghmandal-vrata, Puṇyapukur-vrata, Senjuti-vrata Dasputulér-vrata. I have given here only English renderings of the *chaḍās* used.

For long in Gokul (paradise) to live,
Thus to the mouth of the cow grass do I give,
So that life in Vaikuṇṭha may I receive.

Here the Vrata consists in the act of giving grass to the cow. By this act she expresses her desires of possessing golden bangles, of being free from co-wife, sorrow; disease, and of obtainng a place in Vaikuṇṭha (paradise)[1]. In some Chaḍās again we find the objectives of the Vratas explained and the merit to be obtained by the observances. Thus in the Puṇya-pukurvrata (holy tank) we have

What wealth by this worship shall I get ?
(Epūjilé ki dhan pāva ?)

Then the answer is given by mentioning numerous forms of wealth which are mostly desired by the girls. Thus the Chaḍā in question runs as follows:—

Holy Tank ! whom flowers do adorn,
Who is it that worship thee in morn ?
It is I Lilāvatī, the maiden,
Fortunate sister of brothers seven.
What wealth by this worship shall I get ?
Wealth like Yakṣa doth on me wait.
I will be to Sāvitrī a peer,
I will be to my husband dear.
I will get a son free from decay and death,
I will never suffer the pangs of death.
Placing my son on the lap of his sire,
Let me in the Ganges stream expire.

Here are the numerous forms of wealth consisting of a good husband, an immortal son, freedom from windowhood, etc. These are mainly the things, the unmarried girls live and dream for.

Certain Chaḍās again have an intimate relation with the Ālpaṇa or drawings on the ground. Thus she worships painted material things and wants things of real value. She worships Piṭhulir-Chiḍūni (Piṭhuli is a form of liquid paste made by diluting pasted rice with water) but wants to have a golden Chiḍūni (comb). This will be clear from the following Chaḍā of the Senjuti-vrata.

[1]The observance and practices of this Vrata are almost similar to the festival observed by the Hos, Mundas, etc. The Hos observe this festival i.e. *Horo Parale* in the month of Bhadia. See Dr. Majumdar's A Tribe in a Transition. The Mundas also observe this fistival which is Known as "*Sohorai*". See Mundas and their Country by S.C. Ray, page, 481. The main objectives of this festival and the Gokâl vrata are also the same.

We worship Piṭhuli drawn comb,
That we may have golden comb.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn box,
That we may have golden box.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn palanquin,
That we may have golden palanquin.

Thus instead of a painted comb, box, palanquin, etc, drawn on the ground she wants golden things. Here we find an intimate connection between the Chaḍā and the Ālpana. Again the magical principle of "like affects like", i. e. sympathetic or imitative magic, is fully apparent in these chaḍās. But in some Chaḍās this connection is not very clear as we shall presently see that the tree Māndār (a kind of tree) is worshiped because it produces agricultural wealth, gold, silver, etc,. So far as the external form is concerned the correspondence between the tree Māñdār and paddy or metals is not known to us.

We worship Māndār in picture,
That we may granary of rice and paddy acquire.
We worship Piṭhuli drawn Māñdār,
That our house may be stuffed with gold and silver.

Other Chaḍās are chiefly directed towards the worship of the natural phenomena such as the Sun, the Moon and the Stars. These are very clear from the Chaḍās of Māghmaṇḍal, Tārā and and Sāndhyamani Vratas. In the Tārā (stars) and the Sāñdhyamani (jewel of evening stars) Vrata-chaḍās we have the evidence of the worship of the stars which excercise influences on the destinies of men. In the Māghmaṇḍal Vrata we have the positive evidence of the worship of the Sun which is a characteristic feature of the primitive religion. Indeed it is the most ancient of all worships and most common among all the ancient peoples of the world. The sun was regarded by the Nahua and indeed by all Mexicans and the central American peoples as the supreme deity or rather the principal source of the subsistence of life."[2] The sun is also sustained by daily food and human sacrifice.[3] In India as well, the Sun worship

[1]Tree Māndār is also commonly regarded as a wish-producing tree. Such drawings and paintings for magical purposes are very common among the primitives. See, Orāon Religion and Custons by S.C. Ray, pages, 285-286, 126-27, 46; Khārias by S.C.M. page, 474; Birhors by S.C.R., page, 152, 221, 335 Garos by Playfair, page, 45; E.R.E, Vol-I, page, 831, also see the writer's article on the "Alpanas of the Kumari-vratas of Bengal" published in the Journal of Indian Society of Oriental Art", 1944.

[2]Myths of Mexico and Peru by Spencer, page, 96-7.

[3]*Ibid*, page, 98.

is very common among most of the primitive tribes. It is prevalent among the Bhüyās, Gonds, Orāons Hās, Nogas, Muṇḍās, etc. There is no practice of the material representation of the Sun among these tribes and the worship is performed mostly in open space.[1] Among the Muṇḍā group of peoples the Sun is the supreme deity and he is called the Sing-boṅgā, the God of Gods.[2] Like the Muṇḍā tribes the Khāriās also regard the Sun as the visible symbol of the creator and the ruler of the universe.[3] He is worshiped because he is the life and the light of creation. The observance of this Māghmaṇḍal-vrata shows that the Sun worship was prevalent in Bengal from very early times. Besides this vrata there is another pūjā which is known as the Chhapūjā which is observed on the 6th day of the light fortnight in the month of Kārtika.[4] In Assam (Sylhet) Sūryapūjā is held in spring when plantain tree is set up in the courtyard decorated with flowers, and offerings are made to it, while the women sing songs in honour of the Sun.[5] In Sylhet there is another Vrata which is known as the Māgha-vrata representing the Sun worship.[6] The Sun is often worshiped for agricultural produces.[7] The Indo-Aryans also worship the Sun and regard him as the supreme deity. The verse called Gāyatrī was esteemed by the ancient Hindus to be the holiest verse in the Vedas. It is addressed to the Sun, "Let us meditate on the sacred light of the divine Sun that it may illuminate our minds."[8] The Gāyatrī-Sāvitrī occurs also in the Ṛgveda (111,62,10).[9] The Sun again has been identified with the Buddhist God Dharma which was very commonly worshiped in Bengal. The Sun has been worshipped as a folk God from prehistoric times but his attributes as a folk god varied in different periods ; main feature however of the popular Sun worship have persisted both in the civilised societies as well as among the primitive tribes.

[1] Journal of the Department of Letters, Vo.l XI, page, 93.

[2] The Mundas and their Country by S. C. Ray, page, 467; A Tribe in a Transition by Majumdar, page, 135.

[3] The Khàries by S.C. Ray, page, 369-70.

[4] Popular Religion and Folklore of northern India by Crook, page 33.

[5] Popular religion and folklore of nothern India by Crook, page, 33.

[6] Vangiya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā, 1340, page, 37-41.

[7] Man in India, 1941

[8] Vishṇu Purāna by Wilson, page 250.

[9] "Tat sàvitur varenyam bhargo devasya dhīmatirdhiyomati prachodyāt". Wilson translates it thus "We meditate on that light of divine Sàvitri (Sun) who influences our pious rites."

In the Māghmandal-vrata Chaḍās we have the remnanats of such a worship of the Sun. Numerous Sūrya-pūjā Chaḍās have been collected from different parts of Bengal by a number of scholars. Mr. S. C. Mitra has translated a numbr of Chaḍās from eastern Bengal relating to the worship of the Sun.[1] A manuscript entitled Sūryapūjā-paddhati throws a flood of light on the cult of the Sun God in Bengal.[2] Mr. C. H. Chakravarty has also collected a number of ballads from eastern Bengal dealing with the worship of the Sun.[3] In the Māghmandal-vrata we find first of all Chaḍās which cause the Sun to rise by dispelling the fog with the help of the Durvā-grass, cane-plants, etc.

> I will disperse the fog, since I will by the cane reed stop.
> All fog has receded to the plum tree's top.
> Give! oh plum tree ! give us rocking.
> Girls :–Rise ! Rise ! Oh Sungod ! blazing forth thy rays.
> The Sun :–I cannot rise on account of the mighty dews.
> Girls :–Rise ! Sungod ! blazing forth thy rays.
> The Sun :–I cannot rise on account of the mighty dews,etc.[4]

Thus here prayer is made for the Sun to rise, and the Sun replies that he cannot do so due to fog. And then activities begin with the chanting of the Chaḍās to disperse the fog and the dews and at last the fog and dews disappear and the Sun rises. The Sun is represented in the Chaḍās as a human being with all sorts of worldly pleasures and requirements. Then again we have the Chaḍā which describes the marriage of the Sun with a "woman in the Moon". In S.C. Mitra's Collection the Sun is given in marriage to Gaurī who according to the Paurānic mythology is the wife of Śiva. This Gaurī again may represent the Moon as she is described in the Chaḍās as "Chandramukhī". Such a conception of the marriage of the Sun with a woman in the Moon or with the Moon is very common among the primitives. Among the Blackfoot Indians it is a very common custom of giving the Sun in marriage to the Moon. Most of the savages look upon the Sun and the Moon as husband

[1] Journal of the Department of Letters, vol, XV, page 149-200.

[2] Vangiya Sàhitya Parshat Partikā, vol, XIII, page, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Numerous similar charms are also used by the American Indians to cause the sun to shine. See Fraser's Magic Art, page, 314.

and wife. The Algonkin Indians of North America also regard the Moon as woman and the Sun as man--husband and wife.[1] We have already described the prominence of the Sun and Moon deities among the Indian primitive tribes. In Khāria invocations or prapyers the Sun is addressed as "*Giring-herāng* or *Bero-herāng*" i. e. Sun-Moon.[2] Again they say that the Sun and the Moon are husband and wife.[3] Such a conception of the Moon as a female deity is also very common among the Angāmi Nāgās.[4] That the Moon is the wife of the Sun is also a very common belief among the Māiiās. Thus to the "hill and Bison Māriās the Sun (*parad*) is a *Koitor*, Moon his woman".[5] The Indo-Aryans regard the Moon as a male deity. Sun worship is of less importance in the time of the Ṛgveda and this becomes very common in the age of the Purāṇas. In the Ṛgveda Soma (Moon) is regarded as a male deity and as marrying Sūryā, the daughter of Sūrya. Moreover we learn that the Sun was originally a female deity and it was later on changed into a male deity . And Dr. Hutton thinks that it was the influence of the Ṛgvedic invaders which changed the sex of the Sun from female to male and gave rise to the Sun descended nobility as distinguished from the Moon-descended.[6]

But according to the Brahmanical conception (Pauranic) both these deities belong to the male sex. Hence how can there be a marriage between them ? Therefore a woman was created to give the Sun in marriage but the original conception of the marriage of the Sun and the Moon can be easily traced. Thus the marriage of the Sun and the Moon is purely a primitive custom which is still prevalent among the savages and the vestiges of which are still to be found in the Vrata observances and the Vrata-chaḍās. Again in this particular Vrata-this marriage of the Sun and the Moon is revealed to us not in the Chaḍās but also in practice, two earthen images are actually given in marraige along with the chanting of the Chaḍās.

In the Sāndhyamani Vrata-chaḍā we find an appeal for a boon of being the sister of seven brothers, having enough

[1]Introduction to Folk-lore by M.R.Cox; Magic Art by Frazer, page, 314.

[2]The Khāriās by S.C.Ray, page 369-70.

[3]*Ibid*, 434.

[4]Angāmi Nāgās by Dr. Hutton, page, 259.

[5]Mrāia Gonds of Bāstar by Grigson, page,230.

[6]Census Report of India, vol. 1, part, 1, page, 395.

wealth, sons and grandsons and to lead a life in the constant company with the husband. The Chaḍā in question runs as follows:—

Jewel of evening, golden star,
Jewel of evening, fountain of water.
The woman who this rite observes,
She is called the sister of seven brothers.
Jewel of evening, maiden asks a boon of thee,
A home in Kailāsa (residence of Śiva) with peace
and glee.
And wealth and food and son and grandson,
And life to pass with husband as companion.

In another group of Chaḍās we find the mention of the names of the different idols or images made of earth and by naming each of them the Chaḍā is chanted. In the Daśputulei-vrata(ten images) Chaḍā we find the mention of the names of many Purānic deified personages such as Rāma, Lakṣmaṇa, Sāvitrī, etc. This Chaḍā consist of a prayer for a prosperous married life and also for obtaining husband, father-in-law, mother-in-law, etc. of ideal character. Further the most important point revealed by this Chaḍā is that the heart's desire of the girls is to be reborn as a human being and not for any final liberation. Such a conception of having a rebirth in the human race is also clear from the Prithvī-vrata-chaḍā. Here we find the prominence of the belief that a prosperous and glorious rebirth depends upon the merits of the activities of the present life. Therefore by worshiping the mother earth with "*nani* and *makhan*" cream and butter) and by making gifts of "*ghee and honey*" the girl desires to be born as queen. Again by worshiping the mother Earth the girls want to have enough agricultural products and other wealth. Among the primitives as well, the mother Earth is regarded as the embodiment of all things. They similarly worship the Earth Goddess with food and drink for plenty of crops and prosperity. Thus the Orāons pray"Oh Mother Earth ! May we have plenty of rain and bumper crops. Here is a drink offering to thee".[1] In the same way the Khārwārs say, "Oh Mother Earth ! keep in prosperity and protect the ploughman and his oxen, etc."[2] In the Punjab, the Karnul farmar says, "Grant us plentiful yield so that we pay our revenue and satisfy our banker." From these prayers it appears that the Mother Earth is worshiped for plenty of agricultural products and prosperity. In the Pṛthīvī vrata-chaḍā we find prayer (with a force-*pāva* and *hava*), for

[1]Orāon Religion and Customs by S.C. Ray, page, 142.

[2]Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India by Crook, page, 47.

a rebirth as a queen i.e. to have a prosperous and a glorious rebirth. In this case the method and the practices as well as the desires are almost identical with those of the primitives.

Another group of Chaḍās give us a vivid description of the family life and numerous evils of the society. Some of these Chaḍās have brought to light the evils of polygamy and all sorts of attempt are made in these Chaḍās to get rid of the co-wife. Thus in the Chaḍās of the Senjuti-vrata we find the use of numerous abusive expressions against the Satin (co-wife) and prayer is made even for her death.

Kul tree ! (a kind of plum) Kul tree ! thou art full of thorn
Make the woman my co-wife leprosy torn.
Mayena[1] ! Mayena ! Mayena ! I pray thee, Make the woman a squint.
From my co-wife make my life free, Pakhi ! Pakhi ! Pakhi[2] ! I invoke thee,
Hata[3]! Hata! Hata! hear my prayer, Going to the roof that I may see
My co-wife's head do thou devour. The Woman my co-wife ceases to be
Bedi ! Bedi ! Bedi ! take my hint, Banti ! Banti ! Banti[4] ! thy help to give
To cut vegetables at the death feast of my co-wife
By slaying the wicked I make my dwelling here
By killing my co-wife, on my feet *āltā* do I wear.

Similarly in the Gokāl-vrata there is a Chaḍā for getting rid of the co-wife."Tomāré bātās karé ghar karva satīn méré" (by fanning you free from co-wife shall I my family rear). This kind of Chaḍā most probably sprang out of a desire to see the co-wife a victim of all sorts of miseries and evils. This was simply because it was known even to the girls (or the girls are made to know) that polygamy is a source of all sorts of miseries. Hence the young girl's foremost prayer is not to have any co-wife. Besides the women by nature can not bear the association of the co-wife. She is ready to undergo all sorts of miseries, even death and windowhood, than to have a Satīn (co-wife). In the above Chaḍā this has been very vividly described indicating that the lifelong prayer of a girl is to have the monopoly of the husband's love and affection until the death.

[1]Mayana—a kind of bird.

[2]Pakhi—Common name for birds.

[3]Hata—a kind of spoon used for cooking and serving.

[4]Bonti—a kind of Kutti used for cutting vegitables fishes etc.

Some Chaḍās again are mainly based on the ancestor worship which is the most characteristic feature of the primitive religion. In the Yamapukur-vrata different earthern idols are invoked to stand as witness to this particular observance. Thus we have the following Chaḍā—

King Yama ! Witness, I worship the tank of Yama (God of death)

Queen Yami ! witness I warship the tank of Yama. Further the conception of the existence of the soul after death is also clear from these Chaḍās. According to the Chaḍā of the Yamapukur-vrata there is the common belifef that the soul exist after death and that all sorts of provisions are to be made for it and that water should be given, so that the soul may not suffer from want of it. The idea of providing the soul with food and water and other necessary requirements is also known to almost all the primitive tribes. Among the Hos of chotonagpur the souls of the dead ancestors are worshipped daily in the Āding (a room in the house where the souls of the ancestors dwell) with food and drink.[1] Similar practices of offering food and drink to the dead ancestors are also prevalent among the Bhils, Baigās, etc.[2] The Khāsis of Assam also worship the death with numerous offerings.[3] In this particular Vrata we find the offering of water in the name of the dead persons as well as of the living so that they may not suffro from want of water after their death. The worship of the anecsfors by pouring down water along with the chanting of Chaḍās is also a common religious practice among the Māriā Gonds of Bāstār.[4] Thus the worship of the death with offerings of foodand drink. is also a common religious practice among the primitiv- tribes. In this Vrata the girl gives water in the names of father in-law, mother-in-law, father, mother, neighbour including herself and her husband. Thus the Chaḍā runs as folloows:—

A handful of water for father and mother do I offer,
A jug of water for father-in-law and mother-in-law do I offer.
A jug of water for all my neighbours do I offer,
I am the fortunate sister of seven brothers,
I worship Yama's tank, witness, the lord of Universe

[1] A Tribe in Transition by Dr. Majumdar, page, 126.

[2] Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India by Crook,

[3] Khāsis by Gordon, page 109.

[4] Māriā Gonds of Baster by Grigson, page, 209.

Thus we find here the offering of water in the names of all not excluding even the neighbour and the story or the *kathā* of the Vrata also reveals the fact that the mother-in-law suffered from want of water and the observance of the Vrata enabled her to have water.

Another characteristic feature of these Chadās is that they resemble to a great extent the dramatic performances. Dr. A. N. Tagore has arranged the Chaḍās of the Maghmandal and the Semjuti-vrata-chaḍās in a dramatic way, scene after scene and act and after act.[1] He has described them as "indigenous dramatic performances" and opines that the modern theatrical and other performances are nothing but a development of these indigenous dramatic Vrata-chaḍās. The truth of this remark of Dr. Tagore is revealed to us even by the stud of the primitive performances of the dramas which clearly resemble the dramatic character of these Chaḍās to a great extent.[2]

Lastly we should note some of the important Brahmnical influences in these chadàs. In some of the Chadàs we can trace definite evidences of the Puarānic influences. In the first place we find the Tulsi plant (ccymum sanctum) identified with Nārāyaṇa. Thus we read in the chadà of the Punyapukur-vrata—

Tulsi ! Tulsi! thou art Nārāyaṇa,
Tulsi ! Tulsi ! though art Vṛndàvana.
On thy head do I pour water,
Support me in the last hour.

Again the sacredness of the river Ganges is also recognised in some of the Chadās. Thus we read—

Putra rekhe svāmir kole
Marijena Gangā jale
(placing my son in the lap of his sire,
Let me in the Ganges stream expire.)

Besides we have the mention of the names of some of the Purānic deities like Yama, Nārāyaṇa, etc. We also hear the names of the deified Purānic personages such as Rāma, Daśaratha, Laksmaṇa, Sāvitiri, etc. Nor the conception of Svarga or heaven is absent from these chadàs. We have the references to Gokul, Vaikuṇṭha, Kailāsa, etc. Again the conception of rebirth after death in the race of man is also present. The

[1]Vānglār Vrata by Dr. A.N.Tagore, page, 33.

[2]See S.C. Ray's Mundas and their Country; the Khàriàs and the Berhors

identify of the cow with Nārāyaṇa and Vishṇu is not also unknown to these chadas. Thus in the Gokālr vrata we are told that the time devoted to the cow is in Gokul to live". These are some of the Brahmanical ideas which can be traced in these Vrata-chādas.

This short dissertation on the Kumāri-vrata-chadās reveals one important fact that they are not in their original form. These Chadās have been handed down orally from generation to generation Even now in the villages neither the grown up women nor the young girls are acquainted with the art of writing but their memory is so sharp that they can easily remember all these Chaḍās and Kathās, and whenever required, they can reproduce them from memory. In such a case interpolations and different interpretations are not at all unlikely. When these observances came under the Brahmanical influences every attempt was made to mould them in a Brahmanical fashion and to give them a Brahmnical stamp. This is clear from the introduction of numerous Purāṇic characters and some other Brhamanical features in these Chaḍās. But inspite of these Brahamnical infleunces it is very clear that these Chaḍās were originally nothing but magical spells or incantations. In some of these Chaḍās we find the element of force or compulsion which is the characteristic of magic. We have the use of the terms "*pāva*, have , etc" which signifies that we must get this i.e. there is the element of force in it. The principle is "if we do this we shall get this" like effects like. Thus in the Pṛthivī-pūjā-vrata-chaḍā by offering "butter and cream," to the Mother Earth and by making gifts of honey and ghee" the girls want to be born in the next life as a queen, and that the process of this varta is sure to have her desires fulfiled. Thus the chaḍā follows—*ār kāle hava rājrānī*" (in the next birth I will be born as a queen). Here the term "hava" is worthy of notice, because the force of the word indicates certainity and there is no doubt about the efficacy of the practices. In other Chaḍās also we find such forceful assertions as in the Dasputuler-vrata-chaḍās. Further it is believed that the correct observances of certain rites is sure to lead to the fulfilment of the desire for which the rites are performed. Again the non-performance of the rites and the chanting of the Chaḍās will be followed by misery. Here is the plain question of magic. In some Chaḍās, of course, there is the tone of an appeal or prayer as is indicated by the use of terms such as "*pāijena, haijena*, etc." The idea is that we are doing this so that we may get this. There is no element of force or assertion in it. Thus in the Senjuti-vrata-chaḍā Pithuli-drawn "chiduni" (comb) is worshiped to have a golden

"chiduni" Here the expresion is "āmāgo hay jena sonār chiduni". Here the chaḍā is not at all assertive. This is mainly a prayer or an appeal for granting the desires. Both of these features of these Vrata-chaḍās again can be compared with the primitive magical spells or incantations and such a comparison will certainly prove the magical significance of these Chaḍās, though at present the original ideas or conceptions have been totally lost still at present the chanting of the Chaḍās is believed to effect or at least to contribute to the production of the desired results. Thus even today the girls of Bengal sing,

Rañe rané eyo hava, jane jane sūyo java.
Akāle Laksmī hava, Samaye putravatī hava.
War after war will come and go,
But I shall remain blessed with husband.
Man after man will come and go,
But I shall remain blessed with husband.
In times of famine Laksmi shall I be,
In times of plenty mother shall I be.

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PREFACE TO VOLUME III.

Volume III of the Proceedings and Transactions of the Twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at the Benares Hindu University in 1943-44, which is being published today, contains papers selected for publication in the following sections,—Archæology, Philology, Technical Sciences and Iranian.

With the publication of the present Volume, the Proceedings and Transactions of the 12th Session may be taken to have been completed for all practical purposes. Vol. II, which was published in October 1946, contained all the presidential addresses and the papers in the following sections,—Vedic, Classical Sanskrit, Religion and Philosophy, Pali and Buddhism, Prakrit and Jainism and History, Geography, Ethnology and Folk-lore. Volumes I and IV were published almost simultaneously last month; the latter of these contained the papers in Sanskrit and Hindi sections and the former was devoted to the formal part of the Proceedings,—Bulletins, Programme, Minutes of Meetings, List of Members, etc. The present volume includes papers of four of the remaining sections,—Archæology, Philology, Technical Sciences and Iranian.

Papers of two more sections remain to be published ; they are Persian and Arabic and Islamic Culture. It is, however, feared that these papers have been destroyed in the unfortunate disturbances that broke out in Lahore in August 1947. Proprietors of the press,who are at present refugees in India, have no idea as to what has happened to their press and its stock. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have to conclude that the papers of these sections have been destroyed. The publication of the Proceedings of the 12th Session may, therefore, be taken to have been completed with this volume.

Being myself an author, I can fully realise the feelings of those writers, whose papers took nearly four years to see the light of the day with the publication of the present volume. We had, however, to surmount several serious difficulties. Paper was very difficult to procure and presses were not available for undertaking the printing of matter, which was not of the nature of text books. Presses, which were selected, had to face several labour troubles and their work was often paralysed by communal disturbances. At one stage it appeared very doubtful, if the

present volume would at all see the light of the day. Luckily all difficulties could be overcome and I am feeling relieved to find that I have eventually discharged the responsibility of the Reception Committee to print all the papers accepted and available for publication.

Four Volumes of the Proceedings that are offered to members cover 918 pages. As the printing work was progressing apace simultaneously in three different presses, it was, not possible to give continuous pagination for all the volumes. It was however possible to do so in the case of Volumes II and III, as they were printed in the same press. I myself am not quite satisfied with the quality of printing ; two of the presses entrusted with the work were quite new to such work. But if the managers of these presses had not agreed to undertake the printing work at my pressing request, the publication of the proceedings could not have been finished even in four years' time.

Benares Hindu University
15-4-1948.

A. S. ALTEKAR.

CONTENTS.

Archæology Section.

Page

A newly discovered Stone Inscription of Skandagupta's reign;
by Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government epigraphist, Ootacmund. 587

Benares Plates of Harirāja of Śūra Dynasty;
by Prof. A. B. Bhattacharya, A. B. College, Benares 590

A new Copper-plate Charter of Mahaśivagupta Bālārjuna, dated 57th year;
by Pandit L. P. Pandeya, Balapur 595

New Statute of an Indo-Scythian King from Mathurā;
by Mr. M. M. Nagar, M.A., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow 597

Archæological Finds in Brahmapuri Excavations, Kolhapur;
by Prof. K. G. Kundangar, Kolhapur 599

Cruciform Indo-Aryan Śikhara Temples;
by Mr. M. S. Vatsa, M.A., Archæological Survey, Agra 602

Some Buddhist Antiquities recently discovered at Buddhām;
by Dr. M. Ramarao, M.A., Ph.D. Guntur 608

Harappa;
by Pandit M.M. Lakshmidhara Sastri, Delhi University 611

Aryo-Dravidian Character of the Mohenjo-Daro Inscriptions;
by Dr. A. P. Karmarkar, Poona 614

Two Epigraphical Notes;
by Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Madras University 619

Date of the Liṅgarāja Temple at Bhuvaneshvar and the Jagannātha Temple at Purī;
by P. Acharya, B.Sc. State Archæologist, Mayurabhanja 621

Bengali Śaivāchāryas in Tamil Country;
by Mr. K. R. Venkatramanc 625

Philology Section.

Some New Indo-European Parallelisms;
by Dr. A. Sharma, Head of the Dept. of Sanskrit, Hyderabad Dn. 627

Dialectical usage of case in Indo-Aryan;
by Dr. Baburam Saxena, Allahabad University 633

K-Suffix in Sanskrit;
by Dr. A. N. Upadhye, Kolhapur 633

A brief analysis of the non-Maithili Elements in Brajabauli;
by Pandit Sudhakar Jha 637

Puruṣottama Gajapati of Orissa in early Assamese Literature;
by Prof B. F. Barua, Gauhatti. 642

European Pioneer Studies in South-Indian Languages;
by Prof. C. S. Shrinivasachari, Annamaliai University 644

Is Telugu language a form of Paiśācī?
by Sri K. Ramkrishnaiyya, Madras University 647

Word Study and Chronology in Tamil Literature;
by Rao Saheb S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, Madras University 650

Page

Semantics with special reference to Tamil ;
by Mr. R. P. Sethu Pillai B. A., B. L., University of Madras. 655

The Dravidian Neuter Plural ;
by Dr. A. C. Chattier, Annamalai University 658

Plural Suffixes in Dravidian Languages ;
by M. Marappa Bhat, M.A., L. T., University of Madras 662

Technical Sciences Section.

The Evolution of Finger Technique in Indian Instrumental Music ;
by Prof. P. Sambamurti, Madras University 667

Iranian Section.

Stehrpaesangha (the Sudreh or the Sacred Shirt of the Zoroastrians ?) ;
by Prof. D. D. Kapadia, Poona 671

Pahlavi YTK: YATAK, JATAK ;
by H. P. Mriza, Bombay. 679

A Note on the Words Zirak Triman ;
by Erwad M. F. Kanga, B. A. (Hons.), Bombay 687

The Names of the Achæmenians in Alberuni :
by Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 692

Who was Vafranawaz ?
by J. K. Desai, M. A. 703

Ancient Iranian Education ;
by N. C. Mehta, B. A., Bombay. 706

Religious Persecution in Iran by the Arab Conquerors ;
by Lt. Col. M. S. Irani, Poona 709

ARCHAEOLOGY SECTION.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED STONE INSCRIPTION OF SKANDAGUPTA'S REIGN.

By

DR. B.CH. CHHABRA, OOTACAMUND.

Speaking of epigraphy in India, a generation or two ago, the epigraphist must have been overwhelmed with the multitude of early inscriptions, each demanding his immediate attention through its unique importance. The bureau of a Fleet or a Bhagwanlal Indraji must have been littered with all sorts of squeezes and rubbings of such records, pouring in from various quarters. Those were the days of the pioneers in the field of Indian epigraphy. Those scholars, it is true, had a great share of difficulties that usually befall a pioneer, but at the same time they had the great good fortune in having at their disposal an abundance of material to work upon. Those days are gone. The conditions have changed. The discovery of an ancient document is no longer a daily occurrence. The sources are drying up, as it were. Not that we do not find any new inscriptions nowadays. We do find them and find them in their hundreds, especially in South India, but a great majority of them are comparatively of a late date. Discoveries of epigraphs of a remote past are at present few and far between. And for this reason they are all the more welcome. The rareness lends a charm of its own.

The stone inscription, the discovery of which is being announced here, is a welcome addition to the already known records of the early Gupta period. It is not a long *praśasti* or the like, but what little information it imparts adds considerably to our knowledge of India's past.

The stone is a *satī* pillar in its present condition, as is clear from the photograph, showing the sculptures and traces of a brief inscription below. This inscription is much damaged and is obviously of a late date. The inscription with which we are concerned here, and for which the pillar was originally set up, occurs on what may now be termed the reverse side of the pillar. It is reported to have been discovered from under a tree at a village called Supia within the Rewa State.

The inscription runs into seventeen short lines. It is dated the 2nd day of the bright fortnight of the month of Jyeshṭha in the year 141, and refers itself to the reign of the Gupta monarch Skandagupta. It may be recalled that the Kahāuṁ pillar inscription of the time of Skandagupta bears the same date, except that the exact *tithi* is not specified there. In point of date, thus, our inscription does not add much to our knowledge. Its chief interest, however, lies in the other details which we may consider now.

The record begins with the genealogy of the reigning monarch. The family is referred to in the very first lines as *śri-Ghaṭōtkacha-ṭad-vanśa(vaṁśa)*, and not as *Gupta-vaṁśa*, *Gupta-ānvaya* or the like. Now, this is a noteworthy point, for in no other known Gupta record the dynasty is so mentioned. The present is perhaps the first known record wherein so much prominence is given to Ghaṭotkacha. The genealogy starts with Mahārāja Samudragupta ; then comes his son Vikramāditya, then the latter's son Mahārāja Mahendrāditya and finally the latter's son Maharāja Skandagupta. Here is another point of interest : Chandragupta II and his son Kumāragupta I are mentioned in our inscription by their surnames only, Vikramāditya and Mahéndrāditya respectively. Hitherto these surnames of theirs were known only from their coins. It may further be observed that it is only in connection with Skandagupta that the author has used some laudatory expressions. In the case of the other emperors, only the title *Mahārāja* is prefixed to their names. And even this is missing before the names of Ghaṭōtkacha and Vikramāditya. These omissions are pardonable in the present instance, because the inscription is not an official document, but is one of a private individual whose only anxiety naturally was to see that due homage was paid to the contemporary emperor whose subject he was.

More than half of the inscription has been taken up by these details about the royal family and the date. We now come to the subject proper wherein lies the main interest of the record. As already stated in the summary of this paper the object of the inscription is to record the consecration of an image of the goddess Shashṭhī by one Chhandaka, son of the banker Hari and grandson of the banker Kaivarta, a resident of Avaḍara .

Sculptural representations of Shashṭhī are very rare. In fact, this goddess is little known. She is a consort of Skanda or Kārttikeya, who is supposed to have two wives, Vallī and Devasenā. This last is another name of Shashṭhī herself. In

South-Indian temples one finds images of Skanda, more popularly known there as Subrahmaṇya, accompanied by his two wives. But an image of Shashṭhī alone is unknown. From the wording of our inspcrition it appears that the image of Shashṭhī set up by Chhandaka was independent and not accompanied by her spouse. Further, one would expect that the very stone pillar which bears the inscription should also contain the image referred to therein, but that is not the case.

The worship of Shashṭhī is common even to this day in many parts of India, especially in Mahārāshṭra and South India. In Mahārāśhṭra it is known as *Shaṭavi* which is nothing but a corrupt form of *Shsahṭhī*. She is usually worshipped on the 6th day after the birth of a child. We find references to her in Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* in connection with the birth of Chandrāpīḍa, and in the *Mahābhārata* where her marriage to Skanda is also described.

Recently Dr. V.S. Agrawala has, in an article in the *Journal of Numismatic Society of India* (Vol. V., part I, June 1943, pp. 29-32), drawn attention to a type of Yaudhéya coins which have the six-headed god Skanda on the obverse and his consort, the six-headed goddess Shashṭhī, on the reverse. For further details about this goddess, the said article of Dr. Agrawala may be consulted.

I must point out that the details of the inscription given here are based on my tentative reading of the text. I am still working on it and have to fill up some gaps by referecne to the original.

Finally, I must express my feelings of gratitude to the Rewa Darbar for their kindly permitting me to read this paper here. I am also indebted to Maulvi Ayaz Ali Khan, Superintendent of Archaeology in Rewa, for his kindly supplying me with impressions and photographs of the inscribed pillar,. My thanks are also due to my friend and colleague, Mr. Amalananda Ghosh, who checked my tentative transcript of the inscription and offered some very valuable suggestions.

BENARES PLATES OF HARI-RĀJA OF *ŚŪRA DYNASTY*

By

PROF. AHI BHUSHAN BHATTACHARYA, M.A.

In the course of the construction of a municipal road in the Bhelupura locality of Benares, a set of three inscribed copper plates was unearthed and the find was brought to the notice of the present writer in April 1944.

The plates containing the inscription were discovered inside a well by the side of the newly constructed road running from Bhelupura to Oudh Gharbi through Kirim Kund Mohalla. The plates were cleansed and the inscription deciphered by me was published in an issue of the Bengali monthly "Bhārata Varsha" of Calcutta. The plates have now been acquired for the Provincial Museum Lucknow by Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A. Ph.D. and are preserved there.

The plates, of which the first and last are engraved on one side only, are three in number, each measuring about $6\frac{3}{8}''$ by $2\frac{5}{8}''$. Their edges are not fashioned thicker nor raised into rims. They are fairly thick and substantial and the letters though fairly deep, do not show through on the reverse side at all, and are in a perfect state of preservation. The engraving is good, though the interior of a few letters show marks of the sribe's tool. Towards the top of each plate about the centre there is a hole for a ring to connect them. Ring is circular, about $\frac{1}{4}''$ thick and $3\frac{5}{8}''$ in diameter. The ends of the ring were flattened soldered and joined together. On the flattened portion there is no legend as usually found on seals, but the drawing of a pitcher with mango sprouts on its mouth with a flagstaff beside, ostensibly a विजय कलश, an emblem of victory. The weight of the three plates together is 1 lb 3 oz. and of the ring $1\frac{1}{4}$ oz. the total being 1 lb $4\frac{1}{4}$ oz. The average size of the letters is about $\frac{5}{16}''$.

The characters belong to the southern class of alphabets and represent a specimen of the box headed variety peculiar to Central India and C.P. There are no numerical Symbols in the plates. The language is Sanskrit and the inscription is in prose throughout except for the benedictive and imprecatory verses in lines 19 to 23. In respect of orthography, we have to notice—

(1) the use of upadhmānīya in भूमेः पञ्चाशदेका in line 13, and हन्तुः प्राप्नोति in line 21;

(2) the use of ङ instead of the *anusvāra* before *Śa* in वङश in lines 2 and 17-18 and गवाङशत in line 21;

(3) the use of म् instead of अनुस्वार in दत्ताम्बा in line 21;

(4) the occasional doubling of क, त, ग, न, म. व in conjunction with a following *ra*;

(5) there are instances of archaism as in स्वस्तिरस्तु a form which is not sanctioned by grammar, but is found in the *Ṛgveda*. In this connection it might be noted that हरेत and मावति in the often-quoted imprecatory verse are also ungrammatical in form. हारिराज्ञा also transgresses the rule of Pāṇini.

(6) There are Prakritisms as in प्रक्रितिकां insteade of प्रकृतिकां in line 10, and क्रितान्यनुज्ञो instead of कृतान्यनुज्ञां in line 5.[1]

The inscription is non-sectarian and the object of it is to record the grant of a portion of land in आम्रकनगर belonging to the principal Queen of Harirāja, Ananta Mahādevī by name to a Brāhmaṇa Somasvamin of Kauṇḍinya Gotra.

King Harirāja is credited with qualities and prowess equal to that of हरि i.e. Viṣṇu and is referred to the Sūra dynasty. His genealogy supplied by the inscription is as given below :

श्रीम(कां)मग्रहराज
|
निष्ठुरराज
|
हरिराज = अनन्तमहादेवी

There is nothing to indicate the era or date to which the inscription might be referred. On palaeographical grounds we might well assign it to the 5th or 6th century A. D. Incidentally it furnishes us with the earliest Gupta period inscription discovered at Benares or Sarnath.

The charter is issued from Camp Śāntanapura, but topographical details about the locality which might be roughly identified with the two places named in the inscription. viz. शांतनपुर and आम्रकनगर are not available. Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the Retired Director General of Archaeology, has suggested to me in a kind letter that Śàntanapura, where from the grant was issued may be identified with Sutna, an important railway Station where roads from Nagod, Rewa and other important places meet. He further opines that the Sūra dynasty should be slightly later than the Parivràjakas, who ruled in that region in the 5th century

[1] The word सन्तकीय in line 12 is really a Prakrit word. It is found in the inscriptions of the Vākāṭaka King Pravara Sena II (Fleet. Nos. 55-56) and also in the दिव्यावदान and in the Jātakas. Ross and Botheling derive it from the root अस् indicating possession.

A.D. This inscription, therefore, is the first epigraphic record of a Śūra dynasty ruling in India. Apparently, however, this Śūra dynasty has no connection with Adisura of traditional eminence in Bengal and does not establish or corroborate the Adi-sura myth.

It seems plausible to me that the scribe might have inscribed श्रीमकोभग्रहराज......in place of श्रीमती भग्रहराज .....In that case the name of the grand father of the king हरिराज would be भग्रहराज, a name not uncommon in the Gupta Age. In khoh copper Plate of Maharaja Hastim (Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Volume III. Nos 21 and 22), we find the name भग्रह as the दूतक. Bhagraharàja seems to have been the founder of the Śūra dynasty, but his grand son is credited with the victory in many hundred battles. It is not improbable that the territories of the king extended far towards the north and reached the outskirts of Benares and the extent of the kingdom justified the appointment of Viceroys in distant विषयs. आम्ब्रकनगर, which is a Prakritism for आम्रकनगर, mentioned as within the boundaries of the queen's land might have been an appanage to the dominions of हरिराज by his marriage with a lady of befitting lineage युक्तान्वयवती. The place was perhaps specially rich in mango fruit, thus lending its name to the city, and the reference to वणिज: of this city indicates that there were traders who dealt in mango and were an important element of the population. The vicinity of Benares where the inscription is discovered has been famous since early time for the best Langra mango fruit in India. We hear of mango groves in Sarnath even in the Jataka legends. It might well be the probable site of the ancient आम्ब्रकनगर. Neverthless it is quite likely that the fortunate Brāhmaṇa, who was the recipient of the grant, had subsequently gone on a pilgrimage to the holy city of Benares, where as luck would have it, he breathed his last leaving behind this precious document, his family heir loom which he had thought it expedient to carry with him for safety during his sojourn.

One point of importance in the inscription is that the charter is issued not by the king or queen but by the गण of महामात्रs which seems to have been vested with the authority in certain executive functions. The गण of these महामात्रs was something like a modern cabinet presided over by the स्थविर or Grand Old Man. Members of the गण are individually named in the inscription purposely, but the singular use of अस्माभि: महामात्रगणेन indicates their collective responsibility. The name महामात्र occurs in Aśoka's edicts where it signifies a high officer of State. धर्म महामात्रs of Aśoka's edicts like the Mohtasibs of the Moghal Emperors were officers of Imperial service and

Plate No. I

Benares Plates of Hari-Rāja

they were the guardians of the moral standard of the people (The term might be a corrupt form of महामात्य).

It is noteworthy that the queen was of befitting descent, probably the daughter of some powerful northern king who like the *Licchaviduhitā* consorts of Bimbisāra of Saisunàga dynasty and Chandra-Gupta I of the Guptas had probably added not only to be the splendour and dignity but also to the territory of her husband thus extending it to the border of Benares.

The inscription has no reference to year or dates except the word महाकार्त्तिक in line 15. which might correspond like the महावैशाख, महाचैत्र, महाअश्वयुज etc. to a year of the Gupta Era.

The amount of land given to the Brahmin is described as महामानेन भूमे: पञ्चाशदेका..................in line 13 after which there is some blank space left at the end of the line. It is not clear whether some more words were originally intended to be written after it. In the absence of any further data it cannot be ascertained whether the term एका was ever a unit in land measurement. महामान might have been a larger rod of measurment than what was ordinarily used like the 'बड़ा तौल' of grocers. The text of the inscription is given below ; Pl. I gives the facsimile of all the three plates.

Plate I ; second side.

line 1 स्वस्ति शान्ततपुरादनेकसमरशतविजयिशर-
,, 2 वङ्शललामभूतस्य श्रीमकोमम्रहराजनप्तुम्निष्ठुर-
,, 3 राजसूनोर्हरितुल्यगुणविक्रमधामनाम्नो हरिरा-
,, 4 जस्य युक्तान्वयवत्या प्रधानमहिष्या अनन्तमहादे-
,, 5 व्या हरिराज्ञा च क्रिताभ्यनुज्ञो गणस्यविरक-
,, 6 गोत्र गोविन्दनारायणमातृवत्सगणवत्स नाग-

Plate II ; first side.

,, 7 कुमारदामुकस्कन्दकोक्कटिक शशाङ्कविष्णुदे-
,, 8 वप्रभाकरादिर्म्महामात्रगण: सर्व्वानाम्नक-
,, 9 नगरवास्तव्यान्सवालवृद्धपरिजनपुरस्सरान् स-
,, 10 प्रक्रितिकाम्बणिजस्तदन्तिकग्रामसन्निवासिनश्च संपू-
,, 11 ज्य इममर्त्थमावेदयति विदितमस्तु भवतां यथास्मा-
,, 12 भिर्म्महामात्रगणेन अनन्तमहादेवीसन्तकीय एवाम्नक-

Plate II ; second side.

,, 13 नगरे भूमे: पञ्चाशदेका...............
,, 14 कौण्डिन्य सगोत्रेभ्यस्सम्यगुपनिषत्सिद्धान्तविद्भ्यस्सोमस्वा-
,, 15 मिभ्य: महाकार्त्तिकपौर्ण्णमास्यां उदकपूर्वं प्रतिपादिता अत ए-
,, 16 तेषामाचन्द्रार्क्कार्ण्णवक्षितिसमकालमेतामनुभुञ्जतां सूरव-
,, 17 ज्ञत्र प्रभवेन वा अन्येन वा विषयपतिना न केनचि-
,, 18 दप्यन्तराय उत्पाद्य इति आहुश्च धर्म्म-

Plate III ; first side

,, 19 शास्त्रकारा: षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्ग्गे मोदति भूमिद:

line 20 आच्छेत्ता चानुभन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसे (त्)
„ 21 स्वदत्ताम्परदत्ताम्वा यो हरेत वसुन्धरां गवाङशनसह-
„ 22 स्रस्य हन्तुः प्राप्नोति किल्बिषं इति गोघ्नः पितृघ्नो ब्रह्म
„ 23 हा स्तेयी सुरापो गुरुतल्पगः भवन्ति तस्य एतान च
„ 24 एतानुद्धरिष्यति* स्वस्तिरम्तु महामात्रगणस्य ॥ दृष्टं ॥

Translation

Line 1. Hail ! From camp *Śāntanapura* by the order of *Ananta Mahādevi* the principal queen of befitting descent of *Harirāja* and also by the order of Harirāja who is equal to Hari in quality and prowess, son of *Nisthurarāja,* grandson of the illustrious Bhagraharāja, Victor of many hundred battles, ornament of the Śūra dynasty—

Line 6—the head of the Gaṇa, Gonna, Govinda, Nārāyana, Mātıvatsa, Gaṇavatsa, Nāgakumāra, Dàmuka, Skanda, Kokkatika, Śaśānka, Visnudeva, Prabhākara and others of the constitution of the Mahāmātrās after worshipping all the residents of *Āmbraka Nagara* beginning with the children, aged and attendants, the merchants together with their women and also the inhabitants of the villages in the neighbourhood notifies this matter—line 11—Be it known to you that by us, the Gaṇas of Mahāmatras, a piece of 50 *Ekā* of land measured by the *Mahāmānā* in the Ambrakanagara within the estate of Ananta-Mahādevī, is given with libations of water to Somasvàmin of Kauṇḍinya Gotra, well-versed in the doctrines of the Upaniṣads, on the full moonday of Mahākārttika (year) to be enjoyed for the same time with the moon, the sun, the oceans and the earth.

Line 16. And therefore, no obstacle (to the enjoyment of this grant) is to be created by anybody who is born in the Śūra line or by any governor of a Province.

Line 18. And it has been said by the authors of Dharma Śāstras—the giver of land enjoys happiness in heaven for sixty thousand years, (but) the confiscator (of a grant) and he who assents to (an act of such confiscation) shall dwell for the same number of years in hell ! He who confiscates land either given by himself or by another, incurs the guilt of the slayer of a hundred thousand cows. He incurs the guilt of the slayer of cow, slayer of father, slayer of Brahmin, thief, drunkard and the usurper of the bed of the preceptor. Be it well to the Gaṇa of the Mahāmātras. Examined.

* The last imprecatory verse is a new one which has not been found in any other inscription. The metre also is not correctly followed in it, in as much as the first पाद has 10 letters instead of 8. The correct reading might have been गोघ्नः पितृघ्नो ब्रह्मघ्नः सुरापो गुरुतल्पगः ।

A NEW COPPER CHARTER OF MAHĀSIVAGUPTA BĀLĀARJUNA, DATED 57th YEAR.

By

PANDIT L.P. PANDEYA, BALPUR, C.P.

It is only since 1935 that documents issued by Mahāśivagupta have begun to be discovered. Prior to that date the Lakshman temple inscription was known (*E.I.*, *XI*, 190 ff), but it recorded the erection of a temple by his mother Vāsaṭā. It was also not dated. The Sirpur inscrrption (*Int. And.* XVII, pp179 ff) refers to his regin but is not an official document. Two copper plate charters of Mahāśiva Tīvaradeva, a grand-uncle of Bālārjuna were known. But unilike the above records written in Kuṭila characters they were insecihed in box-headed characters and conseqently there was a good deal of doubt as to the time of Bālārjuna.

The first document of Bālārjuna to be discovered was his Mallar plates, edited by me in *E.I.*, XXIII, No. 18. They are not dated; but they were using box-headed characters and it thus become clear that in southern Mahākośala two scripts, the Kutila and the Box-headed, were simultaneously in use.

A further advance in our knowledge of the history of Mahākośala is recorded by the recent discovery of the Lodhia plates, which are being published in this paper. Their importance lies in thier being the *first dated record of* Bālārjuna. Unfortunately the date is given not in any known era, but in the regnal years of the king; it is his 57th regnal year.

It is interesting to note that none of the charters of king Bālārjuna describe him as the lord of the three Kalingas, *Trikaliṅgādhipati*. It is therefore clear that down to his 57th year of reign, the kingdom of Trikalinga was not conquered by him. The charters of Tīvaradeva, the grand-uncle of Bālārjuna, it is worth noting, call him *Sakala-kosalādhipa*, the lord of the entire Kośala, and not of the three Kaliṅgas. Probabely the province of Trikalinga was conquered by the son or same other successor of Bālārjuna. The title Trikālingadhipati is first claimed by Mahābhavagupta and later retained by his successors. The relationship of this ruler with Bālārjuna[1] is not however known.

[1]No coins issued by the rulers of this dynasty have so far come to light. We therefore do not know what script might have been used on them, the Kutila or the Box-headed.

I would draw here the attention of scholars to a peculiar epithet used to describe the preceptor Pramathāchārya, at the request of whose disciple the grant was made. He is called विनिर्गतञ्चपलगोचरभगवच्छ्री–

There seems to be a mistake in engraving this expression; it was probably intended to be विनिर्गतचपलगोचरभगवच्छ्री– *Chapalagocharin* may be *Chapalagochara* meaning one who has no fixed abode, a wandering monk It is likely that the monk of the Saiva sect to whom this personage belonged had no fixed abode.

With these introductory remarks I quote the relevent portion of the text of the Lodhia plates which mention the word गोचरिन् along with the names द्वैतवन and पञ्चयज्ञतपोवन within it.

Text

ॐ स्वस्त्यशेषक्षितीशविद्याभ्यासविशेषासादितमहनीय–नयविनयसम्पत्सम्पादितसकलविजिगीषुगुणो गुणवत्समाश्रयः प्रकृष्ठतरशौर्य्यप्रज्ञाप्रभावसम्भावितमहाभ्युदयः कार्तिकेय इव कृत्तिवाससो राज्ञः श्रीहर्षदेवस्य सुनुः सोमवङ्शसम्भवः परममाहेश्वरो मातापितृपादानुध्यातः श्रीमहाशिवगुप्तराजदेवः कुशली । ओणिभोगीयग्रामर्वैद्यपद्रके ब्राह्मणान्सम्पूज्य तत्प्रतिनिवासिकुटुम्बिनो यथाकालाध्यासिनः समाहर्तृसन्निधात्-प्रभृतीनस्मत्पादोपजीविनः सर्व्वराजपुरुषान्समाज्ञापयति । विदितमस्तु भवतां यथा ग्रामोयमस्माभिः सम्प्रनिसनिधानः सर्व्वकरादानसमेतः सर्व्वपोडाविवर्जितः सदशापराधः प्रतिषिद्धचाटभटप्रवेशः अस्यां कार्त्तिकपौणमास्यां पत्तनखदिरपद्रतल-प्रतिष्ठितश्रीमदीशानेश्वर-भट्टारकाय । बलिचरुनिवेद्य सत्रनृत्तवादित्रखण्डस्फुटितसंस्कारार्थं द्वैतवनीय श्रीमत्पञ्चयज्ञतपोवन-विनिर्गतञ्चपलगोचरिणः भगवच्छ्रीप्रमथाचार्य-शिष्य श्रीशूलपाणिभगवत्पादप्रार्थनया मानापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्याभिवृद्धये समकालोपभोगार्थमाचन्द्रतारकार्क्क पयः पूर्वकं ताम्ब्रशासनेन प्रतिपादितो यतोवगत्य समुचित भोगभागादिकमुपनयन्तो भवन्तः सुखं प्रतिवसन्तु । भाविनश्च भूमिपालानुद्दिश्येदमभिधीयते ।

भूमिप्रदा दिवि ललन्ति पतन्ति हन्त हृत्वा महीं नृपतयो नरके नृशंसाः

एतद्वयं परिकलय्यचलाञ्चलक्ष्मीमायुस्तथा कुरुत् यद्भवतामभिष्टम् ॥

Here follow seven श्लोकs Then comes the date as follows :—

प्रवर्द्धमान विजयराज्य सम्वत्सरे सप्तपञ्चाशत्तमे कार्त्तिक पौर्ण्णमास्या अंकेन सम्बत् ५७ कार्तिक दिन ३० । see Pl, II A,

राज्ञः श्रीहर्षगुप्तस्य सूनोः सद्गुणशालिनः ।

शासनं शिवगुप्तस्य स्थितमाभुवनास्थितेः ॥

These two lines form the 'legend' on the seal—the device being the trident bull and "*Kamandalu*" as in case of the Mallar plates referred to above.

Plate No. II



A

A New Statue of an Indo Scythian King from Mathurā

B

Date portion Bālārjuna's pl

NEW STATUE OF AN INDO-SCYTHIAN KING FROM MATHURA.

By

MR. M.M. NĀGAR, CURATOR, CURZON MUSEUM, MATHURA.

The discovery of the images of the Emperors Wima Kadphisis and Kanishka and of the Mahākshatrapa Chaṣṭana from the village of Mat. situated about 9 miles to North of the city of Mathurā, is well known.[1] Here I propose to announce the discovery of a new statue of an Indo-Scythian king, which I had the good fortune of acquiring recently for the Curzon Museum of Archaelogy Muttra, wherein it is now deposited. It was obtained from an ancient mound, locally known as Gokarṇeśvara *tilā* after the name of the deity enshrined in the modern temple standing on it. It is made of the speckled sandstone of Sikri quarry and may be thus described:—

Life-size statue (ht. 3′-7″) of an Indo-Scythian king standing *enface*. The head, both arms and legs are lost. The figure is clad in a tunic reaching down to a little above the knees and held round the loins by means of a beautiful belt consisting of a row of plaques some square and the others round, each decorated with lotus rosette. The garment is plain only the seam being shown. The folds of the robe at the waist are indicated by very shallow lines which, according to Dr. Vogel, is a reminiscence of Hellenistic influence.[2] Round the neck is to be noticed a torque. Below the garment remains a portion of the right leg from which it appears that the figure wore top-boots as in the statues of Kanishka and Chaṣṭana. (See Pl. II B) The back of the image is shown plain and flat, suggesting thereby that it was meant to be seen only from the front. Unfortunately like other royal statues the image under review does not bear any epigraph so as to enable us to know precisely whom it portrays ; still the style of dress evinces its royal character and nationality and makes it a valuable addition to our art collection.

The Gokarṇeśvara mound is one of the oldest mounds in the city of Mathura and has produced in the past a number

[1] *A. S. R.* 1911-12. pp. 120-125. Also *JPSH.*, Vol. II (1912), pp. 82.

[2] *Op. cit.* 1911-12. p. 122.

of notable antiquities of various periods of Indian History.[1] Of these by far the most remarkable is the portrait sculpture of a Kushāna Emperor which Rai Bahadurs Sahni and Radha Krishna discovered in 1920 and which the former noticed in the *Annual Progress Report of the Northern Circle, Hindu and Buddhist Monuments*, Lahore, for the year ending 1921[2] This statue is 6 ft. high and represents a king seated on a throne in Indian style. The dress consists of a loose open coat, trousers, padded-boots and a high conical cap—all worn even to this day in Turkistan.[3] The sculpture is in perfect preservation including the head which is generally found missing in other royal statues of the Scythian kings. This and the recent finds from the Gokarṇeśwara mound, comprising not only the new statue of the Indo-Scythian king discussed above but also several relics of the Śunga, Kushāna and Gupta periods, testify to its being a very rich and promising site and invite immediate attention of archaeologists to work their spade here and dispel the darkness shrouding the knotty points of the history of the Indo-Scythian Age.

[1] Muttra Museum antiquities Nos, 1210, 1319, 1515 etc. Also two Kushana Buddha statuettes which are at present in worship in the modern temple there.

[2] P. 27. Pl. XI. Also *A. S. R.* 1920-21. p. 23. Pl. XVIII (a).

[3] *A. S. R.* 1911-12. p. 124.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDS IN BRAHMAPURI-EXCAVATIONS, KOLHAPUR

By

PROF. K.G. KUNDANGAR, RAJARAM COLLEGE KOLAHPUR.

Ptolemy in his geography mentions Hippokura as the capital of Vilivāyakurar, which name appears on the leàd and copper co'ns found in a hoard at Brahmapuri (Kolhapur) in 1877. In their learned articles on these the scholars have identified Hippokura with Karavīra of the Purāṇas and Kolhapur of the present day. But recently Mr. M. Govinda Pai in his paper read before the Kannaḍa Research Institute, Dharwar, has recorded his difference of opinion and has identified it with Hipparige a village in Bijapur District. Apart from that the facts that ancient coins and Buddhist relics found at Kolhapur and nearabout supply some historical information and prove the antiquity of the place.

The Brahmapuri site is an extensive part of Kolhapur covering an area of about 20 acreas from the Paṇcagaṅgā to Khola-Khaṇḍoba temple in the heart of the city. Unfoitunately major part of this site is now occupied by private houses. It is st'll more unfortunate that the mound on the river bank has been sometime back divided into plots and these have been given away to private persons for building purposes.

A heavy and large cylindrical earthen pot 20"X11" and a hollow earthen image were found in digging on the site given to the Jamdar Club. The pot was sent to the Archæological Department. But the hollow image was sent to the bottom of the river as it was broken and therefore was considered inauspicious. These finds proved a sufficient stimulus for the Department to make a modest provision for excavation purposes.

The operations of excavation were undertaken in September 1942. For this purpose a site 51'X22' on the mound by the roadside on the river bank was selected. Going deep to 16' there were discovered ruins of five strata one over the other. Each of these was separated by a thin layer of black-soil covered with pebbles round stones and earth balls. The bottom stratum supplied pieces of painted pottery of Mauryan type, beads of

glass and conch shells. The ruins of the second and the third layers are hardly three feet in height. In a trial pit both these layers were found to contain brick powder only, and therefore nothing of historical or archaeological interest was obtainable. The fifth one does not show any foundation but appears to have been built over the flat debris of the fourth. This stratum the top-most one supplied no finds of interest but a small un-unifinished stone image of a goddess with ornaments commonly carved in the sculptures of the 11th and 12th centuries.

Going to the depth of four feet a kitchen 21′ 5″X6″ was brought to light. Its walls 4′ high are in a crumbling state. They are built of burnt single bricks of 9″to 18″ X6″X3″. They are red and brittle explaining the huge quantity of brick powder in the two lower strata. No doubt they are well made but the material of which they are made has not given them that strength durability of those found at Mohenjodāro. The wall on the south has a door-way 3′ in width. The whole space of the kitchen was filled with brickbats and pieces of heavy tiles which by their weight had crushed down all the pottery in the room. Charred paddy and rye were feound in some of the broken pots. The valuable finds in this room are classified and described below.

1. *Stoneware* : (*a*) Mortars with legs and pestles are the heaviest articles. The pestles are cylindrical from 3″X4″ to 4″X6″ in dimentions.

(*b*) *Wheat-stones* : These are of black and white stones, and were used it appears to sharpen flat and round weapons marks of which have been left on them.

(*c*) *Coin-moulds* : Moulds with canals for the molten metal to flow from one to the other arranged in parallels are cut in flat polished black stones.

2. *Pottery* : (*a*) Pieces of very large jars and vases are quite common. Some of these contain burnt and charred paddy and rye.

(*b*) Earthen pinnacles with and without holes.

(*c*) Bowls : Shallow and deep ones of different sizes ranging from 3″ to 6″ in diameter and from 1″ to 4″ in depth.

(*d*) Ornamented vases and kettles : These are all broken to pieces.

(*e*) Oil lamps : Small lamps with a tongue for the wick and with stout flat stands.

(*f*) Beads : Earthen burnt beads of different sizes with holes for the thread to pass through.

(*g*) Flat rectangular tiles with ridges at one end and with round holes and also large bent ones for angles on the roofs.

3. *Ornaments* : (*a*) Beads of different shape and size to be worn on the neck and bangles cut out of conch shells.

(*b*) Stone beads and decayed pearls.

(*c*) Ear-ring pendants of coloured stones.

(*d*) Class beads, tube shaped with lines.

(*e*) A burnt earthen locket round in shape and ornamented with a scroll inside has a hook on the edge to pass thread through.

(*f*) Collirium pencils of stone 2″ long.

4. Shells : Remnant conch-shells after ornaments and bangles were cut out of them.

5. Bones of elephants, cows, cats and other animals.

6. Charcoal of burnt wood and burnt paddy and rye.

7. A lump of yellow earth probably used for painting walls.

8. *Coins* : (*a*) Silver punch marked coins.

(*b*) Lead coins with Nāga symbols.

(*c*) Much rusted copper coins.

(*d*) An earthen seal reading Amācaputtasa Cūlasa.

9. *Toys* : Small earthen vessels small earthen and stone balls and burnt earthen disks are very common. A miniature figure of a cow-head is also obtained.

Charcoal, burnt paddy and rye point to the probable fact that houses were burnt and destroyed.

These finds are similar to those to be obtained at Old Belgaum (Mādhavapura) about a mile and a half to the south of Belgaum. These two ruins point out one and the same culture, and are therefore of great value to the Archæologist.

CRUCIFORM INDO-ĀRYAN ŚIKHARA TEMPLES AT DUDHAI, DISTRICT JHANSI, AND SIMILAR SHRINES ELSEWHERE IN INDIA.

By

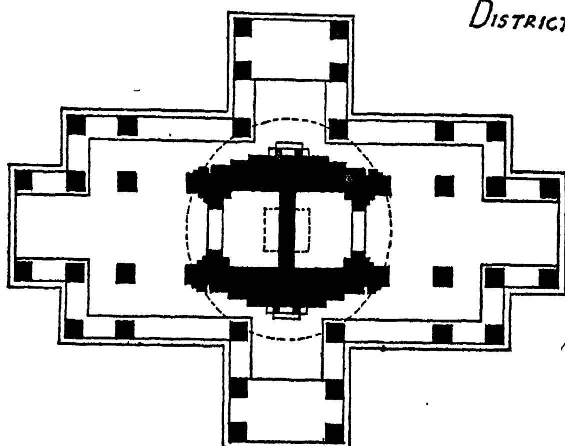
M.S. VATS, M.A. ARCHAEOLOGICAL SUPERINTENDENT, NORTHERN CIRCLE, AGRA.

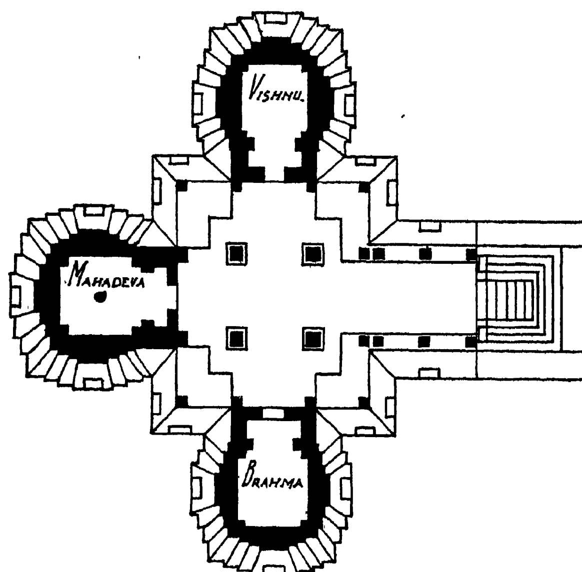
The transept or *maṇḍapa* attached to a temple, being fairly large, generally projected on either side of the *Vimāns* or sanctum. Sometime, the side approaches were made more elaborate and pronounced, such as those in the medieval temples at Ambernath, Gondesvara temple at Sinnar, Siddheśvara temple at Akola and Lakshmī-nārāyaṇa temple at Pedgaon in the Deccan, or Rahilya and Kakramarh temples near Mahoba in Bundelkhand. To put this briefly, the above type of temples consisted of one shrine preceded by a hall with porches on three sides linked to each other by a vestibule (*antārala*) the effect of which was to make the structure as a whole cruciform in plan. By a slight adaptation, however, this feature was easily converted into three shrines round the central hall with a porch in front, but the side shrines were not always of the same size as the central one. Such were the coeval triple shrines at Balsane, Jhodga[1], the Jagesvara temple at Devalana[2] and the Bhavani temple at Tahakari in the Deccan dedicated to different deities. Without the porch, this feature is also found in the Ramesvara temple at Pedgaon. Again, triple cruciform shrines grouped round a central hall or *maṇḍapa*, were built to the Brahmanical triad also, that is to Śiva, Viṣṇu and Brahmā, such as the Lesser *Surang* at Dudhai, the Makarbai and Sijari temples near Mahoba, the temple at Kasara[3], 14 miles west-north-west of Patan in the Baroda state and elsewhere.

To turn to Dudhai. We have here two imposing and also picturesquely situated temples, locally known, on account of their tall spires, as the *Chhoti* and *Bari Surangs* or the "*Sarahi Marhiya*". They stand facing each other on an eminence outside the village on the west bank of the Ramsagar lake and

[1]&[2] It is possible that in these temples the side shrines were later additions. Cf. Henry Cousens, *Mediaeval Temples of the Deccan*, pp. 41-42 and 47.

[3]. Jas. Burgess & Henry Cousens, *Architectural antiquities of Northern Gujarat*, pp. 105-06.





Cruciform Indo-Aryan Śikhara Temples

have been described by Cunningham[1] and Mukerji[2], who published in 1899 a plan of the *Chhoṭi Surang*, as well as by Hargreaves[3]

Lesser Surang. (Pl. III B)

The Lesser *Surang* is a temple of Hindu Trinity[4] with the shrines of Brahmā, Mahādeva and Viṣṇu respectively on the south, west and north sides, and opening into the common square *maṇḍapa* to which access was gained from a porch on the east side. From the central position of the western shrine opposite the porch and also facing the Ramasagar lake it is obvious that in this case the principal deity was Mahādeva. The shrine of Viṣṇu has completely disappeared and so also has the *Śikhara* of the Mahādeva temple, and nothing more than the core is left of the *Śikhara* of the Brahmā shrine which continues to stand, from the time of General Cunningham, in a precarious condition. Its plan published by Cunningham is inexplicably wrong. The sketch plan given in Plate III b is taken from Mukherji's report mentioned above. A proper plan cannot be made till the *debris* of this ruined shrine, which consists of very heavy stones, can be shifted. It is, however, one of the most ornate temples of the Chandella period. Six short inscriptions on the pillars of the *maṇḍapa* speak of its construction by Devalabdhi, son of Kṛṣṇa and Āsarvvā, and the grandson of Yaśovarmma Chandella. The date of this temple, which is presumably contemporaneous with the Larger *Surang*, is the beginning of the 11th century A.D.

The *maṇḍapa* of this temple is magnificent and the pillars and ceilings exquisitely carved. Equally ornate are the lintels over the entrances to the three shrines taking of from it. The ceiling with tiered repetitions of the *nandipada* pattern makes for a grand effect.

The lintel over the entrance to the Brahmā shrine shows the god seated in the centre over his *vāhana*, the goose, the rest of it being occupied by the *navagraha* frieze. While the Viṣṇu shrine has completely disappeared and the lintel over its entrance is lying inextricably mixed up with the *debris*, that over the

[1] A. Cunningham, *Archæological Survey Reports*, Vol. X, pp. 92-93, Plate XXXI.

[2] P. C. Mukerji, *Report on the antiquities in the district of Lalitpur*, p. 14, pls. 36-38.

[3] H. Hargreaves, Inspection and Conservation notes of 1917 on Ancient monuments in the Jhansi district, pp. 9-12

[4] A. Cunningham, *Op, cit.*, Vol. X, Pl. XXXI.

temple of Mahādeva depicts the *tāṇḍava* dance. Since the shrines of Mahādeva and Brahmā are clearly identifiable, the third shrine was presumably dedicated to Viṣṇu.

Larger Surang. (Pl. III A)

The Larger *Surang* is of an unusually peculiar cruciform plan with the shorter and longer limbs bisecting each other. Its extreme dimensions are 52 ft. long from east to west by 37ft. broad from north to south, with a height somewhat greater than the length. It consists of two shrines in the centre, placed back to back, with a stone screen between them (Plate III A.). Each shrine opens into a pillared hall in front and is connected with the other by a narrow passage running all round which, in fact, was the circumambulatory passage (*pradakshiṇā-patha*). In front of each hall is a large pillared porch and a smaller one in the middle of the side passages (see Pl. III a). The building is, therefore, perfectly symmetrical, the two longer ends to the east and west forming the double shrine and the two side projectnios being equidistant from the centre. By this arrangement, the *Sikhara* rose exactly in the middle instead of coming at one end. Cunningham has pointed out that "the joint length of the two shrines is 19 ft. and the breadth of the main body of the building, including the two side passages and their outer walls, is also 19 feet, so that the spire rises from a central square of 15 feet". This, however, is incorrect as the *śikhara* is rectangular and not a square pyramid.

Mr. Hargreaves has already pointed out the Brahmanical nature of this double shrine, which Cunningham, too, had hinted at only to give it up.[1] He has also corrected the latter's mistake in indicating a doorway between the two shrines which, in fact, was only a stone curtain to allow of the image pedestals being set back to back. There is still *in situ* the original pedestal of an image installed in the western shrine, while a fragment of another similar pedestal, though not *in situ*, is also lying partially buried in the eastern shrine. Regarding the probable dedication of these shrines it may be of interest to point out that the small *Linga* shrine to the south of the *Chhoti Surang* as well as the Śiva temple which formed the western adjunct of the *Chhoti Surang* face the east side. The main shrine facing the porch in front of the *Chhoti Surang*, as already pointed out by Mukherji and Hargreaves, is decicated to Śiva. Thus it would be reasonable to expect that the double shrine in the Larger *Surang* was also decicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, the one

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 92-93.

facing east or Ramsagar lake probably to Śiva and the adjoining one facing west to Viṣṇu. These presumed dedications appear to be borne out by the mutilated details of their doorways some of which can still be made out at the lower ends of the jambs.

The doorway of the western shrine, like that of the eastern one, was richly carved and divided into an inner and outer frame. At the lower ends of the former is Gaṅgā to right and Yamunā to left, each followed by two female figures, all badly mutilated. The ornamentation above them has completely disappeared. To right, at the lower ends of the outer frame, is a four-handed attendant of Viṣṇu whose head has disappeared. His left upper hand holds a *cakra* and the right upper probably a *śaṅkha*, of which only the lower part has survived. In the lower hands are arrows. The corresponding figure at the left end was also four-handed, but the hands together with the attributes held in them are no longer extant. This figure wears a high *Kirīṭa mukuṭa*. The above door-keepers would be appropriate to a Viṣṇu temple.

Of the doorway of the eastern shrine the inner frame has mostly disappeared, but the lower ends, as indicated by a portion of it at the right hand, were presumably occupied by the two river goddesses each followed by two figures. At each of the lower ends of the outer frame is, again, a four-armed attendant. The right hand one, whose face is mutilated, holds a *trisūla* and *kamaṇḍalu* in his left hands and wears a *Jaṭāmukuṭa*. The right hands are broken. The corresponding figure at the left hand is still more mutilated. These figures are seemingly appropriate to a Śiva shrine.

The upper central niche projecting from the north wall of the shrine into the *pradakshinā-patha* shows Viṣṇu, four-armed, seated in meditation on *kamalāsana*. In the upper hands are *śaṅkha* and *chakra*, while the lower ones are held in the pose of meditation. An *āyudhapurusha* with *śaṅkha* and *chakra* stands on either side. Seated in the upper ground are Śiva to his left and Brahmā to right. The corresponding lower central niche on the south side shows eight-armed Ganeśa, dancing, with a musician on either side playing on *mṛidaṅga*, his vehicle the mouse being indicated on the pedestal. The upper niche, now empty, seems to have accommodated Śiva originally as might be presumed from the Viṣṇu image in the corresponding niche on the north side.

A few sculptures are still *in situ* in the outer facing of this temple. In the central niche of the basement on the south

side is Brahmā with four hands, the left upper holding an *amritaghaṭa* and the right a *pustaka*. On this side, above the lion frieze, in the second storey, was another frieze with panels in relief. Three of them in the west half are still *in situ* : the first one is a four-armed female figure, the second one a two-handed male figure, while the third one is Viṣṇu standing with four hands holding *chakra* and *gadā* in the upper two. In the lower niche at the western end of the south side is a four-handed Varāha standing with his right foot on the back of the tortoise and the left on a lotus upheld by a *nāga* pair.

This *Surang* consists of nine diminishing storeys originally crowned by the *āmalaka* stone which was *in situ* at the time of Cunningham's visit. See Pl. IV. The destruction of this fane and the disappearance of the greater part of the *debris* are certainly remarkable. Cunningham, assuming that it was a Jaina temple, ascribed its destruction to hostile Brāhmans and others to the bigotry of Muhammadans. In view of its identification definitely as a double Brahmanical shrine and even slightly better preservation of the Jaina temples at Dudhai, Cunningham's argument entirely loses its force. But to whatever cause the destruction may be due, it is obvious that right up to the topmost storey the temple has suffered from the ravages of a devastating fire. The coloumns and lintels are so badly split and broken as to leave little scope for the bearing of any iron supports. Consequently, it is impossible to suggest any method of conservation that may not detract sensibly from the appearance of this ancient fabric.

Cunnignham refers to its very peculiar plan of which he had seen no other example. In 1931, however, I discovereda very similar Chandella temple at Urwara, [1] sixteen miles south-west of Mahoba in the Hamirpur District. This, too, is cruciform and stands on the south embankment of the Raṭansagar lake. It was then two-storeyed and is built of coarse granite. Nearly three-fourths of this temple, which stands on a plinth 10′ 9″ high, juts out into the lake, and the remainder is buried beneath the floors of modern village houses. On three sides large flights of steps lead down to the lake. The temple measures 124 ft. from east to west, and, to judge from the steps in the centre of the east verandah, about 85 ft. from north to south, with the two arms meeting in the middle. The lower storey now shows only the circumambulatory passage formed by the verandah which runs all round, but on the inner side the pillars which come at regular intervals are all built

[1] *Archaeological Survey Report* for 1931-34., pp. 9-10. pl II. a.

Plate No. IV



Larger Surañga Temple

into a continuous wall. The upper storey shows two ruined rooms with a cruciform passage round them. One of the niches on the west side of this passage contained a mutilated image of dancing Kālī. It is not unlikely that here, too, there was a double shrine, the eastern one dedicated to Śiva and the western one to Viṣṇu. The size of the Urwara temple was more than two and a quarter times that of the larger *Surang* at Dudhai and, when entire, it must have been a really grand fane ideally situated on the embankment of a large lake.

Two rock-cut examples of about the 9th Century A.D. are also known from Masrur [1] in the Kangra District of the Punjab. Here in front of the principal complex of thir- teen shrines all hewn out of one piece of rock and in line with the portico of the main temple rises on either side a small cruciform monolithic temple. The cella is square with a porch on each face and the spire a sixteen sided polygon, the tapering faces of which are ornamented with effective hourse-shoe diaper. In this case all arms of the cross are of the same length.

It will thus be seen that the curvilinear *Śikhara* in each of the three peculiar examples from Dudhai, Urwara and Masrur rose from the centre of the structure, whereas in other cruciform temples with three porches or shrines round the *maṇḍapa* the *śikhara* occupied only the ends. The effect of the two is necessarily different. Of the former, the spire is tall, ponderous and more compact and of the latter graceful and clustered.

1 *Archæological Survey Report* for 1915-16, p. 42, Pls. XXVIII and YXXII, d.

SOME BUDDHIST ANTIQUITIES RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT BUDDHĀM.

By

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The Guntur district is famous for its numerous antiquities belonging to the Buddhist age. The stupas and other structures unearthed at Amarāvati and Nāgārjunakonda are very well known. Many more places have yielded numbers of antiquities and many others still await exploration and examination. I have recently visited the Village of Buddhām and found a treasure of Buddhist remains. I am describing below a few of these remains with the hope that they will attract from scholars the attention that they deserve.

Buddhām is a village situated within seven miles from Bāpaṭla, the headquarters of a taluk of that name in the Guntur district. The village is a mine of Buddhist antiquities. There is not one house which does not contain a sculptured slab or an ornamented pillar. The villagers point out numerous sights from which these antiquities are being obtained even to this day. The entire village is inhabited by the Kṣattriya community. It seems that they migrated here during the famous famine of the year Dhātu over sixty years ago. At the time of their coming the present village site was a piece of waste land abounding in mounds and a few scattered pieces of marble sculpture. One old inhabitant of the village told me that the village was so named because there used to be a large size statue of the Buddha in the village. Probably, the village was originally named Buddhagrāma and this name might have changed subsequently into Buddhagam and Buddhām.

I will describe below some of the important places and antiquities examined by me.

1. *Stūpa site*—As one leaves the main road and enters the village there is a Choultry recently constructed. Alround this is an elevation of considerable size. The villagers state that this was originally a high mound and the big size statue of the Buddha was obtained from it. This image, it seems, was broken up and reduced to powder.

2. *A cattle shed*—The mound slopes gently behind the choultry and joins another elevated site on which there is a cattle shed belonging to one of the leading cultivators. These sheds

are supported by wooden poles each of which has at its base a beautiful marble piece containing elegant sculptures but Cut in the centre. One of these contains the figure of a miniature stūpa and another a Kalaśa within a frame beautifully ornamented. Another slab contains a lotus medallion and below it a frieze consisting of lions and human beings in graceful poses. The villagers state that digging on this site has brought to light many sculptured pillars and slabs.

3. *A casement slab*—In one house a big marble slab has been fixed under the base of the main gateway. This slab has an ornamented margin on all sides. The central part has been mostly broken but in a corner are to be seen the heads of human beings in an inclined positions. This is undoubtedly a marble casing slab which once adorned the base of a stupa and contained some incident or other in the Buddha's life beautifully sculptured. Its size and general structure resembles that of the sculptured casement slabs unearthed at Nāgārjunakonda.

4. *Sculptured slab*—At the western end of the village is a small shrine of the village goddess. A marble slab about 2½'x1½'- is built into the southern wall of this shrine. After washing the numerous coats of white wash on it and getting it carefully cleaned, I discovered that it contained a beautiful sculpture probably depicting prince Siddhārtha riding into the city of Kapilavastu. The work is of the late Amarāvati style and shows elegance and grace. Slabs of similar size and sculpture have been discovered at Nāgārjunakonda. Probably this slab was originally fixed above the base of the stupa and at the where the dome started.

5. *Sculptured slab*—Opposite this shrine there is a broken marble slab containing a circular lotus medallion. Its back is concave like that of numerous slabs at Nāgārjunakonda and we may infer that this was part of the casement either of a *caitya* or of a votive stūpa.

6. *A pillar*—In another house is a broken marble pillar placed against a grannery. There are traces of a lotus medallion in its centre and an indenture at its top obviously intended to support a cross-beam. Evidently this is one of the pillars that supported a mantapa attached to a monastery as at Nāgārjunakonda.

7. *Curved stones*—There is an old well in the village called Pallalamma-bhāvi so named after the village goddess. The pavement round the well consists of a number curved grey marble stones carelessly thrown about . These stones are of various sizes and remind us of similar stones which form the

base of the small stūpas in the apsidal temples at Nāgārjunakonda. If all the big sized stones are properly arranged it is likely that they would indicate the circumference of a stupa as large as that of the Mahacāitya of Nāgārjunakonda.

8. *Octogonal pillar*—In the yard of another house there is an octogonal pillar with a rounded top and a base wider with traces of a design. This pillar resembles very closely the *ayaka* pillars attached to the stupas at Nagar junakonda.

9. *Another mandapa pillar*—One object of remarkable interest is a fine marble pillar carved on all four sides with circular and semi-circular lotus medallions. This pillar undoubtedly supported a mantapa. It is now laid accross a well and people stand on it and draw water. The carvings on this pillar are very beautiful.

10. *Another mandapa pillar*—This pillar about 7 feet high is buried under a hay stack in the yard of a house and is used to tie bullocks. All its four faces are carved. At the base is an elegant frieze of lions and human beings. In the centre there is a circular medallion. One of the narrower sides there is a nice frieze of elephants. The top of the pillar contains an indenture on which rested a cross-beam.

I could not obtain any inscribed slabs or pillars in spite of very careful search. The antiquities described above more than prove that a stūpa of considerable dimensions and importance once existed on the sopt together with some monastic establishments. The village needs to be carefully examined and excavation on the spots indicated by the villagers is bound to bring to light some more antiquities.

I will refer in conclusion to another stray Buddhist antiquity in the town of Bapatla. The Bhāvanārāyanasvāmi temple of this place is well known throughout Āndhrādesā. Some of the idols worshipped in this temple are of considerable antiquity and are very good specimens of mediaeval Āndhra iconography. In the courtyard of the temple and fixed on either side of the Dhvajastambha are two marble pillars. One of them is plain and contains traces of a Telugu inscription. The other is of great importance. It contains at its base the figure of a five hooded Nāga. About it is a worn out figure of the seated Buddha in the dhyāna pose. In the third tier is a miniature stūpa of the plain type with āyaka pillars before it and an umbrella above it. I am told that this pillar was brought from outside and fixed in the temple about twenty years ago. I believe that it was conveyed here from Buddhām.

HARAPPA.

By

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All eyes of the world of historians today turn on Sindh, which, as is now well-known, had in the remote past possessed the most unique civilization which is calculated to be the first great civilization that the world had ever seen. No longer can Rome or Greece or Egypt claim to be the first harbingers of light upon earth—they are at best, the second or the third lights enkindled by the original flame of the ancient Sindh civilization. It is gathered from the present discoveries, that Rome had inherited and not originated the idea of citizenship first developed in Sindh and Sindh alone by its inhabitants who had lived in well-planned cities regulated by the municipal arrangements for public sanitation, drainage, bath etc., and that Greece noted for its sense of realistic beauty in art was anticipated by the lively figures first enshrined in Sindh on its precious seals that were an object of curiosity for the whole world. The sense of mystery that runs throughout the ancient Egypt is akin to the sense of mystery in the Sumerian religion that found its full development though not in Sindh, but in Mesopotamia whose ancient civilization in many vital points bears such a close affinity with the civilization of Sindh, that both Sindh and Sumer my be characterized as the main offsoots of a larger family living elsewhere. (See further my article on Egypt as colony of South-India, the original home of the Sumerians). The original home of the ancient Sindh civilization which included in its range the Sumerian civilization of Mesopotamia, therefore, can neither be Sindh nor Mesopotamia itself. The first family-home, as I shall attempt to show in successive stages in the sequel of these articles, must be somewhere in South-India; Sindh forming a second home if not the third, and Mesopotamia a third if not the second. The first uprush of the wave of civilization came by the sea-route from South-India. It reached its peak in the north in Sindh—its second home. It met its descent on the plains of Mesopotamia—the third home, whence it rolled on in various directions to Outer-Asia, Africa and finally to the sea-board of Europe. The wave might have reached direct to Mesopotamia and sent its cross-currents to Sindh. Indeed, the vast majority of the Indian population belongs to the

same races as the Akkadians, the Chaldaens and the Sumerians of Mesopotamia, who, as we shall discuss later on, arose in India from the same stock of people known as Dravidian. The Dravidian was the fisrt civilized man on Earth holding the lamp of civilization for the succeeding generations of mankind. The Aryan who succeeded the Dravidian received full benefit from that light and added on to it. It would be admitted that the Aryan aristocracy was like a drop in the ocean of Indian population; but by a change of metaphor, it would also be conceded that the drop was a moondrop in the starry firmament of India! The various elements combined have produced a phenamenon that is known as Indian culture. The whole history of the Indian people has been an almost unique blending of the various elements from within and without, and to ignore any one of these elements would be to belie that history. The languages of India silently bear the marks of this permanent blending of Indian culture achieved in many ages in the past. The Indian languages have freely borrowed from each other as well as from foreign languages and are linking the Indian people together to a wider world of thought and action. It would be an act of fanaticism to tear from their vocabulary all words of alien growth. To amputate any one of them would be an act of treason to Indian history and civilization. The main course of Indian history has been in one direction-Harmony. To destroy that harmony would be nothing short of suicide!

The above remarks are relevant to our present enquiry, in which I take my chief stand on evidence supplied by language. Without indulging in any speculations, I now proceed to produce a mass of linguistic evidence that in my opinion goes to prove the above deductions. In passing, I may refer to the literary traditions, religions beliefs and practices of the Sumerians, the Akkadians and the Chaldaens of Mesopotamia, pointing to their original home in South-India. I may also refer to the archacological evidence of the Sindh-textiles, the Indian material of beads, the monkey-seals, the Brahmi bulls, the pattern of Indian trefoil, and forms of personal fashion such as the Indian Coiffure found in the Sumerian tombs and temples in Mesopotamia, denoting in all probability, Sindh as the Cultural home of the Mesopotamian civilization. The high level of civilization reached in Sindh, before it had reached the land of Mesopotamia, indicated by the popular use of baked bricks in common buildings, town planning, public-bath and a system of public drainage connected with private houses etc., may also be discussed pointing to Sindh as the hief centre of the Meso-

potamian civilization . But in dealing with the prehistoric ages with which we are concerned—where even archacology fails to give us the lead; our only guide, as I have suggested above is the Science of Comparative Philology which alone is able to illumine the dark ages with the light of words that still survive ! In their flickering but unfailing light, I propose to take a leap in the dark and offer below a number of philological equations which in agreement with other evidences, may serve as a finger-post to ancient history. Let us begin with Harappa in Montogomery district in the Punjab, which comes within the orbit of the ancient Sindh civilization : and which has revealed to us, for the first time the new knowledge of that great civilization in India, which once ruled the world !

I know of three cognate names : HARAPPA in the Panjab, ARRAPHA or ARRAPKHA in Mesopotamia and and ARPPAKKAM in South India.

The philological equation may be studied as below:—

(The Mesopotamian) Arra-pha or Arra-pkha

(The North-Indian) (H) Ara-ppa..........

(The South-Indian) Ar-(p) pākkam.

The original to which these three names point out, may be reconstructed as Ar-pākkam. Pakkaṇ (पक्कण) in Sanskrit, signifying the abode of a forester (शबर) appears to be a loan-word derived from the Dravidian Pākkam which signifies a town. [I suspect the Dravidian Pākkam in the name of a town Pāk-Patan in the Panjab; Paṭan meaning a town, itself of Dravidian origin as in Poudo paṭan-(Tamil, Pudu—new) a place mentioned by Greeks in Malabar coast]. The Mesopotamian and the North-Indian names in our equation above, represent a process of phonetic decay which is missing in the more original. South-Indian name Ar-ppākkam : doubling of 'p' being only phonetic as in the case of Arkkāḍu, originally, Ar-kādu. As Ar-kādu signifies 'the forest of Ar,' Ar-pākkam signifies 'the town of Ar.' Ar being the name of a tribe who had inhabited South-India. That the Ar-people, in all probability, were autochtonous to South-India is, among other evidences, borne out by the names of the numerous villages, bearing the radical Ar, adjoining Arcot (ancient Arkāḍu), on the river Palar in South-India; names such as, Ar-kkonam, Ar-ni, and the name Ar-āppakkam itself which seems to be the origin of the North-Indian Harappa and the Mesopotamian Arrapha or Arrapkha. The foresters of Arkāḍu (Arcot) soon built cities round its neighbourhood and became the residents of towns such as Arppākam, and

occupied the territory towards north extending to the Arabian-sea. Wherever they went, these Ar-people had called the places of their new habitation by their distinguished tribal nama, such as that of (H) Ara-ppa in the Panjab, and Arra-pha or Arrapkha in Mesopotamia : both, if the philological equation set out above is correct signifying 'a town of the Ar'. It appears that the Ar-people of South-India, had in prehistoric ages, along the sea-coast reached the North and overspread the whole country. They are known to Sanskrit tradition as a tribe of the Nagas. (For the identification of the Ar-tribe with the Nāgas, see my article on Abraham as belonging to the same tribe). Even in a later period the Buddhist tradition in the Mahāvaṁśa 12(3—7) records the name of an Ar, known as Ar-Bal, a Naga-ruler of Kashmir, converted to Buddhism by saint Majjhantika. This would indicate that the Dravidian was not pushed to the south of India, as is commonly held by the coming Aryas. On the contrary, the Dravidian who had moved up early from south to North India and was in full possession of the whole country, had settled down with the Arya on peaceful terms in the north. It seems that Harappa in the Panjab was a forerunner of Arrapha in Mesopotamia. Arrapha (Arrapkha or Arrabkhu) is located round Assyria and identified with the ancient Gutium, (modern Kīrkukk) south of the lower Loab). The Arrapachites or men of Arrabhku are known as *invaders*. Hammurabi seems to have conquered them. The Chief of Arrapachites (Ararpakh) on the upper Zoab, north-east of Ninevah is recorded to have sent tribute to Egypt. (Ptolmey VI. 1,2, also note the Biblical, Arphaxad). The Assyriologisto hold that Arrapkha (2,400 B.C. Gutium period) does not seem to have been known in the Ancient Sumerian period of Ur(3000 B.C.). Certainly, this view is in keeping with the order of the ancient historical facts—Akkadians of Arrapkha, stepping into the shoes of the Sumerians of Ur, that is, the Arkadians of Arcot or the Arrapachites of the South-Indian Arppākham, pursuing the old course of migration set out by their forefathers the Khmers (Known as Sumers) of South-India. That would make Harappa in the Panjab, with its Sumerian affinities as known from Sindh, more ancient than the Mesopotamian Arrapkha, without them.

Ramman, the thunder-god, it is held was the national god of Arrapkha. In Ramman, I see the South-Indian name Raman, pointing to its ancient prototype Ar-magan, the Lord of the tribe of Ar in South-India.(See my article on Abraham). Ramman forges a link between 'the town of Ar' in Mesopotamia and 'the town of Ar' in South-India. Was the town of Ar'

in Mesopotamia the, first colony of the town of Ar' in South-India, or the second, springing from 'the town of Ar, in the Panjab, could not be finally stated, until more of Harappa and of its language in the Panjab, were known ? But one thing is certain from the two constituent elements of the three Common names of places, namely, AR and PAKKAM—both of which are Tamil words : that all the three towns were built by the speakers of the Tamil language, who had from a remote antiquity, their central home in South-India, the *Tamilagam*. The *Brahui* in Baluchistan may represent not an inward but an *outward* movement of the Tamils of India in quest of new lands finally settling in their new towns such as Arrapkha in Assyria. Even in historical times the advantures of Indians, by sea, to the land of Mesopotamia are known to us from the Buddhist Jātakas, such as the Baveru and the Suppārak-Jātāka.

The three *Harappas*, as I should call them one in South-India, one in North-India, and one in Mesopotamia, clearly indicate that India even in prehistoric ages was not fragmented but united as between north and south; and not isolated but in close contact with the outer world. The city of Harappa in the Panjab may be a dead skeleton underground but its soul reflected in its name uniting the three lands, is still living and free ! (*For further lights on Harappa and its transplantation and identification with Arabia, see my article on 'Indo-Arabic' Unity in the ancient world-I, in the Delhi University Magazine,* 1947).

THE ARYO-DRAVIDIAN CHARACTER OF THE MOHENJO DARO INSCRIPTIONS.

By

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One of the most outstanding problems that still requires a fuller investigation in the field of Indology is the one in regard to the decipherment of the Indus Valley inscriptions. Recently scholars like Pran Nath, Waddell and Father Heras tried to apply various methods towards the solution of this problem. But, as Dr. V.S. Sukthankar once expressed to me personally, no other scholar agrees with what these scholars have expressed about themselves individually.

After a study of about four years in the field of Dravidian research, I must frankly admit that there is much that can draw our admiration in the theory of the Rev. H. Heras, S.J. However, though, I was all the while satisfied with regards to his solution of the problem of the similarities between the Sumerian and the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions, still I felt doubtful whether the language of these inscriprtions could be Dravidian. Father Heras has applied the so-called proto-Dravidian, whereas I am now fully convinced that we can obtain better results by applying the Ancient Sanskrit alone.

The main hypothesis..

The main conclusion of Fathers Heras is that along with the civilisation the language of the proto-Dravidians must have been the proto-Dravidian, and that in veiw of this, the language of the inscriptions also must have been the same. Further, apart from the data in regard to the remnants of the Dravidian language in the non-literary dialect Brahui, the most significant fact which seems to have drawn his attention, while taking such a step is the mention of the three Gods An, Enlil, and Ama in the Sumerian inscriptions. In one of his articles he has also shown how the Sumerian script happens to be a later development of the one at Mohenjo-Daro. And by making a comparative study of both these pictographs he has tried to prove that by the application of the proto-Dravian languages instead of the Sumerian one can get a correct meaning of the same.

But can this all be true ?

THE AGE OF THE MOHENJO-DARO CIVILISATION.

In our opinion the age of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation seems to have started with the pre-Vedic and extended upto the post-Ṛgvedic period. In this sense, it is neither pre-Vedic nor post-Ṛgvedic, but it is inclusive of both. Elsewhere we have tried to prove that the legend of Manu and the Flood really refers to a great oceanic activity which must have taken place immediately after the close of the Bhārata war, and which must have been also responsible for the extinction of the mighty River Saraswatī of Ṛgvedic fame, of the Indus Vally and probably of so many other sites of historical importance.

Almost all the Indus Valley finds show the existence of a civilisation mainly of a non-Aryan character. The Ṛgvedic and the Atharvāṇic data prove the existence of such a civilisation side by side with that of the Aryan. If this be so, then it is very much probable that the Indus Valley civilisation must have been a *running civilisation*, occuppying such a vast expanse of time such as that of the *pre-Vedic and the post-Vedic periods also.*

ARYANS AND THE INDUS VALLEY CIVILISATION

The existence of the Aryans in India during the Indus Valley period is a possibility. The various references in the Ṛgveda made in connection with the different tribes like the Viṣānis, the Śivas, the Matsyas, the Alinas and the others, and the expressions like Mṛdhravāc, Grathin, Anyavrata, the three-headed and six-eyed Dāsa, Ahi as Deva (God), etc.—all these clearly indicate the close contact of the Aryans with the original inhabitants of India. The Atharvaveda goes a step further when it makes definite efforts to Brahmanize the early notions and practices of these people.

The craniological data clearly points out the existence of both the Brachycephalic and Dolichocephalic skulls during the Indus Valley period. The system of cremation so much favoured by the Aryans seems to have been in vogue in those times.

INDUS VALLEY SCRIPT AND THE ARYANS

We must frankly admit the perfect ingeniousness of the Rev H. Heras, S. J., when he shows the similarities betbeen the Sumerian and the Indus Valley scripts. But what we propose is that better result could be obtained by applying the Ancient Sanskrit rather than the so-called proto-Dravidian to the Indus Valley pictographs.

The early Vedic period itself shows a clear trace of the Sanskritzation of both the Dravidian language and culture. In fact the particular vocabulary which has been drawn by Father Heras has got all its equivalents in Sanskrit—so much so that the former looks as if a translation of the latter. As a further enunciation we may say that the so-called dead language Sanskrit is to be found in its more definite and clearer aspects during the Vedic period itself.

As an instance or two we may point out how the process of the application of the Sanskrit words instead of the Dravidian ones (mainly drawn from Tamil) would suit the context better. One of the inscriptions according to Father Heras reads 'Mun Min kan'. The same may be read as indicating *trinetra matsya*. The sign for 'crossways' is said to be Kada. But the Sanskrit has already the expression *Catuṣpatha*. Father Heras calls the country of India as 'Sid (to flow)'. But the expression *Vāhika* also is derived from the root 'Vah' (to flow)'. The latter expression is more in keeping with the context, especially in view of the fact that it does not seem to be the business of the Mohenjo-Daro people to deal with the history of the whole of India. Their activities seem to have been restricted to a particular tract of the country. Besides the expressions like *Mūnur*, *Ān* etc.—which are not generally in vogue during any period of history, have got equivalents in Sanskrit e.g. *Tripura*, *Śiva*, etc.

Thus, our main theory is that the existence of a spoken Dravidian language in the North is an absolute possibility. But, immediately after their arrival, some of the Aryans like the Bhrgus must have picked up the fancy of mixing themselfves with the Dravidians—the main outcome of which are these inscriptions. The tradition of *Chitragupta* as depicting secretly the working of human beings clearly denotes the existence of a pictographic script in Ancient India.

In view of all this, it is now high time for scholars in the field of Indology to work out the whole of the planning of Father Heras in a new light. In our opinion, the application of the Ancient Sanskrit alone can give a satisfactory reading of the Mohenjo Daro pictographs.

TWO EPIGRAPHIC NOTES

By

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I No. CV of Fleet's Sanskrit and Old Canarese inscriptions (IA. x, p.167) records the grant of Nareyamgal fifty to the Lokeśvara temple; it stipulates that each *mattar* of land is to give two *kuḷa* of *coḷam* (millet) to the temple; a *kuḷa* being the same as *koḷaga* of sixty-four seers as Fleet explains. This is followed by a sentence which reads : Tagappilla, gosane illa, rājapuruṣarge pugil-illa, which Fleet rendered into :'There is no peremptory demand ; there is no (obligation of) presenting cattle ; there is no right of perquisites (allowed) to the king's servants'. In his notes he said *tagappu* is evidently the old form of *tagavu* 'peremptory demand for payment' which seems satisfactory. But *gosane*, he said, was perhaps a corruption of the Vedic 'goshaṇi' *gosane*, 'acquiring or presenting with cattle' and *pugilu* was the same as Hindusthani *phakshi*. I think in both cases the meaning is much simpler. *Gosane* is *ghoṣaṇā*-proclamation (of default to be followed by processes of distraint) (cf. *bheriya gosane bhūtālāgradoḷ* in l. 16 of SII. IX. i. No. 101;) and *pugilu* is simply entry. Hence the second and third members in the sentence mean only-no proclamation, and no entry of king's servants.

2. No. CIV of the same collection (ib. pp. 166-7) is an inscription comprising two verses in Sanskrit both in Āryā metre, and bearing the name Acalada at the end. Fleet's description of these verses saying that they are 'in praise of Achalada-Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition' does scant justice to the contents of the record. Having thus almost completely missed the significane of the inscription, Fleet omitted to give a facsimile of it and we have now to depend solely on his judgement of the age of the record. He says : 'The characters are of the eighth or ninth century A.D. But as it is engraved on a pillar of the Lokeśvara now Virūpākṣa temple of Paṭṭadakal on a pillar which bears a record of the reign of Vikramāditya II, we may take it for settled that the record belongs to the eighth century and is coeval with the temple where it is found. The temple, as is well known, was erected by Lokamahādevī, the Haihaya queen of Vikramādityā II (A.D. 733-47)'.

If we turn to the contents of Acalada's verses with this knowledge of the date, of the inscription, we find it to be of con-

siderable interest to the history of the art of dancing in South India. I shall now reproduce the two verses and translate them before proceeding to estimate their historical importance :

Bharata-nuta-vacana-racanā
viracita-naṭa-sevya-siṁghanādena |
paranaṭa-mandāndha-hastī
prahīna-mado bhavatyeva ||
Naṭa sevya-Bharata-mata-yuta-
paṭutara-vacanāśani prapātena |
kuṭilonnata-naṭa-sailaḥ
sphuṭit-ānata-mastakaḥ-patati || Acalada ||.

'The elephant, blind with rut, which is an actor of another school, is deprived of his frenzy by the lion's roar of (the rules) that are to be observed of actors, framed in accordance with the arrangement of the celebrated sentences of Bharata. The crooked, lofty, mountain, which is an actor proud of his twisted (acting), falls down, having its summit (which is the actor's head) broken open and bowed down by the thunderbolt, which is a most skilful composition imbued with the opinions of Bharata, which are worthy to be followed by actors. Acalada'. The translation is Fleet's with a slight alteration relating to kuṭilonnata-naṭa-śailaḥ of the second verse.

That Acalada is the name of the composer of these two verses is clear ; it is equally clear that the Bharata referred to in both verses is no other than the celebrated author of the Nāṭyaśāstra whose rules formed the basis of a new treatise on dance ; so that Fleet's remark on 'Acalada-Bharata, the author of a work on dramatic composition' is doubly inaccurate because : (1) we have no evidence of a name like Acalada-Bharata and (2) the treatise praised in the verses is clearly not a work on dramatic composition, but on the art of dancing. It is a pity that the inscription does not reveal more about the author and his work ; even their names seem to be carefully withheld in the exuberance of Acalada's conceits.

But even more interesting, if equally tantalising, is the reference to a rival school of acting as paramata madāndha hastī and kuṭilonnata-naṭa-śailaḥ. These verses seem then to be an echo of a contest between rival schools of dancing that ended in a decisive victory for that of Bharata resuscitated in a new work in western Deccan early in the eighth century, in the reign of the Cāḷukyan emperor Vikramāditya II. It is possible that the progress of the research may yet be able to identify this epoch-making treatise on dance, though we seem to know nothing of it now.

DATE OF THE LINGARĀJA TEMPLE AT BHUBANESWAR AND THE JAGANNATHA TEMPLE AT PURI.

By

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It is rather unfortunate that the three famous temples of Orissa–Lingarāja, Jagannātha and Konāraka do not possess any commemorative inscriptions like Brahmesvara, Meghesvara and Anantavāsudeva temples of Bhubaneswar which were built by relations of the reigning sovereigns of Utkala; and from this it appears that the great patrons of art and architecture in Orissa were not keen to leave their name behind. But the people of Orissa were not forgetful of the memory of their great kings, and traditions are current in Orissa and also recorded in the *Mādalāpāñji* or the chronicles of the Jagannātha temple, that the Lingarāja temple was built by the kings of the Keśarī dynasty and Jagannātha and Konāraka temples were built by the kings of the Ganga dynasty of Orissa, and though these traditions do not give us the exact dates of the temples yet they furnish us with the chronological data on the dates of these temples. In this paper I have made an attempt to assign approximately the definite date of Lingarāja and Jagannātha temples from the study of inscriptions.

A. THE LINGARĀJA TEMPLE.

The Brahmesvara temple was built by Kolāvatī Devī,[1] the mother of Mahārājadhirāja Udyota Keśarī, and this Udyota, Kesarī is no other than the king of the same name who granted the Bālijhari copper plate.[2] As the name Udyota Keśarī is found after Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, who was defeated by the Ràjendra Chola[3] in 1024-25 A.D., his date is to be assigned after 1025 A.D. Two kings named Nahuṣa and Yayāti II preceded Udyota and if we allot 25 to 30 years for them, the date of succession of Udyota Keśarī can be assigned to 1050-1055 A.D. and the date of Brahmesvara temple which was erected in the 18th year of his reign thus comes to some where near 1070 A.D.

[1] L. I. N. I. Bhandarkar No. 1572.

[2] *J. B. & O. R. S.*, 1931, pp. 1-24.

[3] *Journal of India History*. April, 1941, pp. 1-11.

R. Chanda writes in his note on *The Lingarāja or the Great Temple of Bhubaneswar* that "tetween the style of decoration of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaràja there is considerable resemblance. * * The Brahmesvara and the Lingaràja represent a single line of artistic tradition, the latter monument having been in all probability erected by one of the ancestors of Udyota Keśarī, say about 1000[1] A.D."

The Ganga king Rājarāja I of Kalinganagara defeated the king of Utkala in 1075-76 A.D. and it proves clearly that the power of the Keśarī dynasty was weak in 1075 A.D. On the other hand the inscriptions of Yayāti II and Udyota Keśarī show the opulence and power of the Somakulī Keśarī dynasty of Orish and the weakness of the dynasty may naturally be attributed to a successor of Udyota Keśarī after his death before 1075 A.D. During the period of 50 years from 1025 to 1075 A.D. we find from inscriptions of the Somakulī kings the names of Nahuśa, Yayāti and Udyota Keśarī and as the Brahmesvara temple was built in the 18th year of reign of Udyota Keśarī, we may safely say that Udyota Keśarī ascended the throne about in 1050 A.D. If 20 years are alloted to Yayàti II., he ascended the throne in 1030 A.D.

Stirling recorded the following tradition in connection with the construction of the Lingarāja temple:—

"Towards the close of his reign Raja Yayāti Kesari began the buildings at Bhubaneswar."

Ananta Kesari, the second successor of Yayāti, "began the building of the great temple at Bhubaneswar."

"He was succeeded by Lalāt Indra Kesari, a personage of high repute in the legends of the Bhubaneswar temple, in consequence of his having built or completed the great pagoda at that place sacred to Mahadeo under the title of the Ling Raj Bhubaneswar."[2]

It is all possible that the great structure is a work of two generations and the construction of the temple was begun by Yayātī II towards the close of his reign and completed by Udyota Kesàrî at the beginning of his reign after 1050 A.D. It seems to me that *Lalātendu* or *Lalāta Indra* was a title of Udyota Keśarī and the tradition has only adopted the title and not the name. There is a cave called Lalātendu Kesarī's cave in the

[1] *A. R. A. S. I.* 1923-24. pp. 121-22.

[2] Stirlingls *Orissa* (Bengal Secretariat 1904 reprint from edition of 1822) Calcutta p. 70.

Khandagiri hill, but the inscription in it refers to Udyota Keśari who was really the *Lalātendu* or the *Moon on the forehead* of the Somakulī Keśarī kings in consequence of his having built or completed the great Lingaràja temple at Bhubaneswar.

So Chanda's suggestion of 1000 A.D. for the date of the Lingarāja temple accepted by Dr. A.K. Commaraswamy[1] and Mr. Percy Brown[2] needs correction according to the new epigraphical evidence now available and the date of the Lingaràja temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 11th. century A.D.

B. THE JAGANNĀTHA TEMPLE.

Dr. A.K. Coomaraswamy[3] assigns *c* 1150 A.D. as the date of Jagannātha temple, but Mr. Percy Brown[4] puts the date of the temple as 1100 A.D.

M.M.Chakravarti has approximately assigned 1193-94 to 1198-99 A.D. as the date of the Meghesvara temple[5] at Bhubaneswar which was built by Svapnesvara Deva. The date of the Anantavāsudeva temple by Chandrādevī is 1278 A.D.[6] These two inscriptions do not mention any thing about the erection of the Jagannātha temple by Choḍagangadeva or Anangabhīmadeva of the Ganga dynasty. But according to verse 27 of the copper plate of Narasiṁha II[7], Choḍaganga built a *Prāsada* for Puruṣottama and from this M.M.Chakravarti writes that "Under his orders was built the great temple of Jagannātha at Puri.[8]" This is the only authentic record relating to the date on the construction of the Jagannātha temple by a successor of Choḍaganga. Mr. R. Suba Rao gives the period of rule of Choḍaganga from 1076 to 1147 A.D.[9]. and writes that Choḍaganga transferred his capital to Cuttack in 1135 A.D. [10] So the date assigned by Dr. Coomaraswamy comes nearer to the last year of Choḍaganga's reign in 1145 A.D.

[1] *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*, 1927 p, 115.

[2] *Indian Architecture*, 1942. p. 120.

[3] *History of Indian & Indonesian Art*.

[4] *Indian Architecture* p. 120.

[5] *J. A. S. B.* 1903 p. 116.

[6] *E. I.* Vol. XIII p. 151.

[7] *J. A. S. B.* 1896 p. 240.

[8] *Ibid.* 1903. p. 110.

[9] *J. A. H. R. S.* Vol. VII. p. 182.

[10] Ibid. p. 58.

M.M. Chakravarti wrote the following in his paper on "Jagannātha temple in Puri.":—

"1. The present temple of Jagannātha was built under the orders of Choḍaganga.

"2. It existed there at about 1070 A.D. and might have been built between 1085-90 A.D.

"3. The conquest of Orissa took place very early in the reign of Choḍaganga, probably in the first decade of his reign (1075-1085 A.D.)"[1]

The above conclusion and the date given by Mr. Percy Brown are not proved by the epigraphical records. Full suzerainty of Choḍaganga was not established in Orissa before 1118 A.D. and his capital was not located there before 1135 A.D. So the construction of the Jagannātha temple was taken up by him after 1135 A.D. and the work was finished during his life time e.g. 1145 A.D. The dates of Jagannātha temple at Puri can thus be safely assigned to the middle of the 12th. century A.D.

As regards the date of the Konāraka temple both traditions and inscriptions in copper plates of Narasiṁhadeva II to Narasiṁhadeva IV agree in ascribing to king Narasiṁhadeva I who ruled from 1238 to 1264 A.D., and built the Konāraka temple. Here also the date of the Konāraka temple can be safely assigned to the middle of the 13th century A.D.

[1] J. A. S. B. 1898. p. 331.

BENGALI ŚAIVĀCĀRYAS IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

By K. R. VENKATRAMAN.

The stream of Tamil Śaivism, which goes back to the Śaṅgam Age expanded in the course of time with the flow of other streams from Western India and Northern India; and among the Ācāryas from the north were some from the Gauḍa Deśa.

An inscription[2] in the *Rāja Rājeśvaram* temple at Tanjore dated in the 19th year of Rājendra Cola I mention that the disciples of the Śaivācārya Sarva Śiva Paṇḍita included natives of Gauḍa.

Svāmi Devar was the designation of the royal gurus of the later Cola emperors; and we learn from the inscriptions that they were immigrants from Gauḍa Desa, and originally belonged to the *Āmardaka matha* or *Āmardāśrama* in the Rāḍha country (modern Varendra in Bengal). We may construct the following list of Gauḍa Svāmi Devars, who were preceptors of Cola and Pāṇḍya kings from about the 11th to the 16th century.

1. Śrikaṇṭha Śiva,[3] a contemporary of Kulottuṅga Coḷa I and Vikrama Coḷa.

2. Umāpati Deva, also called Nāna Śiva,[4] a contemporary of Rājādhirāja II. He is reported to have warden off a Sinhalese invasion into the Coḷa kingdom by the power of his prayers.

3. Śrikantha Śambhu,[5] a contemporary of Kulottuṅga III. He consecrated the Somanātha Deva temple at Acyutamaṅgalam (Tanjore District.)

[1] Summary of a paper read at the 12th Session of the All India Oriental Conference (Benares Hindu University)—Archaeology section.

[2] *S. I. I.* Vol. II, Part I, No 20.

[3] *M. E. R.* 301 of 07 (c. 1122 A. D.) Tiruviḍ aimarudūr (Tanjore Distt.)

[4] *M. E. R.* 20 of 99—(1168 A. D)—Ārpākkam.

[5] *A. R. E.* 393-396 and 402-403 of 25. (Latest known datę-A. D. 118.

[6] *A. R. E.* 40 of 06·(A. D. 1193)

4. Someśvara (Sōmanātha also called Iśvara Śiva, a late contemporary of Kulōttuṅga III,[1] who lived in the time of Rāja Rāja III[2] also; to whom may be assigned the authorship of *Siddhānta Ratnākara* and *Krīṇākradyotikā*.[3] He consecrated the image set up in the famous temple which Kulottuṅga built at Tribhuvanam.

5. Śrīkāntha Deva,[4] a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I. He bore the titles of *Gauḍa cūḍāmaṇi* and *Vidyāsamudra*. The Hoysaḷa king Vīra Rāmanātha built a *maṭham* at Tiruvānaikkovil (Trichinopoly) at the request of a disciple[5] of this Svāmi Deva; to which the temple authorities of the place granted house sites.[6]

6. Mahāgaṇapati Vāma Deva,[1] a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvana Cakravarti Kulottuṅga Pāṇḍay (acc.A.D. 1421)—one of the later Pāṇḍya kings who ruled a small tract of country comprising part of the modern district of Tinnevelly.

7. Mahagaṇapati Bhaṭṭa,[7] a contemporary of Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvana Cakravarti Konermmeikoṇḍān Ābhirāma Parākrama Pāṇḍya Deva, another late Pāṇḍya Chief.

There were Gauḍa Ācāryas among the gurus of the Lakṣādhyāyi Golaki santānam; the most famous among them was Viśvesvara Śiva form Pūrvagrāma in the Rāḍha country. The reputed preceptor of the Kākatīya king Ganapati, Viśveśvara was honoured all over the Tamil country, and his erudition piety and and munificence are recorded in a Malkāpuram grant,[8] dated *Śāka* 1183 (A.D. 1261). He built temples and established *maṭhams* in different parts of the Tamil country. We hear of three of his sons from the inscriptions of the 13th century—Paripūrna Śiva, Sānta Śambhu or Sānta Siva and Uttama Śiva.

[1] *A. R. E.* 9 of 36 (A. D. 1220.)

[2] Hultzch : *Report on Sanskrit. Mss. II*—XVII.

[3] *A. R. E.* 31 of 1900 and 274 of 13 (known dates A. D. 1257. 1264. and 1266.)

[4] *A. R. E.* 21 of 91.

[5] *A. R. E.* 125 of 37.

[6] *A. R. E.* 569 of 17. (A. D. 1466.)

[7] *A. R. E.* 465 of 17 (A. D. 1549).

[8] *A. R. E.* 1917, pp 123, 126-7

PHILOLOGY SECTION.

SOME NEW INDO-EUROPEAN PARALLELISMS.

By

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αργε : *Skt.arjî-.*

The fact that some of the I.-E. adjectival forms in *-ra-*, a occurring as first members of compounds, substitute : *-ra-* by *-i-*, was noticed first by Caland (KZ.32, p.592) and later amplified by Wackernagel (Vermischte Beiträge, p.8ff. and Altind. Gr. II, 1, §24). Wackernagel (ibid.) further pointed out that the *-i-*forms alternated with the *-ra-* forms occasionally without compounds also. Later on other scholars also discussed the same phenomenon in detail, so, e.g. Walde-Pokorney (Vgl. Wb. Idg. Spr. I, p.82), Persson (Beiträge, II, p.827ff.), Bechtel (Lexilogus zu Homer, p. 55), Bartholomae (Idg. Forsch. 11,p.136f.) and Hirt (ibid.12,p.200) etc. The pair of words that has most often been quoted as illustrating the above fact is Skt. *ṛjrā-* "reddish, bright" or "going straightforward," substituted by *ṛjī-* in the compounds *ṛjīti-* "shining, burning" (so acc. to Grassmann RV. Wb.), *ṛjipyā-*"going straightforward" etc,. and Gr. *αργος* "bright, glistening" or "swift" (from earlier **αργρος*), substituted by *αργι-*in the compounds *αργι-Κέραυνος* "having brilliant lightning," *αργι-πους* "swift-footed" etc. Cognate with *ṛjrā-:αργος* we have Skt. *arjuna-* "white," *ṛū-* "straight," *rajata-*"silver," Avest. *reezata*, Lat. *argentum*, Celtic *argat* etc., all meaning "silver". The apparent diversity of the meanings of the original root, viz. "bright," "red", "white", "straight" and "swift", has been explained as being due to later devolepment of the single concept "bright." "Red" and "white" are both "bright" colours, a "straightforward" movement is "rapid," and a "rapid" movement is easily associated with a kind of "flickering light" (Wackernagel and Walde-Pok., ibid., Liddel-Scott, Greek-English Lexicon, s.v. *αργος*).

The various words mentioned above undoubtedly go back to one and the same I.-E. root, but they differ from each other in the Ablaut-forms. Thus, Skt. *ṛjū-*, *ṛjra-* and *ṛjī-* and Avest. *Irdzata* presuppose the root form**ṛg-*;Skt. *ārjuna-*, Lat. *argentum* and Celt. *argat* another root form **arg-;* Skt. *rajatá-* the root form **reg-;* and Gr. *lerl-*, *leros* either the form **arg-*, or

possibly the form *ṛg-. Consequently, we have to set the dissyllabic base *areg- as the original I.-E. root. (See Walde-Pok. Vgl. Idg. Wb. s.v. and Hirt Ablaut, p.124). It will be noticed that the primitive root possesses two vowels, -a- and -e-, in the normal grade. The second vowel has assumed Cipher-grade in all the words except in Skt. rajatà-, while the first vowel shows the Cipher-grade in Skt. and Avest. words only. We may, therefore, regard the Ablaut are-: ar- as common I.-E. and old, and the Ablauts are-: re- and are-: r- as merely Aryan and later. It follows that Gr. αργε and αργcs go back to older *argi- and *argros, while Skt. ṛjī- and ṛjrà- go back to *ṛgi and *ṛgròs. It is true that Gr. ar can go back to I.-E. *ṛ- as to *ar-. However, as stated above, there is no warrant to suppose the existence of ṛ-forms in the I-E. word. (I.-E. ṛ would be represented by or- in Lat.). ṛjī-, therefore, cannot be regarded as truly identical with Gr. αργι and that probably is the reason why Bechtel (Philologus, 59), despite being fully aware of the existence of Skt. ṛjī-, so eagerly searched for the Indian equivalent of Gr. αργι which, he felt, must have existed. For, the two words árjuna- and ṛjī- evidently suggested the existence of the required word arjī-. Bechtel was not fortunate enough to know it, but the word arjī- really does exist in Skt., although not yet registered in any of the Dictionaries, nor noticed by Etymologists. It occurs in the following passage of the Āp. Mantra Br. 2.16.2 (=Bhār. Gṛ. Sū. 2.7 = Hiraṇyak. Gṛ. Sū. 2.7.2.) :-alūava (ĀpMB.-ba) ït tàm ūpahvayatarjīm (v.l. ĀpMB. -hvayatharjīn, HG.-hvayatarjimac, BhG. hvayatharjīc)[1] chyàmàh śabalah (v.l. HG. chambalaḥ) adhorama (HG. atho-) ulumbalàh sārameyo ha dhavāti.[1]

[1] All the three texts contain numerous mistakes and corruptions, and the MSS. show many variants. In the above passge ĀpMb has six variants : ajīr, ajīm, arjin arji, arjin and arjīn; HG. has two : arjimac and arjañ; and Bhār. G. also two : arjīc and ajjīr. Of these only three are worth any notice: arjīn (Acc. Pl.), arjīn (Acc. Pl.) and arjimac—(cabalah) (in compound), of which, again, arjīn may be discarded as being out of place with the Acc. Sg. tam. arjimac—(cabalah) as the first member of a compound is also hardly likely, as all the other parallel words occur without compounds. In all probability the original reading was—

alūava ït tām upāhva/ yatārjīm (or-jīh) ṣyāmah ṣabālaḥ//
adhorāma ulumbalah/ sārameyo ha dhāvati//

(Metre in the first half is, of course, defective).

Winternitz (Āp. MB. Word-Index), following the comment. Haradatta, divides ūpāhvayatha. ārjīn ṣyāmah. Also Renou, Index Vedique, p. 36, registers the word as ārjīn. Neither of them, however, gives any indication as to the meaning and the formation of ārji. Kirste (HG. Word-Index) divides arjimat-śabalah. Provided arjimat-is not a corrupt reading, arji- in this case may be regarded as a noun meaning "redness" or "swiftness".

The passage refers to Dog-Demons and may be rendered thus :—

"Aulava, indeed, has summoned him, the *arjī-*. here. There runs the black dog, the variegated one, the one having black marks on the lower part, and the copper-coloured one"[1].

arj- in the above passage may mean either "red" or "white" (Cf. *árjuna-, ṛjrà-*) as dogs of various colours are mentioned, or it may also mean "running straightforward, swift" (cf. *ṛjipyà-* and Gr. αργε πους which would accord with *sārameyo ha dhāvati*. In either case, it is perfectly identical with Gr. αργε besides being one of the rare *-i*—forms alternating with *-ra-* forms outside a compound.

Lat. vestis : Goth. wasti-: Skt. vasti-.

The First Book of Taittirīya Āraṇyaka contains an interesting description of the six seasons which, along with some other deities, have been completely anthropomorphized. The author is very vivid in his description and rather particular about mentioning the colours of the garments of the deities and the personified seasons. Thus Vasanta has been described as having *sarāga-vastra-*"reddish garments" (TA. 1. 3. 4), Grīṣma as *śuklavāsāḥ* "white-clothed" (TA.13.3), Sarad as putting on *kanakābhāni vāsāṁsī* "golden-coloured garments" (TA.1.4.1), and the Ādityas as having *viśvarūpāṇi vāsāṁsi* "variegated garments" 'TA. 1.3.4', while the passage describing Hemanta says that he is seen with *apadhvastair vastīvarṇaiḥ* "faded out vasti-colours.

The context leaves us in no doubt as to the word *vasti-* being a synonym of *vāsas-*and *vastra-* "cloth" and a derivative from √*vas* "to wear, to put on". Its formation as a noun in *-ti-* is equally clear.

Sanskrit Dictionaries register three different words *vasti-*. 1. meaning "fringe, skirt of a cloth" from √*vas* "to wear", which is without accent and purely lexical; 2. meaning "staying, dwelling" from √*vas* "to dwell"; and 3. which is more usually written as *vasti-*, meaning bladder, abdomen", of uncertain origin.

The *vasti-* of TA. may be identified with the lexical *vasti-* (1) meaning "skirt of a cloth", although there is no reason to

[1] Concerning Vedic and Homeric description of dogs and their colours, see Vedische Studien II, p. 58 and Schulze, Sitzungs-Berichte der Preussischen Akademie d. Wissenschaft 1910, p. 802).

suppose that the TA. passage refers to the "*skirt* of of a cloth" rather than merely to "cloth or garment". However, this is only a minor change in meaning and can be easily explained.

What is really interesting, but what has not been noticed so far, about *vasti-*, is the fact that two other I.-E. languages possess words exactly identical with it. We have *zestis* "cloth" in Latin and *wasti* "cloth" in Gothic, all three evidently going back to I.-E. **ues-ti-s*, from **ues-* "to wear". Gothic *-a-*, in place of the expected *-e-*, both in *wasti-* and in the verb *wasjan*, is to be explained as going back to **uos-*, an Ablaut of **ues-*. (See Kieckers, Handbuch d. vgl. Goth. Gramm. §35, pp. 33 and 35).

None of the Comparative Grammars or Dictionaries have noted Skt. *vasti-* as identical with the corresponding Latin and Gothic forms. They mention only the cognate words *vastra-*, *vāsas-*, *vaste*, etc. (For cognate words in other languages see, Wald-Pok., vgl. Wb. Idg. Spr. s. v. and Lat. Etymol. Wb. s. v. vestis).

Lith. palvas : OHG. falo : Skt. pālava.

One of the very well-known I.-E. words is *paluos or poluos (<*pelous) meaning "grey' pale' yellow", as inferred from Gr. πελιος (<*πλιϜos), πολιος (<*πολιϜos) "grey" Lat. *palidus* (**palu-idus*, Sommer, Lat. Handbuch §127) OHG. *falo* (<*falwo*), Lith. *palvas* and Old Slav. *plavu*, (<**polvu*, see Mikkola, Urslavische Grammatik §73, pp. 90f.), all meaning "pale, white".-**uos* in the original word being a suffix (Kurze Vgl. Gramm. §403, 1), the I.-E. root is set down as **pel*, **pol-*. Other formations from the same root are Skt. *palita-* and *pali-kni-* "grey, old", Gr. πελιζνος, πελιδνος "grey" Lat. *pullus* (<**pul-no-s*, <**pol-no-s*, Sommer, Lat. Handbuch, §57 b) "dark-grey" etc. Further, according to Liden, (Beitr. z. ai. und vgl. Sprachgesch., p. 90) Skt. *pandu-* "pale, yellow" (<**pel-nd-u-* or **pol-ṇd-u-*), *pāṇḍura-*, *pūṇḍara-* and *pāṭala-* also belong to the same root. Skt. *paruṣa-* "variegated" and Avest. *paourusa* or *pourusa* "grey, old" are usually said to be connected with *pṛsni-* "variegated" Gr. περκνος "dark, dark-blue". (So Fick, BB. 29, p. 198 f.). But these two words too, in all probability, belong to I.-E. **pel-*, **pol-*, their first element *paru-* going back to *palu-* <I.-E. **pel-u-*[1]. (See Walde-Pok, Idg. Vgl. Wb. II,

[1] Cf. *aruṣa-* and *aruṇa-* "red", going back to an I.-E. root **ereu*, ablauting as **eru-* and **reu-*. The latter gives rise to *ravi-*, the former to *aruṣa-* and *aruṇa-*. See Persson, Studien zur Lehre von der Wurzelerweiterung und Wurzelvariation, p. 237 ff. and Hirt, Ablaut, p. 117.

p. 53 f.). This becomes all the more probable when we consider the formation of *pālava*, a word hitherto left unnoticed. It occurs, amidst a whole host of other words denoting colours in a passage in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā 5.3.8 :

kṛṣṇāya svāhā, śvetāya svāhā, piśaṅgāya.., rohitāya..., śyāvāya.., śyāmāya.., pālavāya...,[1].

It is evident from the context that *pālava-* must be the name of some colour, and what could be more natural than to connect it with *palita-, paliknī-*' and *pāṇḍu-* ? As for its formation, two explanations may be given :

1. We may regard it as identical with Lith. *palvas*, Gr. πελιος, πολιος etc., with the difference that *pālava-* shows the lengthened grade of Ablaut (I.-E. **pel-*) and, besides, a 'connective' *-a-* between the root and the suffix *-va-* (I.-E. *-uo-*), so that we have to set the original I.-E. form, for *pālava-* as **pel-e-uo-s*. (For the 'connective' *-a-* cf. such forms as *vasati-*, besides *vasti-*, *dṛśati-* (RV.) besides *dṛṣṭi-*, *tṛpra-* besides *tṛpala-* (=*tṛpara-*) etc. The normal form would, of course, have been **palva-*.

2 Or else, an easier way would be to explain *pālava-* as a secondary *-a-* derivation from **palu-*' which may be identified with the *paru-* in *paruṣa-*, and compare it with such forms as *tānava-* from *tanu- or bābhrava-* from *babhru-*, *palu- in this case being regarded as an abstract noun meaning "paleness" and *pālava-* being interpreted as "that connected with or having paleness."

Lat. siccus : Avest. hiku-: Skt. sīka-.

Sikatā- "sand" is a familiar Sanskrit word. Its derivation, however, has so far remained obscure, or, at the best, doubtful. Walde-Pokorney (Vgl Wb. Idg. Spr. II, p. 467 and Lat. Etym. Wb. p. 700) tentatively mention it (with a query) under the list of words derived from I.-E. **seik-* "to be dry". The same root has given rise to Lat. *siccus* "dry" (>**sīcos*[2]., Avest *hiku-* "dry" and *haēcah* "dryness, aridity", Irish *siku* "frost" etc. This root is considered to be identical with another I.-E root

[1] The parallel passage in Taitt. Samh. 7.3.18.1, which is otherwise identical with the above KS. passage, has *pākalāya* in place of *pālavāya*. Sāyaṇa interprets *pākala-* as "quite black". But the passage already has three other words denoting dark colour : *kṛṣṇa-, śyāva;*, and *śyāma-*. Is *pākalāya* a mistake for *pālavāya* ?

[2] This derivation of *siccus*, however, is not accepted by some scholars who would derive it from older **sit-cos-* and connect with Lat. *sitis* "thirst." For the details see Walde, Lat. Etymol. Wb. s. v.

seik- "to flow, to pour out" (Walde-Pok. ibid.) from which are derived Skt. √*sic* "to sprinkle with water", Old Bulg. *eknati* "to flow, to dry out" etc. The seemingly probable derivation of Skt. *sikatā-* from the same root has so far remained uncertain because of the apparent difficulty in analysing and explaining its formation. The missing clue is supplied by the word *sika-*, occuring in a hitherto unnoticed passage of Taitt. Āraṇyaka 1.12.3. This passage describes *vāyu-* "wind" as *śvetasikadrukaḥ*. The compound is to be analysed into *sveta-sika- druka-* and explained as "scattering (*dru-ka-*[1]) white (*śveta-*) sand (*sika-*)" Sāyaṇa correctly glosses *sika-* with *sikatā-* (=*dhūli-*) and leads us to find in *sikatā-* a fem. abstract (collective) noun, formed from *sika-* + the suffix *-tā-*, in the same way as *janatā-* "people, folk" from *jana-* "man, person" or *grāmatā-* "villages (collectively)" from *grāma-* "village". The word *sika-* is neither registered in the Dictionaries, nor known to have occurred elsewhere, but it undoubtedly means "sand" and goes back to I.-E. **seik-* "to be dry," thus providing the so far missing Indian member of this word-group.

The accent in *sikatā-* is not normal, *-tā-* nouns being usually accented on the syllable immediately preceding the suffix. (See Whitney Skt. Gramm., §1237 a). This rule, however, is not unexceptionable. (Whitney, ibid. c). It is not unlikely that the shift of accent is in some way connected with the development of a completely concrete sence from an originally abstract one.

[1] *druka-* in the above compound is evidently a derivative from the root √*dru* "to run, to flow" + the suffix *-ka-*, and occurs as such in compounds like *raghudrū-* "running swiftly" (RV.), *śatadruka-* etc. Sāyaṇa, while interpreting *sika-* correctly, seems to have confused *druka-* with *dhruk-* (Nom. Sg. of *drūh-* "damaging, hostile"): *śvetānāṁ sikatanām drogdhā* (!), *nānāvidhām dhūlim utpādayatītyarthaḥ* (!!). Petersburg Dictionary records a single "exceptional" occurrence of *druk*, as Nom. Sg. of *drūh-*, in place of the usual *dhrūk* : evidently a slip or corruption.

DIALECTAL USAGE OF CASE IN INDO-ARYAN

By

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In a paper that I published in the *Indian Antiquary*, twenty years ago (LII, 1923, pp. 171-6), while discussing the Declension of the Noun in the Rāmāyana of Tulśidās, I obsereved that the "Use of alternative cases appears in Sanskrit literature as early as some of the earliest Brāhmaṇas." By further studies, Ifeel that considerable variance in usage existed at the time when Pāṇini wrote the grammar of the standard language and therein was able to give room only to such alternative forms as were of *most* outstanding usage. It is certain, however, that much alternation continued in the dialects spoken by the masses. Only a little of this could be preserved in the records of middle Indo-Aryan.

A close study of these records will, I hope, bring to light these alternative uses. For instance, in the *Suttanipāta* (Vs. 457) occurs this passage :—

Pucchanti ve bho brāhmaṇā brāhmaṇehisaha brāhmaṇo no bhavaṃ ti

tam savittiṃ pucchāmi tipadam catuvīsatakkharaṃ

Here in one and the same verse, the root *pucch* (1) once places the so-called inderect object (the person asked of) in the accusative case (as is the usage in Sanskrit) viz. *tam savittiṃ pucchāmi* (skt. *tvām sāvitrīm pṛcchāmi*), while (2) in the other puts it in the Instrumental case (*brāhmaṇehi saha*).

In Hindi, the root *pucch* never has the accusative usage of the person asked of, the post-position used being *se*. For example one would say :

brāhmaṇõ se pūchtā hū̃
and never
brāhmaṇõ ko puchtā hū̃

The Hindi usage is completely in accord with the latter usage recorded in the *Suttanipāta*. It is curious that Hindi should have retained only the dialectal usage and should have entirely lost the standard usage of Sanskrit, or as a matter of fact of Prakrit, in this case.

I hope, further studies in this direction of students of Indian Linguistics would bring to light other usages preserved in the records of M. I. A. which would confirm the usage in modern Indo-Aryan. In Hindi the roots meaning 'to speak' have the Instrumental case of the person spoken to, but in Sanskrit and Prakrit language they have the accusative generally, except the root *kath* which governs Dative. This Dative usage is found in some dialects of Hindi with all roots meaning to speak, e.g. *Hamārē liyē kahā, hamārē liyē batāyā* (spoke to us). But the Instrumental usage might find consirmation in some earlier records on investigation. I feel that studies in this direction will prove fruitful.

K-SUFFIX IN SANSKRIT

By

PROF. DR. A. N. UPADHYE, KOLHAPUR

Whitney,[1] Edgerton[2] and others have discussed the different aspects of *k*-suffix. Edgerton's admirable discussion, however, is confined to pre-classical Sanskrit alone; and naturally the phenomenon of *k*-suffix in classical and post-classical Sanskrit is still to be studied.

Lately I have edited the Bṛhat Kathàkoṣa of Hariṣena[3]. It was composed at Wadhwan (in Kathiawar) in A.D. 931-32. Thus we are on a definite ground so far as the place and time of its composition are concerned; naturally the linguistic facts which we get from this text, as presented by the agreement of the available Mss., have got a specific significance for a critical student of Sanskrit grammar.

The *k*-suffix plays a remarkable role in the language of this text. It is added to nouns etc., without any notable change in the meaning; it is simply pleonastic or *svārthe k*, as the Prākrit grammarians call it. The text is bristling with such cases; and I can quote here only a few examples by way of illustration. It is suffixed not only to nouns but also to adjectives, adverbs and numerals : *kanyakā* (65..20), *ghūkaka* (32.22), *dhātrikā* (60.168), *binduka* (102* 6.6), *bhūmikā* (11.133), *maṇḍaka* (7.68), *Mālavaka* (28.1),*vipraka* (139. 103), *śatākikā* (50.15) ; also *ahīnakam* (74.33), *ūnaka* (139.39), *ekakam* (74.32), *kṣaṇamātṛkam* (63.87), *caturthaka* (129.2), *vārakam* for *vāram* (71.20) Still more striking is its presence in a series of pronominal forms scattered all over the text ; a few typical ones may be noted here for illustration ; and they are arranged in this order of the pronouns : *asmad*, *yuṣmad*, *tad*, *etad*, *idam*, *adas* and *yad*. *Nom.* sing. : *sakaḥ* (4.32, 10.16, 59.37), *takaḥ* (122.16) ; *sakā* (4.18, 7.64, 8.13, 12.2) ; *eṣakaḥ* (126.80) ; *yakaḥ* (56.220).—dual : *takau* (57.56, 332, 126.4)—pl: *take* (11.67, 78.39, 100.17) *takāḥ* (3.17, 57.524) ; *imakāḥ* (136.2); *yake* (16.32, 33.140) ; *yakāḥ*

[1] A Sanskrit Grammar, London 18?6, sections 494, 1186, 1222 etc.

[2] The *k* suffixes of Indo-Iranian, Journal of the American O. S., Vol. XXXI, p. 93 f.

[3] Singhi Jaina Series, No. 17, Bhāratīya Vidyā Bhavana, Bombay 1943.

(68.46). Acc. sing. : *makām* (102.74, 106.60) ; *takam* (4.17, 32, 6.9, 7.45, 30.23 etc.) ; *takām* (60.75, 68.65) ; *svakām* (4.6).—pl. : *takān* (10.21, 33.140), *imakān* (76.19). Inst. sing: *takayā* (21.21)—pl.: *imakaiḥ* (57.149). Edgerton has already noted how *asakau* is allowed by some grammarians and form like *anyake*, *yake*, *sakā*, *takā* are found in pre-classical Sanskrit.

I may add here a few more references casually noted by me. The Bhagavati *Ārādhanā* uses *tago* (=*takaḥ*) for *saḥ* and *tagī* (=*taki*) for *sā* (gāthā Nos. 508, 1058); Jinasena's Ādipurāṇa uses *yakā* for *yā* (23.28) ; and Jagannātha Paṇḍita uses *mayakā* for *mayā* in his Citramīmāṁsā-khaṇḍana (p.l)[1]. The suffix l also is found in some words : *andhala* (3.3), *pangula* (85.43 f), Yājñavalkala (93.233), etc.

The presence of this *k* suffix may get partly explained, if it is called a Prākrit influence, because in Prākrits *k*-suffix is often used, as it is clear from such pronominal forms : *ahaam*, *ahayam*, *hage*, *hake*, *ahake*, *hakam*, *haũ*. All these have led Pischel to postulate *ahakah*, besides the well-known *ahakaṁ*. But when we see that even authors like Jaggannātha Paṅdita use *k*-suffix for a pronoun, it becomes necessary to study the part played by it in classical post-classical works and shed more light on the origin and spread of this usage. I only request my other collegues, gathered here, to throw more light on this phenomenon of Sanskrit grammar.

[1] In a Ms. of the Aṣṭāhnikakathā (No. 469 of 1884-86, B.O.R.I., Poona) the form *mayakā* for *mayā* is used thrice in the Praśasti.

A BRIEF ANALYSIS OF NON-MATHILI ELEMENTS IN BRAJABULI LANGUAGE

By

SUBHADRA JHA.

'Brajabuli' is said to be an artificial language. 'Maithili' is the basic part while 'Bengali' or 'Assamese' with oddments of 'Brajabhākhā forms the superstucture. In 'Brajabuli' is available considerable literature consisting of short lyrics devoted to 'Rādhākṛṣna theme, or small dramas. The lyrics were composed mainly in 'Bengal' and the small dramas were written in 'Assam'. During the mediaeval times, students from different eastern provinces would come to 'Mithilā' would learn not only the Śāstras', but would also learn the language of their teachers. They returned home with their minds full of admiration for the poems of 'Vidyāpati' and other writers of 'Maithili' lyrics, and 'Maithili' language. They in their love for this language adapted it for literary purpose so much so that it became the literary linguafranca of the whole of eastern provinces of India.

'Maithili' is, however, a very difficult language for a foreigner to learn. cf.

भाषाँय्यदन्यदेशीयो मिथिलाया वदेत्तदा ।
पीतमिञ्चाकपोतेन समस्तं वारिधेर्जलम् ॥

Quoted by Mahākavi Chandra Jhā in his introduction to the 'Mithilābhāsā Rāmāyana'.

Therefare it wuns not a usual that they could not have. distinguished between 'Maithili' forms on one hand and 'Bengali' or Assamese words on the other. They would bring in forms from their own languages alongside with 'Maithili' forms. Sometimes they would imitate 'Maithili' words. At times they would bring in words from 'Brajabhakhā'. There were others who would mix 'Bengali' with 'Brajabhkhā'.

The name 'Brajbuli' was loosely applied for any writing in a Magādha' dialect, that was not in pure 'Bengali'. There are persons who would brand a composition as written in 'Brajabuli' if they find in it the name of राधा and कृष्ण. Consequently the following linguistic charateristics are available in 'Brajabuli' literature.

1. Some of the poems are pure Maithili. Thus:—

कनहु यतने दुहुँ तेज...........

(Ballabhadasa quoted in पदकल्पतरु, pt. III p. 204).

2. Some of them are in pure Bengali. Thus :—

तोमाते आमाते येमत पिरिति...........

(रसमयीदासी quoted in पदकल्पतरु, pt. III. p. 99).

So also in the Brajabuli written in Assam some of the passages are in pure Assamese. Thus :—

पुत्रं बुलिया आछा लवनु दिवारे.........[भूमिलोटोवा नाट, p. 6].

3. Some of the compositions are in Maithili mixed up with Bengali or Assamese. In several cases Brajabhakha forms have also been introduced. Thus : —

Maithili-Bengali-Brajabhākhā mixture-(कइछे चरणे करपल्लव ठेलह (वृन्दावनदास quoted by Dr. Sukumar Sen in his History of Brajabuli Literature). Here कइछे, कवले, अछ, पाङरि. लोटायल, ect. are imitated Maithili forms जिउ is Bihari, मागो is Bengali, को is Brajabhākhā, चलि गेओं is a mixture of Maithili and Brajabhākā.

Maithili-Assamese-Brajabhākhā mixture. Thus ·—

काहे गेयो काहे गेयो...............[रासक्रीडा......P. 13].

Here गेयोगयो is Brajabhākhā. So is करत गावे is Assamese. बिचारि and मिलि have been taken from Maithili.

4. Bengali-Brajabhākhā mixture. Thus :—

आरति युगल किशोर कि कीजे.........[पदकल्पतरु......Pt. IV. p. 178].

Here कीजै and भेओ = भयो are of Brajabhākhā. So are कि = की, यो निरखति, झलकत, याव, etc.

In the poems of the 2nd and the 4th groups we find nothing which we can call to belong to Maithili.

In the poems of the 3rd. class which forms the subject matter of this paper, the following Non-Maithili characteristics are noticeable.

ORTHOGRAPHY.

1. Following the early Bengali practice ज, स, न, derived from the OIA. य, श, ण, are wirtten as य, श, ण, Thus —यब for जब [HBL.-p. 29]. ये for जे [ibid-p. 4], शेज for सेज [ibid-p. 3], पंचबाण for पंचवान [ibid-p. 25].

2. Confusion in the writing of ल, न, and ळ (ल), Thus :—कोले for कोळे, of Mod. Mai. कोरा, [HBL.-p. 23]; लोर for नोर [ibid-p.38 ,

PHONOLOGY.

1. ङ is substituted for म or an intervocal vocal nasal vowel not preceded by a consonant. Thus :—याङ for याङ्ग or याओं = जाओं ar जाम्रो [PKT.–I, p. 213], सोङरब for सुमरब [ibid–p. 219], भाङ for भौं [ibid–IV–p. 100], etc.

It is just likely that ङ in these cases was a graphic representation of वँ.

2. For उ, ऊ substituted ओ, दोनी [HBL-p.503], अगोर for अगुरु [PKT.-IV.p.99], सोङरि for सुमरि [PKT. I p.17]; etc.

3. य is brought inside a word without any reason. Thus :—लेयल for लेल [PKT-III-p.63], देयल for देल [ibid-IV-p.176]; etc.

4. य is often substituted for व Thus :—जुड़ायह for जुड़ावह [HBL-p.29], कहायसि for कहावसि [ibid-p.569], etc.

5. OIA. ष is represented by ख in तद्भव words, instead of Maithili स, वरिखे for वरिसए [PKT-III-p.29], वरिखल for वरिसल [रामविजयनाटक—p.19]; etc.

6. ड़<ठ instead of ढ़<ठ, as in Maithili. Thus :—पड़त for पढ़ति, skt. पठति [PKT-IV 100].

7. In pronominal words like जसु, तसु, जइसन, etc. स is replaced च or छ Thus :—

यछु for जसु [PKT.-III-p.317], यैचे for जइसे [कालिदमन—p.17], यैछे for जइसे [PKT-I-p.12]; etc.

MORPHOLOGY.

Declension of Nouns :—

In Bengali Brajbuli the following genitive affixes are found.

र and एर of Bengali ; को, के and कि = की of Brajbhākha. Thus :—

वतन कि पेच [Pkt.—IV—p. 178], यमुना को कूल [Hbl.—p. 50], ब्रजके भूप [Pkt-IV-p. 116], कूलेर कामिनि [Pkt.-III-300], बधूर ठाञि [Pkt.-IV-118]; etc.

In Assamese Brajabuli the affixes of the accusative and the dative are क and कु of Maithili के or कौं or कें, Thus :—

श्रीकृष्णक देखिते [कालिदमन p. 7];
काहाकु चूम्बन [रासक्रीडा p. 11]; etc.

In this ये for Mai. ए, is the affix of the instrumental. Thus :

गोपनारी काम भकतिये वश्यकयल [रासक्रीडा p. 11], etc.

In both, the Bengali and the Assamese Brajabuli त is used an affix of the insrtumental ablative.

छागलीत कि प्रयोजन [रासक्रीडा-p. 11],
प्रेमेत, on account of love, [PKT-I-18]. etc.

In Assamese Brajbuli त is found in the locative also. Thus :—

चक्षुत निमेष नाहि [कालिदमन p. 18].

Pronouns.

I Person.

For Mai. हम the following are substituted. हाम, मुञि।

Thus:—

हामे [रासक्रीडा-p. 12], हामाक [कालिदमन-p. 7], हामे [PKT-III-p. 9], मुञि [ibid-III-p. 149].

II Person.

तोह is the usual base in Assamese Brajabuli. Thus :—
तोहो आथन मरल [कालिदमन-p. 7],
तोह'र कोन वेवहार [रामविजय नाटक-p. 19].

III Persen.

In Bengali Brajbuli the forms in ओ are more common than the Maithili forms in ए Thus :—

को [PKI-III-p. 132], यो [PKT.-III-149], etc.

Numerals.

दोन has been noticed in the place of Mai, दुइ [PKT-III-p. 317].

Verbs.

In the present tense the त forms abound in the III person.

Thus :—

चलत [PKT.-III, p. 301], रोचत [PKT-III, p. 98], etc.

इल is one of the affixes of the past tense even from a verb ending in a consonant. Thus :—

भजिलुं [PKT—III—p 296], मानिलुं [HBL—p. 508], etc.

हो is irregular Mai. inasmuch as it has no forms for the past tense. But in Bengali and following it in Brajabuli we have. Thus :—

होइलुं [H BL—p. 508], होएल [ibid—p. 264], etc.

The absolutive is formed in इया, इये, आइ, etc. Thus:—
जितिये [रामविजयनाटक—P. 24],
बजाइ [ibid], तेजिया [PKT—III—p. 23] ; etc.

This is but a very brief analysis of non-Maithili elements available in Brajabuli from the view point of grammar—the general structure of words. As regards vocabulary several non-Maithili words as can be naturally expected from Bengali and Assamese have crept in.

But we are not sure whether even these non-Maithiti elements as stated above were brought in by the authors themselves or they were introduced therein by the non-Maithili scribes and editors. This becomes evident from the fact that in Bengali recension of Vidyapati's poems included in Vaisnava anthologies we come across abundance of non-Maithili forms. Thus हृउल (PKT III. 148), छोड़ for छवि आओलुं (PKT. II p. 152) येछे (PKT. III p. 159); etc. are available.

Therefore on closer scrutiny it is just likely that the non-Maithili elements may further be diminished. It is, therefore, for students of Bengali, Maithili, Assamese and Oriya and Vaisnavism to reconstruct the correct texts of the great writers of whose works we all are proud.

PURUṢOTTAMA GAJAPATI OF ORISSA IN EARLY ASSAMESE LITERATURE

By

PROF. B. K. BARUA, GAUHATI.

The early Vaishnavite poets of Assam rendered into Assamese poetry two Sanskrit texts namely *Nāma Mālikā* and *Dipikā Chandra.* The authorship of both the original books is ascribed to one Purusottama Gajapati, a Hindu king.

Nāma Mālikā was translated by Madhab Deva (1489-1596), who probably got the original from his *guru* Śankara Deva the founder of Assam Vaishnavism. The Assamese version contains about 607 couplets. The subject is about Vaishṇava cult. The book makes references to about 63 Sanskrit books including the names of *Purāṇas, Saṃhitās* and *Tantras.* The names of *Purāṇas, Saṃhitās* and *Tantras.* The original was probably a compilation. The Assamese version refers :

Puruṣottama nāme nareśvara Gajapati,
Tāna ajñya pāli dvijagaṇa mahāmati,
Purāṇa bhārata Smṛiti āgamaka cāi,
Nānā grantha Saṃgraha karila eka ṭhāi,
Krishna nāma mahimā pālanta yatamān,
Likhi āni Sabākb karitā eka thān.
(*Nam Mālikā, verse* 7)

The *Santa Nirṇaya,* a biography of Śankara Deva and his disciples, written probably in the latter half of the 17th century, refers to *Nāma Mālikā.* According to *Santa Nirṇaya,* the original was handed to Śankara Deva by Chaitanya Deva, when the former was at Jagannath 'Puri'. *Sat-Sampradāya kathā,* another early biography of Assamese Vaishnavite saints mentions the incident as follows:

"*Ehi Suni Ceilanye bolanta....gajapati rāy Puruṣottama karā slokan sāt sa slokan nām-mālikā khenir ghoṣā karibek.*"

In *Nāma Mālika,* Madhab Deva refers that he got the book from one Virupākhya Kaji, the chief minister of Raja Laksminarayan of Cooch Behar '1584-1622', and translated it into Assamese at the request of the said minister.

Dipikā Chandra 'effulgent book' is devided into six chapters. The first chapetr describes the hell, the second chapter describes the Chandra Bipras and Suryya Bipras ; the third chapter lays down that Daivagyas are equal to Brahmans. The fourth chapter describes the Vaishṇavas. The fifth chapter describes the kings, the defender of the faith and the sixth chapter describes the minor chiefs. There is a deliberate attempt on the part of the writer to establish the superiority of Vaishnavism over all other cults and to attack Buddhism (Descriptive *catalogue of Assamese manuscripts* by Hemachandra Goswami).

The authorship of the Assamese version of *Dipīkā Chandra,* is ascribed to Puruṣottama Gajapati. The colophon refers.

Purusottam mor gajapati nām,
Racilo payār dāki bolā rām rām.

But as the chronology of Assam kings does not furnish a name like Purusottama Gajapati, the Assamese scholars are led to conclude that "the original compilation was made by Puruṣottama Gajapati ; the Assamese translation of it was made by some anonymous writer."

Now, who is this Puruṣottam Gajapati ? Is he the son of Kapilendra of Orissa who succeeded his father in 1470 A.D.? Are there any references in Oriya literature and History about Nām Màlikā and Dipikā Chandra? Or any traditions ascribing the authorship of these two books to Puruṣottama Gajapati, the devout worshipper of Jagannatha ?

EUROPEAN PIONEER STUDIES IN SOUTH INDIAN LANGUAGES.

By

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Good pioneer work was done in the field of critical studies in South Indian languages by European missionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, both Catholic and Protestant ; and it was always promptly and willingly helped by Indian Pandit learning and served as the basis of literary and linguistic studies for later writers of the nineteenth and the present centuries. Even about the middle of the sixteenth century, the great St. Francis Xavier had committed to memory Tamil translations of the Creed, Ave Maria, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue. Robert De Nobili (of the Madura Mission, d. 1667) was the real pioneer of European scholarship in South Indian languages; he combined in himself the sanctity of the *Sanyasi* and the erudition of the Pandit, introduced many Sanskrit terms and expressions into Tamil usage and set the pace for Jesuit writers after him to naturalise in Tamil the Sanskrit superlative particle Tama, though the attempt failed to take root. The even more famous Father Constantius Beschi spent the years 1710-47 in the Southern Tamil districts where he acquired "a marvellous knowledge and especially of its classical dialect, as no other European seems to have ever acquired over it or any other Indian language." Beschi's numerous works in Tamil served as the model for later Protestant Missionaries engaged in Tamil studies like Rottler, Caldwell and pope.

A new *Tamil Grammar* by Baltasar Dacosta appeared in 1680; the Tamil *Grammar* of Ziegenbalg of Tranquebar was printed in 1716. Beschi's *Grammar* of the *Common Dialect* of the Tamil language was written in 1728 & a French translation of it in an abridged form was presented by Anquetil Du Perron to the Royal library of Paris, while his *Grammar of High Tamil* was composed in Latin. Two other works of Beschi, the *Tonnul Vilakkam* and the *Clavis* (on the Tamil language) comprehend prosody, rhetoric, composition, orthography and etymology. The latter work has been classed by Julien Vinson among the doubtful works of Beschi. Beschi's *Ṣadur Aharādi* (*Quadruple*

Dictionary), displayed a vast erudition and an astonishing knowledge of the Tamil language and its classics. His *Tamil-Latin Dictionarium* was intended to be supplemented by a *Portuguese-Latin-Tamil Dictionary*. Beschi is credited with the transliteration *rr* for ற in Tamil and for many other improvements, particularly in the field of a reformation of the Tamil alphabet letters. Caldwell placed him in the very first rank of Tamil poets of the second class and divides the honours of the eighteenth century poetry in Tamil between a Saivite and Beschi, whose classic epic, the *Tembavani*, won for him a conspicuous rank among Dravidian poets.

The Carnatic Mission for the Telugu country started by the Jesuits in 1702 and marked by the presence of eminent scholars like John Calmette, the Protestant Missionaries of Tranquebar like Zeiganbalg, Schulze, Fabricius and Breithaupt should be remembered, not to speak of the famous C.F. Swartz and his contemporaries and colleagues, Gericke, Kohloff and Kiernander, whose writings resulted in the development of a new dialect known as the *Christian Tamil*, which was further enriched in the nineteenth century by Rhenius, the Swiss Missionary by Bower and by the Tinnevelly school.

These early missionaries employed the scriptural system of instruction and published manuals and grammars of the vernacular languages, besides translations of the Bible, and they opened not merely western education among the people, but also began an epoch of critical study of the languages.

The interest shown from about the end of the eighteenth century by English servants of the Company who were also good linguistic scholars like F.W.Ellis and A.D.Campbell and by collectors of manuscripts and antiquities like Collin Mackenzie resulted in the publication of a rich number of works relating to Tamil, Telugu and Malayalam either by the College of Fort St. George, started in 1812 and similar in aim to the College of Fort William, or under Government patronage.

It was Mr. F.W. Ellis that first pointed out the abundance in Malayalam of Sanskrit derivations "in a proportion exceeding half, equal perhaps to three-fifths of the whole under the two heads....common to the dialects of South India, *tatsamam*, pure Sanskrit words or *tat-bhavam*, derived from Sanskrit." The Deśya (native words) may be divided into pure Tamil and Derivatives from Tamil. C. P. Brown did much for the revival and promotion of Telugu literature and boasted thus : "In 1825 I found Telugu literature dead. In thirty years I raised it to life." Brown criticised the efforts of Taylor the cataloguer of

the Mackenzie Collection as being unsatisfactory, unskilled in chronology and not using the right method and phraseology. It was A.D. Campbell that first pointed out the aradical & intimate connection between Telugu and the other vernaculars of South India. Brown believed that Sanskritic influences on the Dravidian languages should not be exaggerated,. Thus before the Company's rule ended a brighter day dawned for vernacular studies and there had begun an outburst of native authorship which was to be marked in course of time by the development of a critical acumen.

Reeve stressed upon the close affinity existing between Telugu and Canarese. The general difficulties that were surmounted by these early pioneers in some measure were "the rareness o i ancient manuscripts, the endless blunders of drivelling and hireling transcribers, the paucity of duplicates for collation and the comparatively very small number of men to be found among the natives, possessing appropriate philological information, soundness of judgement or zeal for literary research and improvement, have occasioned no inconsiderable suspense, annoyance and embarrassment."

IS TELUGU LANGUAGE A FORM OF PAIŚACHĪ?

By

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Is Telugu Language a form of the Paiśachī Prakrit? "So it is" argue some scholars of the Telugu country, who try to trace the development of this language together with other languages of South India to the Aryan Sources. (Vide *History of Telugu Language* by Dr. C. Narayana Rao, published by the Andhra University, 1937, 2 volumes).

Arguments urged:—

1. Sātavāhana Andhras—their connection with Bṛhatkathā in Paiśāchī. The Prakrit of their inscriptions found at Amaravati, etc., must have been the language of the people at the time. The language of the present Andhras of the Telugu country is a disintegrated form of it, like any of the modern Aryan vernaculars of the North which developed from older Prakrit through their Apabhramśas.

2. The theory of Dr. Grierson about the migration of the Daroic or Paiśachī speaking people from the North West to the South through the West Coast, stretched further and the circuit completed through the east coast' on the strength of the statements made by the later Prakrit grammarians like Lakshmidhara and Rāmatarka-Vāgīsa, who included Dravida, Dākshiṇātya and Kāñchī Desīya among Paiśāchī dialects.

3. Absence of any records in Telugu or in any other South Indian Language before the 5th or the 6th century A.D. is considered as due to non-existence of these languages at that time.

4. Linguistic principles strained to their utmost to derive the sounds, vocabulary and grammar of these languages from Aryan sources and the non-Aryan tendencies found here as paralles to those found in the vernaculars of the North, are all explained away as due to natural disintegration.

The object of this paper is to show that Telugu and other Languages of the south form an independent group by themselves and cannot be traced to Paiśāchī or other Aryan sources.

In this connection the development of Prakrits and later vernaculars in relation to the indigenous languages of Indian is discussed. The peculior characteristics of phonetic tendencies of Paiśāchī' viz., the change of medials to tenues, of three sibilents to s, of ṇ to n etc : are found in Telugu and Tamil and can be attributed to the speech habits of the Non-Aryan (Dravidian people) who came into contact with the incoming Aryans, even at the North West frontiers of India, and later got mixed up with the lower strata of the Aryan society. The existence of a Dravidian Brauhi language in the North West, and many uncultutivated Dravidian tonguages of Central India, besides the gradually increasing rate of infiltration of the Non-Aryan Dravidian tendencies, in the various stages of the development of North Indian Languages (Vedic, Prakritic, Apabhramsa and Vernacular) clearly indicate the existence of a Non-Aryan or Dravidian-Nāgasubstratum all through the country. The result of the struggle for dominiance between the Aryan and Dravidian Languages in India varied in various parts. In the North-western corner and in the middle country in spite of the overwhelming influence of the Aryan all round, the Dravidian could still maintain its existence and show its native characteristic. In the Northern country or Aryāvarta the Dravidian was wiped out of existence, though not before it could exert its influence by way of introducing new tendencies which gave a new colouring to the Aryan and brought about the development later in the form of vernaculars. In the Deccan though the Dravadian Languages, were powerful, the pre-dominance of the Prakrit owing to the Andhra migration and power, centuries before the Christiahan era' undermined the local languages and blotted out all traces of them for a time. But, after a time, the rivalry among the religious came to their rescue—Jaina to Kannada and Brahmanism to Telugu and gave them scope to raise their head and regain their lost position in the country. While in the South, firmly entrenched against the onslaught of the Aryan and supported by the rulers of the soil, the Dravidian could maintain its independence and importance all through. The Aryan could give to these languages large amount of material, but the manner of expression—the grammatical basis remained the same all through these ages in these languages. So some at least of the peculiar characteristics of Paiśachī are due to Dravidian contract. But, neither Telugu nor any of the South Indian Languages are derived either from Paiśachī or the Inscriptional Prakrit of the Andhras. Though there are no inscriptions in Telugu before the 7th Century or Kannada, traces of them could be found in the Sanskrit or Prakrit inscriptions of the early period. Early Tamil Literature and the grammar

of Tolkappiyanar definitely take us to the pre-Christian era. A comparison of the grammatical features of Tamil as given in Tolkappiyam with those of Telugu and other South Indian Languages on one side and with those of Sanskrit and later vernaculars of the North, on the other clearly show that the linguistic influence of the Dravidians on the Aryan is far greater and closer than that of the Aryan on the Dravidian. Thus the Paiśachī origin of the Telugu or other South Indian Languages along with the theory of the natural disintegration of these languages falls to the ground

WORD STUDY AND CHRONOLOGY IN TAMIL LITERATURE.

By

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The study of words, particularly their grammatical forms, is of the utmost value in settling chronology in the history of Tamil Literature. We may not be able always to obtain historical data which will, beyond all reasonable doubt, fix the date of a particular literary work. In their absence, equally valuable evidence is furnished by the study of word-forms. Only we must be extremely careful in its application. I shall illustrate the foregoing by a few examples.

Let me take the Tamil word for 'Time'. I mean the word 'Poḷutu'. Its pedigree can be traced for a period of about 2000 years and it has given birth to a number of words. But it has persisted all through the centuries and today it lives as much as ever, though there are tendencies which will eventually make it obsolete. It occurs in 'Tol-kāppiyam' III, 1, 4, reputed to be the earliest of the Tamil works now extant. In Puṟanānūru, the earliest of the Sangam Classics, we find this word in st. 8. Within two or three centuries, a phonetic change is observed. In Kalittokai, which is usually classed as a Sangam work and which must have been composed towards the end of the Sangam Period—probably about the fourth century—we find a slightly altered form 'poḷtu' 'st. 4, 82, 93, 94, 108, 117, 143, 145. 'Poḷtu' of old Kannada and 'Poṛdu' of Telugu are words probably connected with this particular form. Its origin, perhaps, may be due to the stress-shift on the first syllable. The same stress-shift and the consequent vowel-lengthening in a number of similar words are observable. Viḷutu-Vīḷ. Puḷuti-Pūḷti, Paḷutu-Pal are instances in point. Poḷtu gained currency in about a century and began to appear more frequently in literature. We meet this form five times in the famous 'Trirukkuṛaḷ' acclaimed to be the Veda of the Tamils, (St. 412, 539, 569, 930, 1229) and three times in Nānmaṇikkaḍigai, one of the Kiḷkkaṇakku works (45, 76, 93). A little later, this became so good a norm as to permit increments being added on to it. Poḷtattu occurs in Maṇimékhalai (IX, 20; XV, 20), one of the twin epics and in Nānmaṇikkaḍigain (St.93). That the form Poḷtu was not the

result of individual idiosyncrasy or of any metrical exigency or poetic license may be easily seen. It occurred in several authors and in some instances at least, the earlier form Poḷutu would suit quite as well. But, more than this, the subsequent development of the word proves incontestably that this form is no freak. It is the result of a natural tendency observed in several analogous cases.

I may now advert to the forms which Poḷūtu assumed. It is easy to guess that this form could have been short-lived only. The physiological effort involved in its utterance must have been the main cause. This economy of effort tended in two directions. One is the elision of the liquid trill occurring in the middle and the other is the dropping of the final syllable which perhaps made the middle sound somewhat tolerable. As a result, two forms were developed, Pōtu and Poḷ; the latter is found in Malayalam and Eḷuttaccan, the famous poet, uses this quite frequently. It must have been a Tamil provincialism which later became the norm in the Malayalam language. Though there is not a single instance where this form occurs in Tamil Literature, we have to assume the existence of such a form in some dialectal variety, for Malayalam words are mosly traceable to such varieties. Some of the later forms (e.g., Appo) in Tamil lend support to this assumption.

Potu stands on a different footing. We meet with this word for the first time in hymnal literature. The Saiva saint Appar, who is known to have lived during the first quarter of the 7th century, uses this word-form pretty frequently, (e.g. 6,6, 1). Poygaiyār, one of the earliest Vaiṣṇava saints (Iyar. 1,26) and Tirumangai Aḷwār (7, 2, 8) also use this word-form. In Mānikkavāsagar's Tiruvāsagam also, the word is found in several places (e. g. Tiruvempāvai 2).

The hymnal literature was composed mainly for the benefit of the masses and consequently it employed popular language i.e., word-forms and idioms in use among the common people. Hence, it may be legitimately inferred that this popular form was first used by hymnists before it found favour in the eyes of literary artists. Any form considered to be the result of popular 'corruption' was viewed with extreme disfavour and poets who aimed at classical purity studiously avoided it, lest the standard of literary excellence should fall low. Potu also must have had a similar experience. Neminātam, a grammar written about the end of the 12th century, says specifically that this word-form, though a corruption of Poḷutu, is sanctioned by usage. But its vitality was such that it soon overcame

the repugnance of poets and gained entrance into their poem; Muttoḷḷāyiram, for instance, has the line 'neḍu viti nerpatt potu' (Purattirattu, 1525). Tinaimalainurraimpatu, one of th eighteen Kilkkanakku works, has the line 'Kānā-v-eppotum kaṉ'. Even now the word is in current use. Some writter have imagined that this word originally meant 'bud', late assumed the sense of the time when flowers reach that state and finally came to mean 'time' in general. Some have als fancied that Potu is the correct standard form and that Poḷtu is entirely due to the perversity of poets !

I have been considering till now the forms of Poḷutu as an unrelated word. When it is preceded by the demonstrative or the interrogative particle, the change it undergoes is very great and we hardly recognise it.

1. Appö, ippö; eppö
2. Appo, ippo; eppo
3. Appa, ippa; eppa
4. Appam, ippam; eppam
5. Appavum, ippavum; eppavum.

are the series we meet with in colloquial language. In the first series, the second syllable of Potu is completely absent; in the second, the vowel in the second syllable becomes short; in the third, the vowel short 'o' becomes 'a', in the fourth, this vowel 'a' becomes nasalised and in the last, the connective particle 'um' is added to the third series. All these are very common in modern colloquial Tamil. In popular literature also, the forms of the first series have occurred. In the Ramappayyan Ammanai, a historical ballad of the first half of the seventeenth century, Appo is found in the lines 972 and 986 while ippo is found pretty often (Ll. 81, 119, 143, 711, 1090 etc.). It was about the 16th century that popular literature of this sort began to appear in Tamil and probably the Appo series is not older that the 15th century. Of the others, 'ippavum' of the fifth series is alone found in the formal portions of modern epistles (ippavum ivviḍattil yāvarum chemam).

The various forms of this Tamil word for 'time' may now be set forth as follows:—

Poḷutu,	Pöḷtu,	Pötu
Appö,	Appo,	Appa, Appam, Appavum

I have omitted Pöḷ, as it is not found in Tamil literature and of the five series, I have given only the word Appö and its forms. Now let us turn to the chronological significance of these forms.

Polutu is as old as Tolkāppiyam and Puranānūru, and some 2000 years have elapsed since it found a place in literature. It is the only form that is found in Sangam Classics excepting Kalittogai and Paripāḍal. Pōḷtu may be about 1600 years old and any work in which this form occurs even once cannot be earlier than A.D. 400, and any work in which this occurs pretty frequently must be at least a century later. The later Sangam works and early Kilkanakku works employ this form. So we may not be wide of the mark, if we assign Kalittogai to the end of the 4th century and Tirukuraḷ, to about the end of the fifth century. Manimekhaḷai is probably still later, for it cites Tiukuraḷ in Canto 22 (59-61), and Nānmaṇikkaḍigai must go along with it.

The form Pōtu may be more definitely dated. The earliest use so far found is in the beginning of the seventh century in Appar's Devāram. Allowing a century by way of precaution, we may say that it began its career in the 6th century and any literary work in which this form occurs cannot be earlier than that. The known dates of Nālaḍiar (c.650), of Tirumangaiyālvār (c.850) and of Māṇikkavāsagar (c.850), do not conflict with this. The date of Poygaiyār, who uses this word, must be about the 7th century and he could not have been a Sangam poet, as a reputed scholar fondly imagined. Muttoḷḷāyiram and Tiṇaimālai-nūrraimpatu may be assigned to the middle of the eigth century—about a century later than Appar—for the reasons already stated. It may be noted here that Divākarar (c.800), Pingalar (c.1000) and even Maṇḍalapurushar (c.1600) do not recognise this form in their lexicons, perhaps as being a corruption of Polutu. Probably Divākarar thought that this word-form had not obtained in his time sufficient status to find a place in his lexicon, and the later authors simply followed his lead.

It comes as a surprise that we should meet this word in the edition of such a genuine Sangam poem as Neḍunalvāḍai (1.72). The learned editor, MM. Dr. V. Swaminatha Ayyar supports this reading by a quotation from Ahanānūru (St.264). But the printed text of the latter collection gives 'Poḷute' instead of 'Pote', which will certainly spoil the rhythm. Hence it is legitimate to hold that the correct reading in Neḍunalvāḍai is Poḷute and not Pote. Nowhere else in early Sangam literature does this word occur. We may say in conclusion this word occurs in hymnal works such as Devāram and in later Kiḷkkaṇakku works from about the 7th century onwards.

The Appo series occurs, as we have already pointed out, in popular literature from about the 16th century and seems

likely tō be the form which will ultimately supplant the older Appōtu. In modern colloquialism, it is frequently used and in musical compositions it appears to be a favourite.

Another illustration. The ancient forms of the 1st person singular and plural in the nominative case are yān and yām. Modern forms are nān nām. The ancient forms of the second person singular and plural in oblique cases begin with nin and num. These forms are now obsolete and the modern forms begin with un and um. These modern forms of the first and second person are popular modifications that came to be adopted in popular literature in about the 7th century A.D. Hence high literary works (e.g. the twin epics Silappadikāram and Maṇimekhalai) in which these forms occurs must be assigned to a date round about that century.

A third illustration. The word 'ānāl' (which means if, 'but') has a peculiar history. It is a contraction of āyin-āl and this form contains two particles, one superimposed on another, but both indicating conditional mood. The form āyin alone is sufficient to express the meaning. The double particles betray its late origin and the further contraction (into ānāl) indicate a still later period of its occurrence. Here again the contraction is on account of popular move and we meet with analogous forms such as 'ānān' in the Devāra hymns of the 7th century. In Tirukkuṛal, this contracted form occurs in verse 53:

illadu en illavaḷ mānpānāl.

The inference is clear ; that this famous work cannot be assigned to a date far earlier than the 7th century. Most probably it is a work of the 5th century.

Direct evidence for fixing the dates of Tamil literary works is often lacking. When available, it serves to check the conclusion arrived at by word-study. Index verborum for the representative works of the different periods in the development of Tamil literature is necessary. Word-study will be a sure guide in understanding the growth of the Tamil language and demarcating the various literary land-marks.

SEMANTICS WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO TAMIL[1]

By

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The Dravidian Vocabulary is rich in terms relating to trees, plants, and flowers. The commonest word for the tree is 'Maram' in Tamil and Malayalam 'Mrānu' in Telugu and 'Mara' in Kannada. Woody plants and shrubs are denoted by the word "Ceṭi" in Tamil and Malayalam, "Ceṭu" in Telugu and "Giḍa" in Kannada. The distinction between the terms denoting the tree and the shrub is clearly maintained in all the main Dravidian languages except Telugu. In Telugu not only plants and shrubs but even big trees are indiscriminately called 'Mrānu' and 'Ceṭu'.

The early Tamil literary usage restricted the term 'Maram' to endogeneous trees, and placed in a different category the palm and other trees having an exogenous toughness of structure. The ancient Tamil grammar, the Tolkāppiyam, draws a clear distinction between the terms denoting different parts of the palm and of the other trees.[2] In spite of this elaborate definition and circumstantial description popular usage has included the palm in the class of trees. In the language of the common man the palmyra palm is Pania Maram, the Coconut Palm is Tennai Maram, the Date Palm is Īcca Maram, the Aricanut Palm is Pākku Maram and so forth.

The bamboo and the rattan are ancient products of Dravidian India and naturally there is quite a large number of terms denoting them. The early Tamil Lexicon contain nearly twen-

[1] It is regretted that it was not possible to supply all diacritical marks in the remaining papers of this section. *Editor*.

[2] Puṛakkāḷanave pullena moḻipa
Akakkāḷanave maramena moḻipa—Tolkapiyam Marapiyal, 85.
Toṭe maṭale olai enrā
Eṭe itale paḷai enrā
Irkke kulaiyena nīrndana piravum
Pulloḍu varumenac collinar pulavor—Ibid. 86.
Ilaye ṭaḷire muṛiye toḍe
Cinaiye kuḷaiye pūve arumbe
Nanai yuḷḷuṛutta inaiyana ellām
Maranoḍu varum kiḷavi enba—Ibid. 87.

ty indigenous terms for the bamboo.[1] Some of them are Kaḷai and Muḷai, Amai and Ari Véy and Varai, Vélam and Kāmbu. The distinction between the bamboo and the rattan has been generally but not scrupulously maintained in the literary usage.

The Sanskrit word Vétra which signifies rattan has been adopted in the Tamil vocabulary in two forms Véttiram and Vetir. The latter form has corresponding cognates in most of the other Dravidian languages. Veduru in Telugu, Biduru in Kannada, Bedru in Tulu are considered to be *tadbhava* forms of the Sanskrit Vetra.[2] But these terms denote the bamboo and not the rattan. In Tamil Vetir is bamboo and Véttiram is rattan.

The origin of the word Bamboo is still a matter of considerable speculation. "This word, one of the commonest in Anglo-Indian daily use, and thoroughly naturalised in English, is of exceedingly obsecure origin" says Hobson-Jobson.

The authors of the manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency are inclined to treat it as an onomatopaic term.[3] Some linguists trace the word to the languages of Sumatra and Java in which bambu denotes the bamboo. In attempting to discover the origin of this word, it must be remembered that "the term bamboo cane in habitually applied in England to a kind of walking stick which is formed not from any bamboo but from a species of rattan." The common Dravidian words for rattan are, Pirambu, in Tamil, Perambu in Malayalam, Premu and Pému in Telugu and Bambu in Kannáda. In the Kannadá word the radical consonant of the root has been assimilated and, the initial vowel consonant sonantised. The antiquity of the word Piranbu in Tamil is attested by the ancient lexicons.[4]

[1] Vetirum veyum viṇḍum viṇḍalum
Panaiyum neḍilum varaium ariyum
Taṭṭaiyum tikiriyum taḍamam amaiyum
Vīralum kaḷaiyum tūmbum veḷamum
Kāmbum kiḷaiyum kicakamum veṇum
Origalum muḷaiyum muḍangalum cantīyum
Mūngiliv peyar muntūḷum ākum—
Pinkala Nikaṇṭū, Marapseyar 110.

[2] Kittel in his Kannada Dictionary derives the word from the root bidur which means scatter; but the Telugu Lixicon takes it to be a Sanskrit derivative.

[3] "Bamboo (bambu, Hind; bombu, Can)—Onomatopaeic from the crackling and explosions when they burn"—p. 69.

[4] Cāti, vettiram, cūral pirambī-Pingalam, mara, 285.

In the Tamil country Pirambu 'rattan' is used for various purposes. The body of country carts and coaches are made of this material, and the incumbustible mat, made out of it ,known as Pirappam Pāy, is used for thatching roofs of houses. It is possible that this useful material was exported to Sumatra, Java and other islands, where the name pirambu was corrupted bambu. Competent authorities have pointed out that the word bambu is current only on the West Coast of Sumatra and certain parts of Java. The standard word for bamboo in the Malay language is not bambu but Buluh. There is evidence of the familiarity of the word bambu among the Portugese before the end of the sixteenth century. It is probable that the Dravidian word in its Kannada form passed into English through the Porcigese and was applied in the first instance to rattan and later begame the name for the bamboo.

The Dravidian Languages are rich in terms denoting the flower. The popular word for the blossom is Pu in Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu and Kannada and Puvu in Telugu. The bud is Mokku in Tamil, Mogga in Telugu and Moggu in Kannada. The early stages of the bud are denoted by several words in Tamil. Arumbu is the name given to the first stage. The literary terms Annai and Cinai also probably denote this stage. The next stage is indicated by the words, Mukai and Moṭṭu which are variants of Mokku common to most of the Dravidian Languages. A fully developed bud at the point of unfolding its petals is known as Potu. And a full blown flower is Malar or Alar. Of these stages three are mentioned in a couplet of Tirukural.

"Kālai arumbi pakal ellām potāki
Mālai malarum innōy"

In these lines love-sickness is likened to a flower. It buds in the morning, goes on developing all day long and stands full flown at even tide. The words Arumbu, Pōtu and Malar used in this couplet indicate three distinct stages in the development of the flower. A scientific study of the various worde used in the South Indian languages for plants and flowers is of inestimable value to the student of Dravidian Semantics.

[1] It is possible that the Malay word buluh is a corruption of the word pul or pullu, which denotes the bamboo in Tamil. The flute made of bamboo is popularly known in the Tamil country as pullāṅguḷal.

THE DRAVIDIAN NEUTER PLURAL

By

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Dr. Caldwell said, "There are two neuter pluralising particles used by the Dravidian languages:—(1) the Neuter plural suffix gaḷ, with its varieties and (2) the neuter plural suffix in 'a'[1]. So far as this statement is concerned he is perfectly right.

But when he put forth the view that 'v' was not a sign of plurality, he was making a disputable statement. He has himself come to the conclusion that it is in 'd' of such words as 'adu' and 'idu' (that, and this) of Tamil, Kannada and Malayalam and 'adi' and 'idi' of Telugu that the idea of singularity resides. It is natural therefore to expect 'v' occurring in its stead in the plural words to indicate plurality. Dr. Caldwell, however, rejected the view that 'v' was indicative of neuter plurality, because he thought that 'av' and 'iv' or their near equivalents were occurring only in Gond and Telugu in the sense of 'those things' and 'these things'. He said[2], "If Telugu and Gond were the only extant dialects of the Dravidian family, we should naturally conclude that as 'd' is the sign of the neuter singular, so 'v' is the sign of the neuter plural. When the other extant dialects, however (Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada) are examined, we perceive that this 'v' is not a sign of plu ality"

This does not appear to be correct. In fact, an examination of the other extant dialects, especially Tamil, shows that this 'v' is a sign of plurality. Tolkappiyam, the ancient extant Tamil Grammar, the age of which may be modestly estimated to be as early as the 4th century B.C., in one of its rules in the Chapter on Orthography speaks[3] of four words ending in 'v'. The rule says that 'v' is the terminal letter of four words in Tamil. The commentators have given the instances of *av*, *iv*, *uv* and *tev* ; these correspond respectively to those things, these things, the intermediate things and enmities. The meaning

[1] Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 244.

[2] Ibid. p. 250.

[3] "Vakarak kiḷavi nāṉ moḻi īṟṟatu"— Tolkāppiyam. Eḻuttu. S. 81.

of the last word 'tev' has been forgotten, and so it is being used in the sense of 'enmity' simply. That the other three words have a plural significance can be borne out by illustrations gathered from ancient classical poems. In a poem given by Kaḍuvaṉ Iḷaveyiṉaṉār in Paripāḍal, the age of which is not later than the 2nd century A.D., we find these three words occurring in the sense of the neuter plural.[1] Kīrantaiyār, an author of almost the same age, has used 'av' and 'iv' as remote neuter plural and intermediate neuter plural respectively.[2] Auvaiyār I, a poetess of the same age, in one of her poems found in the collection called Puṟanāṉūṟu, has used 'iv' and 'av' in this sense.[3]

In the face of this usage it is impossible to maintain that 'v' was not indicative of plurality. The fact that by 'tev' we mean today enmity and not enmities need not deter us from holding that 'v' signified the plural ideas. Originally, it should have expressed the idea of the plural, as a collective noun, meaning enemies or enmity. It should have passed on to the stage when it expressed a group of enemies before it began to express, as it does today, the idea of the singular too. Thus we see that the rule in Tolkāppiyam contemplates the usage of four words ending in 'v' as plurals. Tev, also, originally was a neuter noun.

Further, there seems to have been a corresponding usage of 'v' in the pronominal termination of verbs of the neuter plural class. It is to this that Tolkāppiyar seems to have alluded in one of his rules in the Chapter on Etymology.[4] But wrong instances have been given by commentators; *Uṉkuva, tiṉkuva.* In these instances, the final 'a' is indicative of the neuter plural and 'v' is only an intervocalic consonant. What the commentators should have done is to furnish us with illustrations wherein the final letter is 'v'. Probably by their time, i.e., between the 10th and 13th centuries A.D., these usages had gone out of vogue. Therefore they were not able to give the proper examples. If one, however, takes pains and rummages the ancient Tamil classics, one will be able to find instances therefor.

[1] Ivvum Uvvum avvum piṟavum
Emam ārnta niṟ piṟintu
Meval Cāṉṟaṉa ellam. (St. 4, ll. 33-35).

[2] Avvum piṟavum ottaṉai uvvum
Evvayi noyum nīye (St. 2, ll. 58-59).

[3] Ivve, pili aṉintu etc. (Puṟam. St. 95).
Avve, pakaivark-kutti etc. (ibid.)

[4] A, Ā veṉa varūum iṟuti
Appāṉ mūṉṟe palavaṟi colle (Col. 9)

One such instance is available in the text of a poem in Puranāṉūṟu. *'Ivve' pīli aṇintu....viya nakaravve'.* ('Iv+ é becomes by rule ivvé; similarly nakarav +é may become nakaravvé. Nakarav means "things belonging to Nagar or City". But the traditional way of looking at this is different. 'Nakara' in 'Nakaravvé' would be taken to be a combination of Nakar (city) and 'a' the neuter plural suffix. On the other hand, the word lends itself to be split as 'Nakar' and 'av' too. According to the traditional interpretation, é is the element for emphasis, 'v' is an intervocalic and the other 'v' is a redundancy permissible in poetry. But to me it appears that because we have not been accustomed to finding pronominal terminations of 'v' in modern times, we fall into the error of regarding the 'a' as the neuter plural verbal inflexion. The line I have quoted above from Puranāṉūṟu, a work of great antiquity (1st or 2nd century A.D.), ought to show that the rule in Tolkāppiyam on the subject contemplates the usage of 'v' as a neuter plural termination of verbs also. If we had other great works of that period completely, we should have been able to collect more instances of this kind. Dr. Caldwell himself said[1] that it is in the poetry and in the speech of the peasantry that the ancient condition of the language is best studied. In the light of this remark, Puranāṉūṟu may be taken to throw a flood of light on the condition of the speech of those ancient days, and the inference is irresistible that 'v' was employed as a neuter plural suffix.

There is a beautiful regularity with which the pronominal sign of the third person is kept both in the nominatives and in the verbs in Tamil. For instance, corresponding to 'an', the masculine singular suffix in *'avaṉ'* (the remote demonstrative masculine singular pronoun), there is *'an'* in *vantaṉaṉ* (=he came) at the final part. Similarly the feminine singular, *'aḷ'*, the epicene plural 'ar' and the neuter singular 'tu' are all found in the nominative forms *avaḷ, avar* and *atu* as also in the verb finite forms *vantaṉaḷ, vantaṉar* and *vantatu.* In *'vantaṉa'* (=those things came), the neuter plural verb, there is 'a', the plural suffix, which is found in Tamil nouns such as *pala, cila, piṟa* etc. and in Malayalam demonstratives *ava, iva* etc. The Tamil neuter demonstrative plural *'avai'* and *'ivai'*, however, have slightly diverged from the old form, while Malayalam has kept it intact. In line with this regular process one should expect 'v' to occur as the suffix both in the nominal and verbal forms of the neuter plural, if 'v' is a plural suffix at all. This expectation is fulfilled in a line quoted from Puranāṉūṟu. *Ivve*

[1] Comparative Grammar, p. 45.

viyanakaravve. Thus we find that through 'v' as a plural suffix in verbs has fallen into desuetude, it exixted at one stage in the history of the Tamil language.

Even if the occurrence of 'v' as a plural neuter sign of the verb finite is doubtful, its occurrence in the nominal forms is quite certain, as evidenced by the passages quoted from Paripāḍal and Puranāṇūru, which have *av*, *iv* and *uv* as neuter plurals of the remote, proximate and intermediate demonstratives. These crude forms are found in Gond, one of the uncultivated dialects of the Dravidian group, as 'av' and 'iv', meaning those things and these things. As Gond is a language spoken in an isolated part of the country (in the hilly and jungly tracts in Central India) far removed from foreign contact, it is natural to think that its usage is not a borrowed one. If its usage is not borrowed and if its usage is in accord with the usuage in ancient Tamil classics, it could be surmised that that usage is purely Dravidian. Telgu 'avi' and 'ivi', Kannada 'avu' and 'ivu', Malayalam 'ava and 'iva' and modern Tamil 'avai' and 'ivai' do all possess in common 'v', the indubitable sign of neuter plurality. Neither the initial vowel nor the final vowel in these words can be regarded as expressing the idea of number, for the former expresses the kind of demonstrative (whether remote, proximate or intermediate) and the latter, being a mutable vowel in each dialect, has nothing to contribute to the semantic value but is only an element of euphonisation. Even as 't' occurring in the medial part of the singular neuter demonstratives such as 'atu' and 'itu' in Tamil, Malayalam and Kannada and 'ati' and 'iti' in Telugu is a sign of singularity, as is taken by Dr. Caldwell,[1] 'v' occurring in the medial part of words such as *avi, avu, ivi, ivu* etc. undoubtedly constitutes the sign of the neuter plural. Thus it is evident that Dr. Caldwell's view on the subject needs correction. I am sure that had he any opportunity to consult Tolkāppiyam, Puranāṇūru and Paripāḍal he would have quite willingly accepted the view that 'v' was as much a neuter plural suffix in the Dravidian languages as 'a'.

[1] Comparative Grammar, p. 280.

PLURAL SUFFIXES IN THE DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES.

By

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What is the history of pluralisation in the Dravidian languages? In these ancient languages, today, we find innumerable pluralising particles which on careful observation tend to show a unity in diversity and thereby throw some light on the grammatical point of the Primitive Dravidian tongue.

To many it may sound strange when we state that at one stage in the history of the Dravidian languages,—in those bygone ages—there did not exist in the language any pluralising suffix. To some extent, even as in Malayalam of today where the gender of the verb is being understood by the context and not by the verbal terminations, so in the primitive Dravidian languages, number was being understood by the context. This point has been hinted by the eminent philologist Dr. Caldwell who says, "The poets and the peasants, the most faithful guardians of antiqne form of speech, rarely pluralise the neuter and are fond of using the singular noun in an indefinite singular-plural sense, without specification of number, except in so far as it is expressed by the context. Hence they will rather say "nālu māḍu meygiredu" (literally, four ox is feeding) than "nālu māḍugaḷ meygindrāna" (four oxen are feeding) which would sound stiff and pedantic. Dr. Caldwell has pointed out this as an example to show that they rarely pluralise the neuter. What Dr. Caldwell says regarding neuter plurals in Tamil holds good in the case of other Dravidian Languages. But we can go a step further and quoting from Tuḷu, one of the ancient families of languages in the Dravidian group, state that pluralising was unknown even with the masculine-feminine or high caste nouns. Therein it is more idomatic to say "patt āḷu benpunḍu" (literally ten person is working) than to say" patt aḷu (ku) ḷu benper (ten persons are working). It is quite probable that the other languages of the family, having progressed, invented those subtle distinctions of number etc., and dropped out of use the primitive way, while Tuḷu, the uncultivated language of the group has retained the old usages too. Hence, we may go further than Caldwell and say that the number of all Dravidian nouns whether high-caste or caste-less was originally indefinite. The singular, the primitive condition of every noun, was then the only number which was or could be recognised by nominal or verbal inflexion and plurality was left to be inferred by the context

So, with this evidence before us, we may safely conclude with what Dr. Caldwell hinted that as civilisation made progress, the plural made its appearence and effected a permanent settlement in the department of high caste or masculine-famine nouns. While the number of casteless or neuter nouns, whether suffixes of plurality were used or not, still remained generally unrecognised by the verb in the Dravidian languages.

The various plural suffixes in the Dravidians Languages

Let us take into consideration the multifarious plural suffixes in some of the important Dravidian languages and try to trace their historical growth and ramifications:—

Pluralising suffixes.	Kannada	Tamil	Malayalam	Talugu	Tulu
'm'	nām (we)	yām, nām,	ñaṅṅal nam	mému	namo
	nīm (you, pl.)	nīr, nivir, nīyir.	niṅṅal nom	mīru	ir
'ar'	avar (they)	..	avar	vāru	..
	arasar (kings)	avar	arasar	rājulu	...
	bandar (have come)			vaccinar	
'ar'	bandār (Inscriptions)	vandār	vannu	...	...
'mar'	...	Pillai-mar	Arasan-mar	...	...
'mār'	...	Pillai-mār (Pillais)	Arasan-mār (Moplahs)	..	...
'ōr'	Kottōr (Donors) (Inscriptions)	Koduttor	Koduttor	..	..
'ir'	Pendir (wives)	Pendir	vannir	vacciri (have come)	..
'vir'	Tayvir (mothers)	Taymir	..	..	..
'dir'	Appandir (fathers)	Ayyandir	..	..	..
'kal'	Tandegal (fathers)	Taṇdegaḷ	Narigaḷ	purushaḷu	Akuḷu (they)
'lu'	Bandalo (They came)	..	..	purushalu	Ponnulu (ladies)
'ko'	Makko (Children) Aḷugo (servants)	..	..	..	..
'a'	avu (they-neuter)	avai (they-neuter)	ava (they)	avi (they)	avu (it & they)
'avu'	Piriyavu (big ones)				

From the foregoing tables we see that when reduced to the simplest, there are pluralising suffixes (1) 'm',(2) 'ar', with all its ramifications, (3) 'kaḷ', with its superb guises and (4) 'a' or 'avu'. Today it is rather hard to trace any semblance among these four entities and state at what period in the history of the Dravidian languages these developments took place.

The very ancient suffix 'm' is used in almost all the Dravidian languages for pluralising the first and the second personal pronouns. However, in the case of Tamil, Telugu and Tuḷu, second person plural, 'nīr', and 'īr' are used. As is natural, this must have been in vogue long before the third personal pronouns began to be pluralised and the gender idea got settled.

Between 'ar' and 'kaḷ' it is extremely difficult to choose which of the two is more ancient. In spite of the earliest grammarian of Tamil, Tolkappiyar, having mentioned 'kaḷ' as the plural suffix confined to neuter nouns, we have early instances in inscriptions, when 'kaḷ' was used as an epicene plural suffix and it is quite probable that long before the gender idea got settled on the people, if at all there was a plural number idea, it may not be wrong to assume that at some time, in the dim beginnings of our languages, one common particle was being used, if at an earlier time no such distinction was made and the number was indefinite.

I am inclined to think that what has been dubbed as the neuter plural suffix, namely, 'kaḷ', or 'a' or 'avu' must be primitive and the common suffix for the following reasons :

1. Though 'ar' may be restricted to the epicene group, 'kaḷ' is used for all the neuter as well as many a high caste nouns which fact proves the universal applicability and greater hold over the language than 'ar' which must be a later importation or derivation to fulfil a particular need. In fact 'kaḷ' may be used to pluralise all nouns.

2. Telugu, one of the important members of the Dravidian group, employs 'lu', a guise of 'kaḷ' for epicene plurals.

3. In Malayalam, the plural form of the second person is niṅṅaḷ and there is no other form for the same. Since first and second person plurals must be more ancient and Malayalam has retained many primitive forms of speech, 'kaḷ' may be a high class plural suffix.

4. In some of the pluralised forms of the high-caste nouns like 'makkaḷ', 'peṇgaḷ', 'āṇulu', 'gurugaḷ', 'aḍigaḷ', the suffix 'ar' is almost unknown.)

The hold of 'kaḷ' over the language must have been so great that due to sheer force of habit for ages people must have felt that the pluralising was incomplete—a kind of void—without the affixation of 'kaḷ' which alone they thought was the real pluralising particle. Hence, the double plurals and honorofic plurals, 'dévarkaḷ', 'avergaḷ', 'avvāḷ', etc.

5. In some of the old dialects which can be expected to retain several of the old construction of grammar, we come across the epicene plurals of the form 'āḷugo', 'ācārigo', 'Bhattakko' (retaining only the 'k' portion of 'kaḷ'). The first and second person plurals are 'engo' and 'ningo'.

6. In some of the dialects the epicene plural verb is 'bandalo' 'unḍalo', 'lo' is the plural suffix, 'k' having been dropped.

7. In some of the ancient dialects, 'ava' or 'avu' is used for the epicene third personal pronoun in the place of 'avar' with the least feeling of indecency or inconvenience. Āvu ibbar battavu, (They two persons are coming).

Thus, there must have been a time in the history of the language, when 'avu', the neuter plural suffix, was used for the epicene plurals and their practice is retained to this day in some of the dialects.

As civilisation advanced, and the gender idea got infixed 'ar' must have forced itself on the high-caste nouns and effected a permanent settlement therein. 'Ar' with its multifarious alternative forms such as 'ar', 'ir', 'dir', 'vir','bar', 'ir', 'or', etc., has been able to preserve its high caste in not allowing itself to be appended to neuter nouns. But it is unfortunate to note that 'ar' has not been successful in keeping out 'kaḷ' and its retinue out of bounds. There must have been a confusion regarding the use of these suffixes. Grammarians, like the author of Tolkappiyam, must have felt the necessity for drawing a line between the pluralising suffixes of the high-caste and neuter nouns and gave the verdict that 'kaḷ' be confined to neuter plurals, and 'ar' forms to the high-caste plurals. But no grammarian's legislation could check the influence of the old 'kal'. We find 'ar' forms employed for pluralising the epicene in all the early literatures and inscriptions and it is interesting to note that 'r' is an essential particle of the pluralising suffix. Doctor Caldwell is of opinion that 'r' was always preceded by a vowel and due to vowel harmony in particular situations and the genius of each dialect, it assumed these various forms, but always retained the 'r'.

In certain cases 'a' + 'ar' > 'avar' and in plurals like 'bandavar the 'va' is dropped and there was an elongation resulting in 'bandör' ('or' suffix). Perhaps during the time of Kesiraja 'or' suffix fell into disuse. The 'ar' and 'ir' suffix in combination earned augments 'b', 'v', 'ar', ('enbar', 'tayvir', enmar') which later on came to be separated and used independently as plural particles such as 'dir', 'vir', 'bar', 'mar', 'mar', etc.

Perhaps in th universal suffix 'kaḷ', 'k' may be an augment particle in the case of certain words, which later on became part and parcel of the suffix in separation.

Knowing that 'ḷ' and 'r' are produced almost at the same place (murfhanya) and examples are not wanting where words with 'ḷ' 'r' (K, T, Te, tiḷi to know is 'teri' in Tuḷu), shall we may say that at an early stage, when epicene plural came to be separated 'ar' branched off from 'kaḷ'?

TECHNICAL SCIENCES SECTION

THE EVOLUTION OF FINGER TECHNIQUE IN INDIAN INSTRUMENTAL MUSIC.

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Instrumental music has played a prominent part in the evolution of the music of both the Orient and the Occident. Man became early conscious of the fundamental principles of musical science, through musical instruments. The monophonous voice was not of much help to him in practically working out and understanding the various musical laws and phenomena. The ancient harp helped the scholars to comprehend the nature of consonant and dissonant intervals, the frequency ratios of notes, the harmonic series and the method of deriving modes by the process of modal shift of tonic.

Except the key-board types, all other types of instruments are fully represented in India. The Indian musician had no use for the key-board type of instrument, since it gave only notes of fixed pitch and had no provision for the playing of the delicate quarter-tones and the subtle graces. It would indeed have been a surprise to students of comparative musicology. if the key-board type of instrument had developed in India.

India is perhaps the earliest country in the history of world culture to realise the value of absolute music. The association of musical instruments with Divine Beings and Divine minstrels can be cited in proof of this statement. Instrumental music was held in great esteem from early times. Instrumental music was an indispensable accompaniment in recitals of Vocal music. In the days when the tambura had not come into vogue and such instruments as the chromatic pitch-pipe and tuning forks did not exist and in the days when compositions were not sung to an adhara shadja as is done now the value of instrumental accompaniment is obvious. The instruments not only gave the key-note but also furnished the musical accompaniment. Vocal music and Instrumental music have had a healthy reaction on each other from early times. The person with the gifted voice easily dominated the instrumentalist in early times. The latter tried to reproduce on his instrument all the nuances of the song and these conscious efforts at playing an embellished and polished music laid the

foundations for the development of an elaborate finger technique, plectral technique, blowing technique and striking technique. The coming into existence of the metallic strings and frets opened up fresh possibilities and the instrumentalist was not slow in making full use of the new facilities. With the extended compass and the variety and richness of tone-colour, at his disposal he in his turn began to occupy an enviable position. The singers soon perceived the beauties of Vina Music, and began to imitate the same. Thus the Gayaka style and the Vainika style reacted on each other and with very good results.

The genius of India is fully reflected in the complex finger technique seen in her instrumental music. This technique is one of gradual growth and represents the accumulated wisdom of the instrumentalists of the past. Skill in finger technique is acquired after many years of practice. The play of those who have not acquired a command over finger technique will not be delightful. Their performances will be childlike in character. To perform classical compositions accurately one needs a high degree of proficiency in finger technique. To perform manodharma sangita, one needs even a higher degree of proficiency in finger technique.

The subject of finger technique admits of a four-fold treatment : the technique relating to (1) tata vādyas (chordophones) (2) sushira vādyas (aerophones) (3) Avanaddha vādyas (membranophones) and (4) Ghana vādyas (Autophones). The unequal lengths of the fingers seem to be designed by Nature for developing an intelligent technique, which will be of help in playing in a graceful, neat and good style. Finger technique is the technique involved in applying the fingers to the strings, the holes and the drum-head. There are special exercises to give strength to the fingers. Finger technique has kept pace with the developments in music century after century. Daring experiments in fingering were attempted by enterprising instrumentalists from time to time. These experiments involved some years of practice and some at stages, these pioneers gave up their attempts as hope less. The jāru style of Violin play now in vogue in South India is an instance in point. When new instruments were invented or when improved patterns of instruments came into existence, instrumentalists worked at these new instruments and evolved the most satisfactory finger technique.

Excepting the mṛidanga, tablā and pakhāwaj the remaining percussion instruments do not admit of an elaborate finger

technique. These three instruments provide a delightful cross rhythmical accompaniment and contribute to the excellence of an Indian concert. The rhythmical harmony provided by them is fascinating. Some rhythmical syllables are played by damping fractional areas of the drum-head. with the hand. The late mridangam Narayanasami Appa was so alive to the responsible character of fingers, that he would not even grasp the door lintel of a Railway carriage . He invariably asked one of his disciples to open the carriage door for him. The ghaṭa an old instrument is even now used in South Indian concerts, as an upa tāla vādya (secondary rhythmic accompaniment). The hand, the wrist, finger tips and a finger nails are used in playing this instrument. From its very nature, the ghana vādyas do not admit of any finger technique. The metallic plates or discs are merely struck and their rhythmical accompaniment is on the same footing as the accompaniment provided by the percussion instruments in European orchestras.

Wind Instruments like the flute and the nagasvaram have evolved an elaborate finger technique. The latter instrument is not more than 700 years old. In the nagasvaram semitones are produced by adjustments in the strength of blowing and not by partially opening the finger holes as in the flute. The fingering system of the flute of the ancient period is different from that of the modern Period. Terms like Kampita, Valita, Mukta, Ardhamukta and Nipidita are singnificant in relation to the finger teachnique of the flute. Single tongueing was in vogue from ancient times. Double tongueing triple tongueing, quadruple tongueing, finger strokes and cross fingering are later developments. The technique of flute play made rapid strides, when it attained the status of a Primary instrument. In wind instruments the blowing technique is an important factor in the production of the nuances of music.

The finger technique of the Vīṇā has a long history. In ancient times the Vīṇā was of the harp type. A series of strings were stretched over an open frame and were set in vibration by the fingers. The strings were strenched vertically between the soundboard and the arm or neck. Each string produced only one note. The strings were turned to notes of absolute piston and to the fundamental scale. We come across the sapta-tantri Vīṇā in the story of Guttila the musician in one of the Budhdist Jataka legendas. The Vīṇā with a finger board (without frets) with one or two strings is seen in early sculptures and in the Ajanta frescopes. Whereas the former harp-type of vina was held vertical and played, the latter

was held in an oblique posture and played. There were limitations for both these types of instruments. The longer strings of the harp-vina when struck gave a containing note and such modern devices as the damper of the piano were unknown in those days. This continued vibration of the longer guts was a distrubing factor in the proper enjoyment of music. The Silappadikaram refers to the four defects (Sempakai, Arppu, Adirvu, Kudam) which every Yal player should overcome. The same work also refers to terms like Vartial, Vadittal, Undal, Uraldal, Uruttudal and Teruttudal significantly explanatory of the plectral technique and tuning technique.

The strings of the svaramaṇḍala, another ancient instrument were merely struck and played and so the question of finger technique does not arise in the case of this instrument. The instrument was kept on the floor and was performed on open strings. The invention of frets constitutes an important landmark in the evolution of the Vīṇā. The number of Strings was reduced and the playing of such gamakas as Kampita, linea, tiripa, vali, tribhinna Kurula, āhata and ullasita and purva dhal and uttara dhal become an easy task. The plectral technique also developed side by side with the left hand technique. Such terms as savra mīṭṭu, sāhitya mīṭṭu, laya mīṭṭu, jodu mīṭṭu, Kattiri mīṭṭu, sruti mīṭṭu and pattu mīṭṭu are significant. The Vīṇu is held in both the vertical and horizontal postures and played. In the former case, the dandi of the instrument is relatively of a shorter length and the performing in the higher octaves on all the four strings is also relatively easier. On the Vina and the gotuvadyam one can play simultaneously on two octaves. This was not possible on the ancient harp-like vina. Compositions like the Thàya vina students to acquire proficiency in *raṭṭai mīṭṭu.* Composers who were also vainikas wrote special types of compositions which helped players of Vina to improve the finger technique of the left hand and the plectral technique of the right hand.

The European instrument Violin has been successfully adapted in the south. The earlier pidivadyam naturally gave way to the later pleasing jaru vadyam. The new style of bow technique used for playing tanas is delightful. In some instruments of the North, the finger nails of the left hand glide over or along the slide of the playing strings.

IRANIAN SECTION

STEHRPAESANGHA

By

PROF. D. D. KAPADIA, M.A., POONA

During the course of my studies of the Avesta language, I was particularly struck by the apparent absence of a specific word or words in the extant Avesta texts for *Sudreh*, the sacred shirt of the Zoroastrians. That the custom of putting on the Sudreh with *Kusti* (sacred girdle) on it, was from very old times prevalent amongst the *Mazdayasnans* (i.e. those believing in one true and living God), and was in vogue even before the advent of Holy Prophet Zoraster, is obvious from Yasna IX 26, where it is distinctly mentioned that Prophet HAOMA (a contemporary of king Kai-Kaus and king Kai-Khusru of Kiyanian Dynasty of Iranian monarchs) was given the gifts of Sudreh and Kusti by Almighty God ; (vide note on p. 41 of Dr. Unvala's *Hom Yasht*). This custom seems to have been acknowledged and embodied by Zarathushtra in his Religion (Dādistān, Pur. XXXVIII, 19) and is prevalent upto this day amongst the followers of Zarathushtra, both in Iran and India. According to the author of Dādistān-i-Dinik, it was king Jamshed who first introduced this custom of Sūdreh-Kūsti (Pur. XXXVIII 19).

In Avesta, there is a distinct word for Kusti (sacred girdle) viz. *aiwyānghana* found scattered in several places in the texts; also a verb for tying on the sacred Kusti *aiwi-yāungh* to put on the Kusti, and the word *aiwyasta*, one who has been invested with Sūdreh-Kūsti, or more generally one who has gone through a complete course of religious instructions. How then is it possible that there should not be a word for such an important adjunct as Sūdreh in the extant Avesta texts ? I thus became curious to solve that riddle.

In Pahlavi however there is no lack of equivalent words for Sūdreh, of which the most common is *Shavik*; also there is the word or *tehkuk* ?, also *azir-aiwyagan* or *azirkustik;* also *nimak, vastrag-i-andartum, Vahuman vastrag etc.*

Ervad B.N. Dhabar, in Hormazdyār Frāmarz Rivāyet, pp. 23-32, has given exhaustive references about Sūdreh and Kusti occurring in Pahlavi literature, especially those in Shāyast-né-Shāyast, Dādistān-i-Dînîk, Nirangistān, Vendidād etc.

The Avesta word used generally for Sūdreh is *vastra* which ordinarily means *clothing*, and it seems to have been used as an equivalent of Sūdreh, but no specific word is in use as the Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh.

Whilst in the midst of this perplexity about the absence of an Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh, I happened to go through *Vachar-Kard-i-Dīnīk*, a Pahlavi book edited by late Dasturji Saheb Peshotanji Byramji Sanjana in 1848, and I was particularly struck by two passages, which are presumed to be extracts from *Baghn Yasht* and Nīyādūm Nask, wherein there are clearly words alluding to Sūdreh. These passages are also quoted by Dr. West, Sacred Books of the East vol. XXXVII pp. 471, 474 and 475.

The first of these passages occurs on p. 160, as under:—
Avesta[1]—'Yāt aété yo Mazdayasno aperenāyūko avi hé hapta saredha frajasāiti stehrpaesangho aiwyāunghono paitish hé maidhyāi būjyamanö avi hé nara paschaiti nemanghenti.'

Pahlavi—'ke az öisān mazdyastān apūrnāy-i awar ān (o pa dāt-i) haft sāl-i fràz-raset,---aiwyānghān pa ān miyān banded awār an mard pas niyāyeshn-aumand hast.'

Trans.—(It is revealed from the Avesta Text of the Baghañ Yasht that) When of those Mazdayasnas, a youth reaches the age of seven years, (he ties "stehrpaesangha" and "kusti" on his loins, (and) upon that a man thereafter is fit to offer his prayers.

The word *stehrpaesangha*, in this para is obviously used for *Sūdreh*, though in the Pahlavi translation, unfortunately the word seems to have been inadvertently dropped. Dr. West also has omitted to give the meaning of the word "stehrpaesangha" perhaps aware of the fact that the word is dropped in Pahlavi rendering. The meaning of this word which is so far generally accepted is, adorned with stars, 'star-spangled' or 'star-striped.' But I submit that to take it here as qualifying the noun *aiwyānghana*, and translate it as "star-spangled kusti" is rather unsound. But on the contrary to take them as separate nouns and translate them as "Sūdreh" and "kusti" is much more reasonable.

A "sūdreh" can be a decorated one, as we have in vogue an embroidered Sūdreh, but no body has dreamt of an ornamented "Kusti". Thus the presumption is more to regard "stehrpaésangha" as "Sūdreh," which can be an embroidered one.

[1] Owing to typographical difficulties long vowels are denoted in this paper in three different ways, as shown ī é and ū.

The second of these passages which occurs on pp. 180-181 of the same book is more explicit and comprehensive and occurs as under—

....aévak in kū *stārāhrpaesanghàm* awā garāpān khūp awāyet che andar Nîyādūm goft estet—

Avesta—Āat aokhta Ahurö Mazdéo yat āeté yö mazdayasna aétém srîrem vastrem stehrpāesanghem hvām tanūm badha paoirim vanghanemcha hadha varano paitanemcha, paschaiti aiwyāunghānö ava hé maidhyānem būjayamnö.

Aétem zisrīrem vastrem mainyutàshtem hacha mainyavanām dāmanām avi me fradadhāt Ahurö Mazdaö ashava. Yatha hé varanö paitanem asti mānayen hvare-khshaétahé hadha hé vastranàm yaozdāthranām frayaza vā nizbaya vā Ahurāi Mazdāi Ameshanām spentanām Spitama Zarathushtra.

Translation—One thing is that *stāhrpaesanghān* with proper *garāpān* is necessary, as is revealed in Nîyādüm Nask that—Thus spake Ahura Mazd, then for him who is a Mazdysna this fine garment *stehrpaesangha* with Defender of the faith (i.e. garāvān) is surely the first clothing to put on his body and kusti tied on it at his waist.

For Holy Ahura-Mazd, from amongst his spiritual creations, bestowed upon me (who am Zarathushtra) this fine spiritually-designed garment.

As this Defender of the Faith (*garavan*) is like the shining Sun, thereupon with these pure garments, O Spitama Zarathushtra! you invoke and sing praises to Ahura Mazd and the Ameshāspands.

Pahlavi rendering gives the translation of this Avesta passage with its usual glosses which make the meaning very explicit. The Pahlavi rendering is as under—

Pahlavi—'Aétūn goft Aöharmazd ka öishān ké mazdayasta hend öi in *vastrag-i star-pesit* (ku taskuk) pas az haft sal bāstān (aé pas az haft sāl) andar khvesh tan fratūmîh nahumbet (aé pūshi-dann) öî ān avā varöeshnpān (kū garāvān darost) ū pas öi aiwyāgāhann awar öi stāhr-i ö miyān (chūn kamarbānd) banded.

Oi in che nivak pa didan vastrag-i minöi tāshide az minöyān dāmān bé öi men ke Zartuhsht ham frāz-dād Aöharmazd asho.

Chun öi varoeshnnpān (ku garāvān hast) humānāk ān ke chun Khvurshid nivak varoeshnn dāshtār ü shed vahesht khvāstār hast ke padiraftār-i dînn, pas awā an vastrag-i yushdāsar (ku pāk) frāz-yaz ayöv stāyishnn kun Aöharmazd rāi ū Amahūspandān rāi, ae Spetmān Zartuhsht,

Zend in ku Mazdayastān hast ke Yazdān parastārān starpesit (ku vastrag-i ū tashkuk) ü varöeshnn (ku az dil kāmak dînn dāshtār) (aé az di padiraftàr-i dînn-i mazdayastàn ku garāvān darand.

Translation—Thus spoke Aoharmazd. Then for those, who are Mazdyasnan, invariably after seven years (i.e. after seven years of age), he first covers (i.e. puts on) his body with this fine *starpesid* garment (i.e. tashkuk Südreh), and that one is with Defender of the Faith (i.e.properly prepared garāvān) and then he, on that *Stāhar* ties the küsti at the waist (like a waist-band).

That Holy Aöharmazd bestowed on me, who am Zartuhsht,—this good-looking and spiritually-designed garment from amongst His spiritual creations.

And as this Defender of Faith (which is gārāvān) is like the Sun (preserver of good faith) and seeker after shining paradise (there is one who says-is an acceptor of the religion) then with that purified (i.e. pure) garment, O Zartuhshat! you invoke and sing praises of Aöharmazd and Ameshāspands. (Gloss is this that Mazdayasnāns are worshippers of God and invested with *star-pesid* (i.e. the garment of Südreh) and with Faith (i.e. preservers of Faith by willing hearts and acceptors of the Mazdayasnan religion, i.e. they keep the garàvàn).

This Avesta quotation as well its Pahlavi rendering clearly show that the word "Stehrpaesangha" is the equivalent for *Sudreh,* which should always have proper "garāvān," i.e. the sacred sac, otherwise known in Pahlavi writings as "Kisseh-i Kerfak", the sac in which all good meritorious deeds are to be stored up. Pahlavi has given explicit gloss that "Stāhr paesanghām" or "Star-pesid" or "stāhar" is "tashkuk" or "Südreh" and that this garāpān is in fact the emblem representing Protector of Faith and an absolutely necessary adjunct to a *Sūdreh,* which is the *innermost* garment of a Mazdyasnan.

There is a third passage in the same book on page 188, giving details of the clothing to be put on a dead body-where the Avesta equivalent for Sūdreh is given as "antema aiwyaunghana" with its Pahlavi equivalent "azir aiwyagan," which when paraphrased "innermost of the Kusti" or "what is underneath the Kusti." As this passage does not give any further information, I am not quoting it here. But from the passages of "Vachar Kard-i Dinik" it can be easily presumed that "Stehrpaesangha" is the specific word in Avesta for Sūdreh, the sacred shirt of the Mazdyasnāns.

Having now made an examination of the passages of Vachar-kard-i Dînîk, let us now extend our inquiry to those passages wherein the word "Stehrpaesangha" occurs in the extant Avesta texts. There are four passages in which this word occurs, and there is a fifth one in which the word "Stehrpaesa" occurs. I consider the word *Stehrpaesa* as absolutely distinct from "*Stehrpaesangha,*" the word under investigation.

The first and the most appropriate of these passages in which this word is met with in Avesta, is Yasna IX 26, and it is as under :—

Avesta—Frā tê mazdàö barat paourvanîm aiwyànghà-nem *stehrpaesanghem* mainyu-tàshtem vanguhīm daenàm màzdayasnîm.

Translation—(Ahura) Mazd brought forth for thee, ancient "küsti" (and) spiritually-designed "stehrpaesangha" (and) good Mazdayasn faith.

Ervad K.E. Kanga translates it—

(Ahura) Mazd brought forth for thee in ancient times spiritually designed (and) star-spangled Küsti (and) good mazdayasn faith.

Other scholars have also translated it in a similar sense. But my contention is that the translation as above by me is more appropriate, and clearly shows that God bestowed these gifts of Küsti-südreh and good holy Mazdayasn religion, on prophet Haoma. As stated above, a star-spangled Küsti has no meaning. Nobody has ever seen decorations on a Küsti, but one has seen decorations on a Sudreh, as an embroider-Sudreh as what we call in Gujarati-badhö bharelö sadrā. Such a Südreh has been in vogue and especially rich people used to exult in putting on a fully embroidered Südreh. Further in this as well as in all other passages, the word "Stehrpaesangha" is accompanied by the word "mainyu-tàshta," showing that Südreh is a sacred spiritual garment and has invariably ben recognized as such.

The Pahlavi rendering of this passage is thus—

Pahlavi—Fràz tō àn-i Aōharmazd bōrd parvand aiwyà-kgàn-i star-pesid-i minuyān-tàshid veh dînn-i Mazdayastān (avash aiwiyàkgànih é ku chun küstik awā mard ayōkarde dinn-icha-i awā Hom aedüm ayōkarde).

Translation—Hormazd brought forth for thee the clothing of "aiwyàkgàn" (kusti) and spiritually-designed "star-pesid" (Sūdreh) and good Mazdayasn faith. The state of having Küsti-südreh on ones' body is this, that just as küstisüdreh

are united (made one) with men (so also) the religion is united (made one) with Haoma).

In Dàdîstàn-i Dînik, Pur. XXXVIII, sec. 15, the same quotation is copied out verbatim, as an authority quotation, in connection with the subject of "Südreh-Küsti" as under—

Pahlavi—Chun göft-ast andar mànsar ku aiwyàngàn-i star-pesid-i minu-yàn-tàshid veh dinn-i mazdayasnan.

Trans—As it is said in Avesta, that Kusti and spiritually-designed "star-pesid" and good mazdayasn religion.

Now in this Pahavi rendering of the avesta passage, there is one technical word "parvand" used before the word "aiwyàngàn" and it seems to have been in place of the Avesta word "paourvanim." J2 and K5 give this word as "parvand" with a circumflex over *d*, whilst in Mss.91 of Mulla Feeroze Library, there is a gloss "fradūm" written above "parvand." The Avesta word "paourvanya" means 'former' 'ancient,' or of old; but the word "parvand" used by the Pahlavi writers is, I presume, quite a different thing. My presumption is that the Pahlavi writers had the subject of Kusti-sudreh foremost in their mind and hence used the technical term "parvand," which occurs repeatedly in Pur. XXXVIII of Dàdistàn in connection with Kusti-sudreh investiture, where even the words "parvandihà" and "parvandashnik" are found. This word "parvand" has been translated by late scholars-Ervads Temuras and Sher-yarji and Dr. West as "girdling of Kusti-sudreh", and I personally consider that the word has a similar allied sense as "clothing as a fold or wrapping around. We have a N. Per. word "parvande" meaning "a roll of cloth" (bast-i pàrche). Dr. Unvala takes this word as "porvani," stating that Neryosangh has seen in Pahlavi "porvani," a mere transcription of Avesta "paourvanim".Dr. Davar considers it "not unlikely to be the same word as the one which occurs in Didistan, and translated by Dr. West as "belt."

I therefore presume that this word "parvand" is a purely technical expression for "putting on the clothing of Südreh-küsti on one's body in a roll as a wrapper, and wherever this word occurs it may be interpreted as "putting on of kusti-sudreh." Now if we accept this, we shall have no equivalent for Av. paourvanim in the Pahlavi translation, and in MSS. 91 of M. F. Library, the writer seems to have supplemented this omission by gloss "fradum" (first). That such omissions in Pahlavi are not uncommon as in Codex K5 the important word "aiwyākgān" is drpped perhaps by an oversight of the copyist. Also we have seen above in the first passage of 'Vachar-

ard' in dropping of the important word 'stehrpaesangha". Thus, it can be clearly inferred that in this pertinent passage, both in Avesta and Pahlavi, the subject of Kusti-sudreh is in view and thus the Av. word "Stehrpaesangha", (Pah. star-pesid) is an equivalent for "Südreh" in Avesta.

The SECOND passage in Avesta, wherein this word occurs, is XIII. 3 and is as follows:—

Avesta—Yim Mazdāo vaste venghanem stehrpaésanghem mainyu-tāshtem, hachimno Mithro Rashnucha Armaiticha Spentaya.

Translation:—Ahura Mazd, and following suit with him, Mithra, Rashnu and Spenta Armaiti, have put on it (the sky) the garment of spiritually-designed "stehrpaésangha"; whilst the usual translation is Ahuramazd, and following suit with Him, Mithra, Rashnu and Spenta Armaiti, has put on it the (sky) spiritually-designed star-spangled garment.

I submit that the first interpretation is better, but even taking for granted the usual translation, the natural question is as to what can be the spiritually-designed and star-spangled garment, but the spiritual garment of Südreh. Hence "stehrpaésangha" is better interpreted "südreh" than as "star-spangled" garment.

The THIRD passage for examination is Y. X. 143, as under—

Avesta:—Yazāi ham-tashtem yo dadhvāo spento-mainyush stehrpaésanghem mainyu-tāshem.

Translation:—I offer my praises to skilfully-worked-out spiritually designed "stehrpaesangha" of Bountiful Spiritual Lord, (who is) the Creator.

Various translators have taken for granted that this sentence is in connection with the *vāsha*, the chariot of Mithra, and, have translated this passage taking for granted the word 'vāshem' understood after 'ham-tashtem' and translated as under 'I offer my praises to the skilfully consrtucted (chariot), which is spiritually-designed and adorned with stars, of the Bountiful Spiritual Lord, (who is) the Creator'.

This translation takes *mainyu-tāshta* and *stehrpaesangha* as words qualifying the noun *vāsha*. But still I submit that even if we regard the two words as qualifying the noun *vāsha*, still the translation as under is not so inconsistent, viz.—

I offer my praises to skilfully-constructed (chariot) (which is like) the spiritually-designed 'stehrpaesangha' (Sudreh) of the Bountiful Lord, (Who is) the Creater.

Thus even this passage can reasonably interpret "Stehr-paesangha" as Sūdreh.

The FOURTH passage is Y.X.90 as under:—

Avesta—Yō paoiryō hāvana haomān uzdasta stehrpaé-sangha mainyu-tāshta haraithyō paiti berezayāo.

Trans—Who first prepared haoma (juice) on the top of (Mount) Elbruz in an hāvanim (mortar) of spiritually-designed "stehrpaesangha" (type) (i.e. fully embroidered Südreh type).

This translation is not so materially altered if even instead of 'Sūdreh' we allow the meaning 'star-spangled' and alter the last words as "in an Havanim spiritually-designed and decorated with stars (type).

In all these four passages, I have just attempted to show how the interpretation of "stehrpaésangha" as "südreh" fits in, in each place without disturbing the sense of the context in any material way. In all these passages the word "stehrpaésangha" is accompanied by the compound word "mainyu-tāshta," indicating the spiritual origin and spiritual significance of "stehrpaésangha," an aspect which appropriately fits with the suggestion in question.

There is, however, a fifth passage which contains the word "stehrpaésa" and not "stehrpaésangha, viz. Yasna LVII. 21; and I submit that the word "stehrpaesa" is quite distinct from the word "stehrpaésangha". For whilst the former is to be interpreted as "adorned with stars," the latter has a strong presumption to be regarded as the equivalent for "Südreh" the sacred shirt.

Of the four passages in extant Avesta, the first two are quite explicit

The first one is particularly in connection with "sudreh-kusti," and the second one is as regards clothing or garment. In the third one, along with the description of the chariot of Mithra, it is inserted at that place. There is no word for chariot there, and "stehrpaésangha" "mainyu-tāshta" and "ham-tashta" are in accusative singular, showing their mutual connection. The fourth one has a greater probability, the craftmanship and decoration of the "havanim" are similar to that of an embroidered Südreh (stehrpaésangha).

These passages in extant Avesta and the other two passages of Vachar-kard-i-Dinik, lead one to presume that the word "stehrpaésangha" may, in all probability, be regarded as Avesta equivalent for "SUDREH" the sacred shirt of the ZOROASTRIANS.

PAHLAVI *YTK : YATAK, JATAK**

By

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The invocatory formulas given in various Mss. of some of the Pahlavi texts,[1] edited by Dastur J. M. Jamaspasana, contain a rare word *ytk*, which is obscure. In these formulas the word is invariably qualified by *nevak* : 'good, auspicious, happy'. It is a peculiar fact that while this word is freely used in the Mss. of the above Pahlavi texts, it never occurs in similar formulas in numerous Mss. of other Pahlavi texts. Besides these formulas, the word occurs also in (1) the Pahlavi Xvarshêt Niyayishn, O, 19;[2] (2) the Pahlavi Atash Niyayishn, 18;[3] (3) the Pahlavi Ohrmazd Yasht, 25, 27;[4] (4) the Pahlavi Srosh Yasht, 2;[5] (5) the Dātastān I Dénik, Pursishn 36;[6] (6) the Dénkart, Book III[7] ; and (7) the Màtîkàn I Hazàr Dàtistàn, Ch. XLII[8]. The same word occurs also in the Mid. Pers. Turfan texts[9] as *jdg : Jaday ;* and also *hwjdg : hu-Jaoay :*

The word is variously explained as follows :

West [10] : *dadako* : 'Judge'.

*We regret that diacritical marks over *j* and *z* necessary for words like *jatak* and *mizd* were not procurable *A.S.A.*

1. *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. Jamaspasana. Pt. I, Bombay 1897, p. 18.4; Pt. II, Bombay 1913 (posth. publ.), pp. 51.18;55.1; 58.14,15; 78.15; 85.2; 102.16; 121.17; 132.17; 132.17. See also *Ganj-é-Shāyagān* (invocatory formulas in the first two texts), ed. P. Sanjana, Bombay 1885; *Pahlavi Texts*, ed. and transl. into Persian by Khudayar S. Irani, Bombay 1899, p. 24.1.

2. *Zand I Kūrtak Avistāk*, ed. B.N. Dhabhar, Bombay 1927, pp. 14.12 note 15 (p.275.19); 22.22 (note 3: p. 286.11); 23.7.

3. *Ibid.* pp. 45.14 note 7 (:p. 312.5); 46.4

4. *Ibid.p.* 97.5,14. See also Dhalla, *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, Bombay 1918, p. 389.20.

5. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk, p.* 111.21 note 19 (: p. 349.5).

6. *Dātistān I Denīk*, ed. T.D. Anklesaria, p. 11.8.

7. *Denkart*, ed. Madan, Bombay 1911, pp. 352.3,5; 353.2; ed P. Sanjana, Vol. VIII, Bombay 1897, pp. 390.9,11; 391.9.

8. *The Social Code of the Parsis in Sasanian Times or the Mātikān I Hazar Dātistān*, ed. T. D. Anklesaria, Bombay 1912 (posth. publ.), pp. 36.11,12; 39.3.

9. *Mitteliranische Manichaica aus Chinesische-Turkestan II, by* F.C. Andreas, posth. publ. by Henning, Berlin 1933, pp. 38.22 (also note 7); 39.21; 40.22; *Ein Manichaisches Bet-und Beichteuch, by Henning, Berlin* 1937, p. 30.9.10.

10. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XVIII, p. 120.

P. Sanjana [11] : *date* : 'one who gives, one who bestows'.
K. S. Irani [12] : *datak* : (Pers.) *deh* ; *datak nyok* : '*nīkī deh*'.
T. Anklesaria and Bharucha [13] : 'charity.'
Modi [14] : *datak* (for datak) : 'administrator of justice.'
Dhalla [15] : *datak* : 'giver.'
Bulsara [16] : *datak* : (1) 'gift'; (2) 'governor.'
Andress [17] and Henning [18] : 'Ruhm'.

Generally speaking, therefore, the word is understood to have been derived from the verb *dātan* ; and it is interpreted accordingly. Some scholars connect the word with *dāt* : 'law' 'justice' ; while Andreas and Henning interpret the word by 'Ruhm', but they offer no explanation. But none of these explanations suits the context in all the texts quoted above.

I beg to submit that the word is derived from Av. and Old. Pers. *yam-*, Skt. *yam-*: 'to hold, to seize'[19]. The word *ytk*, therefore, may be explained as OIr. **yamtaka-*>**yataka-*> Mid. Pers. *yatak*>*jatak*>Mid. Pers. Turfan *jaoay* : 'what one holds, part, portion, lot, share, dispensation, destiny, luck, fortune'. In this way, Pahl. *yth* :*yatak*, *Jatak* may be regarded as cognate with Av. *yāta-* : 'share, lot[20] ; Phl. *yatak*, *Jatak* [21] ; Mid. Pers.Turfan *Jāoay*[22]: 'share, lot'; and Mod. Pers. *jada* 'pathway, road, manner, practice (lit. what one has held)'. Cf. also Phl. *yātakgowih*, *jatakgowih;* Pazand *Jādangoi* : '(lit) speaking for the lot (of others)', i.e. 'advocacy intercession'.[23]

11. P. Sanjana, *op. cit.* Glossary p. 12.
12. K.S. Irani, *op. cit.* Pers. Transl. p. 14.
13. *Dātastān I Denīk*, Guj. transl., Bombay 1926, p. 98.
14. *Shatroihā I Airān;* Bombay 1899, p. 50-51.
15. *Nyaishes or Zoroastrian Litanies*, New York 1908, pp. 62.18; 63; 64.8; 191.14.
16. *The Laws of the Ancient Persians*, Bombay 1937, pp. 538-539, 548-549.
17. *op. cit.* pp. 38, 39, 40.
18. *op. cit.* p. 30.
19. Bartholomae, *Altiranieches Worterbuch*, Strassburgh 1904, 1262 f.
20. *Ibid.* 1333; *zum Altir. Wb.*, Strassburgh 1906, p. 214. Cf. *yātamant—*: (lit.) one who has received the share', i.e. 'rich, well off'; *Altir. Wb.* 1283.
21. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk*, *p.* 61.10.
22. Andreas *op. cit.* p. 28.7,9.
23. West and Haug derive the word from *dāt* : 'law'; hence 'speaking justice, pronouncing law ; *Glossary and Index of Arda Virāf*, *p.* 130. Darmesteter connects the word with Av. *jāo-*'to ask a favour' *Etudes Iraniennes II* p. 155.

As a rule, Av. *yāta-* is rendered into Pahlavi by *bahr*[24]; but in one case one Ms. translates Av. *yata-* by *yatak, Jatak,* and explains by *bahr* [25] : 'share, lot'.

Pahlavi *Jatak* is used in the same sense as Phl. *jatak,* explained above, or in various shades of that meaning. In the Phl. Ohrmazd Yasht 25 Av. *mizda-* (:'reward') is rendered by Phl. *mizd* and explained *ytk : jatak;* the last word, therefore, must have a similar meaning, namely 'reward, recompense, share, lot'. In the Phl. Xvarshed Ny. *rocik datak* is explained by *mizd Jatak,* i.e. 'reward and share', 'recompense and destiny'. Again, Phl. *datar* is gloseed : *jatak paitakih* : 'proof of destiny'; i.e. *datar* ('the Creator') is regarded as the giver of destiny, and the word, therefore, is pointed out by the commentator as a proof of the existence of destiny. In the Denkart, there is a chapter on *jatak* U érih : 'destiny and heredity'.[26] In this chapter it is explained that destiny and heredity are worldly connections. This is quite in keeping with the Pahlavi idea of *baxt,* according to which a man can acquire worldly things by his *baxt* (='destiny'), but for spiritual happiness one has to rely on one's own action. As noted above, the invocatory formulas have *jatak* i *névak,* while, as a rule, in the Pahlavi literature we find the corresponding term *dahisn i névak* [27] : 'good dispensation'. This fact also proves that Pahl. *jatak* is used in the sense of 'destiny, dispensation, lot, share, fortune'. In the Màtikàn *i* Hàzar Dàtistàn the word is used in the extended sense of document concerning heritage or inheritence, i.e. 'trustdeed, testament, will'.

From what has been stated above, we can safely conclude that Phl. *jatak* is cognate with Av. *yāta-*, Phl. *jatak;* and it is used in the sense of 'reward, share, lot, destiny, fate, dispensation, luck, fortune', and also in the extended sense of 'trustdeed, testament, will.' This explanation suits the context in all the texts. Not only that but in some cases the context demands such an explanation.

The following passages illustrate the use of the word with the meaning settled above:—

(1) *Pahlavi Texts* p. 18. 3f., etc. (see above note 1) : *pa nām u nerok u hayārih* î *dātār āhrmazd Jatak* î *nevak ;*

24. *Frahang I Oim,* ed Reichelt, pp. 18,162 (W.Z.K.M. XIV, XV).

25. *Zand I Khūrtak Avistāk,* p. 158.3 note 66 : p. 378.28 ff.

26. Phl. *erīh : 'Aryanism,* nobility'; and in this case the word is used used in the extended sense of heredity'.

27. See, for instance, Pahlavi Texts, ed. Jamaspasana, p. 1,2.

'In the name, strength and help of the Creator Ohrmazd, (and) with good dispensation'.

(2) *Zand I Khurtak Avistāk* p. 14. 12 note 15 (: p. 275.19): *rōcik dātak* [*u mizd Jatak*] : 'the giver of daily wages [and reward and share]'.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 22. 21f. :

dātār [*ku paitāk kartak getīk u Jatak nevakīh*] : 'the Creator [i.e. He made manifest the world and the happiness of destiny]'.

(4) *Ibid.* p. 22.21 note 3 (:p. 286.11):

dātār [*paitākih gētīk dātār, e ku*[28] *gyān u Jatak*[29]] :'the Creator

[(this is) the proof (of the fact that) He is the Creator of the world; i.e. (the Creator of) life and destiny]'.

(5) *Ibid.* pp. 23. 7; 46.4 :

dātār [*ku Jatak paitākīh*] : 'the Creator [i.e. (this is) the proof of destiny]'.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 45.14 note 7 (: p. 312. 4f.):

dātār [*paitākīh getīk dātār e ku Jatak*] : 'the Creator [the proof that He is the Creator of the world ; i.e. destiny (of the people of the world)]'.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 97.5 :

Av. *yōi stō mizem asaonam* : Phl. transl. *ke hast mizd* [*jatak*] ahrawān : 'which is the reward [lot] of the holy persons'.

(8) *Ibid.* p. 97.13f. :

Av. *hazanrem baeśazanam baevare baesazanam* : *phl.* transl. 1000 *bār beśazasnīh u* 10,000 *bār besazasnīh* [*Jatak bavat*] : 'one thousand times health and ten thousand times health [may it be (our) lot]'.

(9) *Ibid.* p. 111.20f., note 19 (: p. 349.5f.) :

Av. *yazata pāyū θwōrestāra yā vīspa θweresatō dāman*.. Phl. transl. *u-ś yaśt Jānak ī brīnkar* [*mihr yazat*] *ke harvispen* brīhenītār *ī dāmān* [*śevakīh; ku hac ān barsonm yaśt pānak brīnkar mihr yazat; ka andar dāmān nevakīh Jatak hast oi rāy yazet*]: 'and he (i.e. Srōs) worshipped the Protector who is (also) the Destiner [Mihr Yazat], who is the creator of all creations [happiness (of the creatures); i.e. with barsom he worshipped the Protector (and) the Destiner Mihr Yazat; if (one wishes

28-29. Mss. y'wwytk for g'n wytk.

that) there is happiness and (good) fortune among the creatures, (then) one worships him]'.

(10) *Dātistān I Denīk ed.* Anklesaria, p. 111.6ff. :

pa xveś spur xvāparīh visp-cārīh baxset ö kirpak-karān sacāk pāyakīh, ān zör ī Jatak erīh vehīh u ratīh : 'by His complete kindness and all resorcefulness, He bestows on the doers of good deeds the befitting position, (and by) the strength of destiny and heredity (He bestows) goodness (or riches, wealth) and lordship'.

(11) *Denkart* ed. Madan, p. 352.3 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 390.9 :

apar jatak u erīh hac nikiz i vehden : 'On destiny and heredity from the explosition of the Good Religion'.

(12) *Dénkart* ed. Madan, p. 365.5 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 390.9 :

Jatak u erīh hast patvandān ī gétīk : 'destiny and heredity are the worldly connections[30].

(13) *Dénkart ed.* Madan, p. 353.2 : ed. Sanjana Vol. VIII, p. 391.9 :

peśenīk u dānāk gowisn ku Jatak u erīh harv kirukih andar : 'the ancient and the wise saying is this that there is all intellect (of God) in destiny and heredity.'

(14) *Mātīkān i Hazār Dātistān* ed. Anklesaria, p. 36.6ff.:

apāk ān i guft ku āturpāt i martbutān būt; pa rawān i āturpāt ātaś *nisast; u* ātaś *pa sardārih i oi ke dātxvaś i ham āturpāt xvāhar u zan būt dāstān gowet, dāstan rāy framān dāt. u pa ān dastawarih ātas nisast. u dātxvas ān ātaś frāc hac farrxvandān an mart dāstan rāy guft; u pa muhr i vanand[31]-ohrmazd,* [1] *ātur* 1 *erān xvarreh* [1] *xusarw caśān būt, jatak hanbast, frameān-io i āturpāt pa ośisn[32] o jatak baret.*

'Along with what has been stated that there was Aturpàt son of Martbut; he (in his bequest) established a Fire for (the benefit of) the soul of Aturpàt (i.e. for his own soul) ; and he declares to keep that Fire under presidentship of that person

30. Cf. Phl. Vidévdàt V 89 com. : *getīk pa baxt menok pa kunisn :* '(one gets) worldly things by (one's) destiny, spiritual (bliss) by (one's own) action'.

31. The text *wlnd;* Gulsara (*op. cit.* pp. 512-13 note 6; 538-39) reads *varanj.* But see *Great Bund.* 50.4 : *wlnnd* = Bund.(Justi) p. 12.22 : wnnd = *Pazand Texts* (Antia) p. 25.5 : *vanat.* See also *Gr. Bund.* 52.5 : *wlnnd,* wrongly written for *wnnd* = *vanand.*

32. The text wsk'n for wsan.

who was Dàtxvaś, the sister or the wife of that same Aturpàt; (then, by so saying) he gave the behest to keep (the Fire that way). And on this authority, she (i.e. Dātxvas) established the Fire. And Dātxvaś declared that after Dātxvaś the Fire should be kept by the descendants of Farrxvand, and after the descendants of Farrxvand by other person; and she (i.e. Dātxvas) executed (or sealed) a trustdeed (*jatak*) (to that effect) with the seal of Vanand-Ohrmazd, who was (one of) the preceptors of the Fire Eràn Xvareeh of Xusraw, (then) she (i.e. Datxvaś) shall embody (lit. carry) in the trustdeed (*jatak*) also the behest of Aturpàt (which he gave) on (his) death'.

(15) Ibid. p. 39. 1ff.:

u ān i guft ku ātaś ka apar storih niśinet, sāyet. u ka o niśinet, u-s xvāstak pa storih[33] *dahet, storih ne pa raft dārisn.*

apāk ān i guft ku pa jatak i dātgusnasp i ṣahrzāt rexn[34] *kart; u pa muhr i véhsāpuhr mayopatān mayopat hanbast; pa gowisn i dātgusnasp oyon nipist ku-m ātas-l pa varhrānih o dātgās nisast, u en xvāstak pa storih i man u xvesih i ātas dāstan'; o ātaś dāt.*

'And it is said that if one establishes a Fire by bequest, it is proper. And if one establishes (a Fire in one's lifetime), and gives property for the maintenance of) it by bequest, then

33. I.e. one enjoins one's heirs to establish a Fire from the property bequeathed to them.

Phl. *storih* (: 'adoption') is here used in the extended sense of bequest, i.e. act of bequeathing or things bequeathed to the adopted heirs or to the heirs in general.

34. The text gives *lk'n* for *ly'n* : *rixn* : 'heritage'; cf. Av. *raexnah-*, Skt. *rekans*, Mod. Pers. *rig* 'fortune, luck'; see also *murdeh rig* 'effects of a dead person, any-thing hereditary, left as a heirloom'. See also Av. *raexnah-* (Yas. 32.11) : Phl. transl. *ly'n : rexn*, explained by *xvāstak* 'wealth, property'; see Spiegel, *Avesta* Phl. Yas. 32.11; Gartholomae, *Altir. Wb.* 1480; *zum Altir. Wb.* p. 103; West, *Ancient Persian Studies*, pp. 192-93. In Phl. Yasna 34.7, *Avesta Pahlavi and* Av. *raexnah-* is translated by Phl. *rexn* and explained by *kar u* kirpak, referring to spiritual heritage.

The word *rexn* occurs also in the *Denkart* Book VII (Madan p. 664.9f.: Sanjana Vol. XIV p. 76 notes 5-6) in the following sentence (slightly corrected):

ōisān zartust be hac to ān-ic i rexn vindisn apparend : 'O Zartust, they (i.e. the broods of Evil Spirit) will deprive you of that which is (your) heritage and acquisition'.

It appears that in this case *rexn* and *vindisn* are used for spiritual heritage and acquisition, namely religion and the followers of Zartust.

With *rexn vindisn apparend* of this sentence, cf. Av. (Yas. 32.11) *apayeiti raexnanho vaedem* : *Phl.* transl. apparet ān *rexn-ic vindisn* : 'he carries away also that heritage and acquisition.'

it (i.e. property in question) should not be regarded as having gone to the bequest (i.e. as heritage bequeathed to the heirs).

'Along with what has been stated that if in the trustdeed of Dātgusnasp son of Ŝahrzāt, he bequeathed (lit. made) a property (*rexn*); and he excuted (or sealed) it (i.e. the trust-deed) with the seal of Mayopatān Mayopat Vehsāpuhr; (and) in the declaration of Dātgusnasp it is written thus : 'I established a Fire in the status of Varhrān (i.e. Ataś Behrām) in the Dātgās (i.e. the proper place), and this property should be kept in my bequest and for (maintaining my) relationship with the Fire'; (then by so declaring) he gave (the property) for (lit. to) the Fire.

The word occurs in the following sentences in the Mid. Persian Turfan texts :

(1) M31 IIR. 19f. (Andreas *op. cit.* p. 38.21f.)

āmaŝ noʼ mūrvā aβzon uŝ jaŝay i humāyon: A new omen, prosperity and good fortune came'.

(2) M729 I R I. 7ff. (Andreas p. 39. 20f.) :

uŝ istàyem o to sàràr i hu-jaŝay : (And we praise thee, o Leader, of good luck)

(3) M277 V II. 5ff. (Andreas p. 40. 22f.) :

farrox hu-jaŝay new-mūrvāh istūŝ-nām u vehikuniśn : 'Happy, of good luck, of happy omen, whose name is to be praised, and whose actions are good'.

(4) *Bet-und Beichtbuch* p. 30.9f.

awar paŝ noʼ Jàŝay nawāk : 'Melody On Come Hither to New Luck.'

(5) Ibid. p. 30. 10ff.

awar paŝ noʼ Jaŝay uŝ new-mūrvāhā u paŝ rocān īʼ anāvioir śādi : 'To the new luck and happy omen and to the days of imperishable joy, come hither'[35].

35. It is to be noted that in the Semitic languages also we have a similar word, with a similar meaning; cf. Aram. *GD : gadd*, Arab. *jadd*. From this Semitic word we have the Phl. ideogram *GDMN : gaddā*, which is explained by *xvarreh* 'glory, splendour, lustre,; and also by *baxt* 'fortune'; See *Pahlavi*-Pazand *Glossary* ed. Hoshang and Haug, p. 1.4,6; *Frahang i Pahlavik* ed. Junker, p. 1.2,3; *Glossary and Index of Ardā Virāf* by West and Haug, p. 165. The form *CDMN* given by Junker seems to be an attempt to connect the ideogram with Arab. *jadd*.

Perhaps the same word *jatak* appears also on some of the Sasanian coins. According to Dr. Unvala,[36] a peculiar word occurs on the coins of Peroj, Shapur II, Yazdagard II, Kavat I and Cosroes II, which is read *kdy* : *kadi*. Dr. Unvala suggests that this word is connected with Phl. *katik*, Av. *katay-* 'ready, willing' (*Altir. Wb.* 433). Some scholars, according to Dr. Unvala derive the word from Semitic *gad* 'fortune, luck', *gadi* 'fortunate.' But this Semitic word is represented by the Phl. ideogram GD-MN : *gadda*. Again Dr. Unvala (loc. cit.) informs us that we have *hukad* on the coins of Vologeses. Morgan, according to Dr. Unvala, translates this word by 'happiness in marriage and *kadi* or *gadi* by 'he who has the duty of assuring the continuation of the family, the prince'. We may suggest a new explanation. If it is possible to read the word as *ytk : jatak* or *ydg : jaϛay* (instead of *kdy*), then the word may be identified with Phl. *jatak*, Mid. Persian Turfan *jaϛay* 'fortune, luck'; and *hwkd* (on the coins of Vologeses) with *hujatak* or *hujaϛay* 'good fortumne, good luck'.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

1. In 1912, Ervad N. B. Desai copied a Gujarati Ms. of *Pursesh-Pāsokh*, written by S. Dastur Erachij Sorabji Meherjirana. The Phl. invocatory formulae in this Ms. contains the word *ytk*; see *pursesh-Pāsokh* (*Ganj-e-Irani*, part 4), published by H. T. Anklesaria, Bombay 1941, *Intekhab* p. 16.

2. J. C. Tarapore gives *ytk*: '*datak* holy', without any explanation. see *Pahlavi Andarz Namak*, by J. C. Tarapore, Bombay 1933, p. 18.

3. Sanskrit translation of Phl. *rexn* is not helpful. In Yas. 32.11 Neryosang translates *rexn* by आनन्द ; and Bharucha remarks that the Avesta text of Neryosang's codex must have been *rafnañho*, and not *raexnanho*. See Bharucha. *Collected anskrit Writings of the Parsis*, part II p. 13 note 135. In Yas. 34.7, Skt. translation is सन्याय. Neryosang here perhaps reads Phl. *ry'n* as *raśn*, Av. raśnu.

36. *Coinsfrom Tabaristan and Some Sasanian Coins from Susa* by J.M. Unvala, Paris 1938, p. 26 note 1.

A NOTE ON THE WORDS "ZÎRAK TRIMAN" IN A PAHLAVI TEXT 'APAR MATAN I SHĀH VAHRĀM I VARCHĀVAND'*

By

ERVAD MANECK F. KANGA B. A. (HONS.)

'Apar matan i Shàh Vatràm i Varchàvand,' meaning, 'On the advent of King Vahràm, the wonder-worker,' is a small Pahlavi text of about twenty-three lines, found in Mss. Mk, JJ. and DP. respectively. Dastur Dr. Jamaspji M. Jamasp Asana has edited this text on pp. 160-161 of Pahlavi Texts Part II. Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa has translated it in the Sir JJ. Madressa Jubilee volume pp. 75-76 Mr. Auklesaria has given a short summary of this text in the Introduction to Pahlavi Texts, Part II.

In my paper for this Conference I deemed it fit to give the transcription and translation of this text and to explain the correct reading and meaning of the phrase 'Zîrak triman.' Mr. Anklesaria reads the phrase "Zîrak taremàn" and translates "of cunning Judgment[1].". Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa reads the phrase in question "Zîrak tarjumàn" and translates "of smart senses," Comparing the word 'tarjumàn' with the Arabic tarjumàn, meaning, lit. interpreters[2]. Both the reading and meaning assigned to the phrase under consideration by these scholars are not satisfactory. In Dénkart we find the word written 'turiman'[3], which should not be confounded with the word 'triman', occurring in the Phalavi text. Dastur Peshotanji Sanjana in his Dénkart Vol. I reads "tūrîmàn[4]" and compares it with Skt *tulyaman*, and translates correctly "senses or bodily faculties." Consequently, this word cannot be compared with Syriac trgmn "interpreter." I give the text in transcription of the Dénkart passage where the word tnriman occurs:

Ut pàkîh u shàtih i ràs hach akhv ō ménishn pat nazdiktōmih i o yazdān ō-ch ménäk vénishnih i rasét hach bérōn i tan 7 dui-tan vaspuhrakàn afurrîtak *tūrīmān* i api-sh 5 ét i

* Owing to typographical difficulties, long vowels are denoted in three different ways, e g. ā, é and ü.

1 See *Pahlavi Texts*, Part II. Introduction p. 52.

2 See *Sir J.J. Madressa Jubilee* Vol. p. 75 and f.n. 65.

3 *The Dinkard* ed. by Madon Part I. p. 48 l. 20 and p. 49 l. 2.

4 *The Dinkard* Vol. I ed. and tran. by Sanjana. Glossary p. 20. S. V.

khvànénd sohish-nàn-ich hand vénishn ashnavishn chàshishn hanbödhishn ut ptrmayishn ké kart éstét hach bérön i röchen ut mànàk i vitàrtàr katak khvatay apàyishnîk rashnih o katak ut évāk *tūrīmān* i hast màtigàn özvàn.

From this Dénkart passage it clearly follows that the word turiman means "senses or bodily faculties" and not interpreters.

At the outset I suggest here that the first two letters of the Pahl. word triman should be appended to the preceding word Zirak. The result will be the reading Ziraktar, comp. of Zirak and the remaining four letters of that word will read Zamān, Mid Pers. Turf. Zhamān, Zamān meaning, time, age.[1] Hence the whole phrase would read zīraktar zàmān, meaning the wisest of the age, the comparative beirg used in the sense of the superlative cf. Av. pouru-Jirain Āfrin i Paighāmbar Zartosht, 2, Fravartīn yt. 131 and Ābān Yasht, 93. Ervad kanga translates it by "full of activity or intelligence[2]" and Prof. Bartholomae translates it "of great intelligence"[3]. In the Pahlavi version of Āfrīn i Paighambar Zartosht, we find purr-Zir, a mere transcription of Av. word. It is, however, explained by the gloss 'danak' wise and 'purr-khart' full of wisdom[4]. Av. word Jira-adj., Skr. Jira-means 'swift, quick, intelligent, artful, derived from the base gay. The text and translation of the sentence in which this phrase occurs runs a under: mart i basir āpayét kartan Ziraktar-Zaman. A fore-boding man, the wisest of the age, is needed.

Transcription:

1. Ka þavāt ? ka padhak-é āyét hach Hindūkān, ka mat ān i Shah Vahrām hach dut ak[5], i kayān, kapil hast hazār, ut apar sarān sar hast pīlpān, ka ārāstak drafsh d rét pat adhven i husravān, pesh lashkar barend pat spāh-sardārān. Mart i basīr apāyét kartan Ziraktar-Zamān. Ka shavét, bé gowét pat Hindūkān ka amāk ché dīt hach dasht i Tājikān apar évak groh. Dén nizār kart ut bé özat Shāhān shāh i

1. Junker's and Schoftdowitz's derivation of Iran. Zharrān from Assimanu is not satisfactory. See Zeitschrift für Indologie and Iranistik. 4. 333. Marquart's suggestion from the verb gam-is the only possible etymology. For the Ir. terms for time see Marquart *Adina* 1-10. To these Ir. words Prof Bailey adds Saka Bāda-"time" *varta- the revolving.

2. *Avesta Dictionary p.* 335.

3. *Altiranische Worterbuch* s.v.

4. See my *Pahlavi Version of yashts p.* 106. f.n. 3

5. Text gives dūt instead of dūtak; see para 2. l. 3 dūtak.

amāk, ut hach ér öyshān chégön dév ut dév dārénd; chégon sag khvarénd nagn. Bé stat hand pātakhshāhīh i hach husravanān né pat hunar né pat martih, bé pat awsos ut riyahrīh bé stat hand. Gīrénd pat stahmb hach martömān Zan ut khvāstakīhā i shīrén bāgh bödhistān. Gazītak apar nihat hand, bé bakht hand apar sāran. Apāch astik khvāst hand sāk i garān.

2. Bé nikīr, ka chand vat awkand ān druj pat én géhān ka nést vattar hach. Oy vant géhān hach amāk bé āyét. . Ān Shāh Vahrām i varchāvand hach dūtak i Kayān bé āwarém kén i Tāzīkān, chégön Retastahm āwört gurz kén i gehān. Ashān mazgītīhh frot hitém, bé nishāném ātashān. Uzdéschārīhā bé kaném ut pāk kuném hach géhān tāk avén shavénd. drūj vishūtakān hach én géhān.

Introductory Remarks :

This Pahlavi text from the language and style appears to be of later times and to have been translated into Pahlavi from a certain Arabic version which is perhaps lost. Witness Arabic words occurring in the above text: basīr (l.5), gazītak (l.12) astīk (l.14) and mazgītīha (l.19). The text deals with the subject matter of the advent of a future apostle, generally known as Béhrām Varjāvand. Of the principal events described in the Pahlavi text "Māh Fravartīn Röch Khvardat" one is the appearance of Vahrām i Verchāvand from the land of the Hindustan. Zand i Vohuman Yasu also refers to the advent of the kay of the Religion and says that according to some commentators he is called Shāhpūr. The passage[1] runs thus :

'30 sālakīh ö hampursakīh i man Ohrmazd rasét, Spītāmān Zartāsht ! Pat kust i Chénistān guft ; hast būt ké andar Hindūskān guft, zāyét kay ; hast pit i öy kay hach kayān tökhmak ; pat adhyārīh ö urshétar ö Hindūkān shavét. Pat 100 sālakīh kāmak ö Zanān bavét, api-sh hachis Zāyét kay i dénīk. Vahrām i Varchāvand nām khvānīhét ; hast būt ké Shāhpūr guft.' I translatic the above quotation as follows :—

At the age of thirty years he will attain to communion with me, Ohrmazd, O Spītāmān Zartösht ! They have said in the direction of Chénistān—others have said : in Hindustān —a ruler will be born. His father is a Kay from the race of Kayān. He will go to Hindustān with the help of Urshétar. For a period of hundred years he will have desire for women and that one will be born of him, the Kay of the Religion. He

[1] *Vohuman* yasht ed. by Kaikobad Adarbad, Poona, 1899, III. 13 ff.

is called by the name Vahrām, the wonder-worker. There was (some one) who said : Shahpur. Vahrām Varchābvand thus opens the rule of the Saoshyants or saviours. His advent takes place in the time of common disorder and deterioration millennium. Cf. GrBd. ed. by Anklesaria, ch. 33 p. 217. 10ff.[1] The text purports to say :

1. When will it be ? (It will be) when a messenger will come from Hindustàn, when Shàh Vahràm of the Kayanian family will appear, when there will be thousand elephants and upon each of their heads there will be an elephant-keeper, when he will hold a raised banner in the manner of Husravas and with commanders-in-chief will carry it in front of the army. A fore-boding man, the wisest of the age, is needed. When he will proceed, he will speak to the Hindus whatever we saw in the desert of Arabia in one multitude.[2] They weakened the religion and slew our king of kings. They keep away the Iranians as demons and fiends and make them eat bread like dogs. They have taken away the sovereignty from the Husravas niether by skill nor by manliness, but they have taken it away in mockery and ridicule.[3] They take by force from men wives and sweet possessions, parks and gardens. They have imposed taxes and have distributed (them) upon the heads. They have demanded again the principal,[4] a heavy tribute.

2. Consider, how much evil that druj has cast upon this world than which there is nothing worse. The world full

[1] Ut ka Römik rasénd ut évak sàl pàtakhshàhih ràdh-énand ān hangàm hach kustak i kàvulistàn évak-e āyét, ké-sh khvarrah patish, hach dutak i baghān i kay Vahrām Khvānénd = And when the Romans will arrive and will administer authority for one year, at that time some one will come from the direction of Kàvulistan, on whom (is) the glory, from the family of the gods, whom they call Vahrām.

[2] Groh : Dastur Jamasp Asa reads guroh and translates "class of people" Cf Vendidād II Glossarial Index p 81 where the word is read drava and is translated "accord, consent, agreement, hence a conference." See Pahl. Vend. by Dastur Darab Sanjana p 18 para 21 l.6 where the word is drānādh, which is the correct word. Sometimes the Pahl word drānādh is found written i r n ā or i r n a with ī ; cf Zand i Khurtak Avistāk by Dhabhar p. l 42, para 4 l. 4 ; Sūr Sakh-van, para 21, l. 2 ; yàtkàr i Vazorgmihr p 86 l. 9 (Pahl Texts II) The word 'groh' multitude is rarely found in Pahl. literature.

[3] Riyahrīh : Pāz. riāri, ryāri, "defilement" from inf. rītan, Av. ray (Air Wb. 1511) ; for full discussion, see Bailey in BSOS Vol. VI part 3 ; Mid Parth ryl "scorn haughtiness," Cf. Hennings BSOS IX. 87.

[4] Aslīk : Arabic Asali, Pers. māl i asli 'principal' Dastur Jamasp Asa combines this word with the preceding apāch and makes it a compound and translates "of low origin" ibid, p. 75.

of enjoyment of love[1] passes from us. We will bring that Shah Vahràm, wonderfully strong , of the Kayanian family, for the vengeance of the Tàjiks just as Rötastahm brought the mace[2] to avenge the world. We will cast down their mosques and will establish Fire-temples instead. We will extirpate their places of idolatory and clean wipe them off from the world until the druj and (his) broods will vanish from this world.

[1] Vant : I propose to read this word nntn as vant, Av. vanta. and translate 'loving pleasing, full of enjoyment of love. Dastur Minocher Jamasp Asa reads it "Naut" and translates "tottering " Is it the mis-spelt word for Pahl. vat, 'wicked, evil'. The reading 'vat' was suggested to me by my teacher Mr. Gorvala.

[2] Text gives 'i r z' with circumflex sign over letter i déh sat a thousand, a thousand times If this reading is adopted, the sentence would mean 'as Rotastahm brought vengeance on the world (of the wicked) a thousand times, Ms. J. gives i r z without circumflex over i and is read gurz, Av. vazra = mace, I may here quote only two instances where this sign of circumflex is wrongly placed on the letter i, e. g. DKM 316 l. 2 where the word 'mnda' should be 'mnya' ideogram of Ir. Sakhvan, word ; Aparévénak i Nāmak Nipésishnîh : 'anni' with circumflex over i , which should be read anang, meaning, blameless and not àvand, See Zachner BSOS, Vol. IX. part 1,93-109.

THE NAMES OF THE ACHAEMENIANS IN ALBERONI

By

B. T. Anklesaria.

It is a curiosity of history that the names of the Parsi Achaemenian kings cannot be found in the histories of Persia written by the Persians ! The term 'Achaemenian' cannot be met with in Firdausi's Sàh-nàmah, neither in the Pahlavi Literature of yore, nor in the books of Persian historians, such as Hamzah-i-Ispahànî, Tabarî, Albéronî and others. We are unable to learn even to-day the story of what happened in Iran after the time of Kava Vistàspa, son of Lohràsp (Aurvataspa), in whose reign Zarathuśtra, the prophet of Iran, gave to the world his religion of monotheism, of belief in Ahura Mazdà.

If we turn our eyes to the Pahlavî literature for information, the 'Zand-ākāsīh', written by Frenabag-i-Dātakīh-i Abavaheśt-ī Gośnajām in about 931 A.C., now well known as the 'Bundahiśn', tells us : "When the sovereignty came to Vohuman son-of-Spenddāt, and there was scarcity, the Iranians fought amongst themselves ,and there remained no man of the ruling dynasty who could rule ; they seated Vohuman's daughter Humāé on the throne of sovereignty. Then, during the reign of Dārāé, son of Dārāé, the emperor Alexander came to Irānśāhr, hying from Arūm, killed king Dārāé, destroyed all the families of rulers, magi, and public men of Irānśāhr, extinguished an immense number of sacred fires, seized the commentary of the Revelation of Mazdā-worship, and sent it to Arūm, burned the Avesta, and divided Irānśāhr among ninety petty rulers." (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahiśn', fol. 109a, 11·5-13.)

We also learn from the 'Zand-ākāśīh' that "of Vistāsp were Spend-dāt and Peśyōtan born ; and of Spend-dāt were Vohuman, Ātartariś, Mitrtariś, and others born." (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahiśn,' fol. 118a, 11.8.10.)

The 'Zand-ākāsīh' further tells us : "Vohuman, son of Spend-dāt, reigned a hundred and twelve years; Humāé daughter of Vohuman, thirty years; Dàrāé, son of Chihrāsāt, that is Vohuman, twelve years; Dārāé, son of Dārāé, fourteen years;

[1]Owing to typographical difficulties long vowels are indicated by three different accents in this paper as in the last one and the modifications of r and s could not be denoted.

Alexander, the Aruman, fourteen years. (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahiśn,' fol. 122a, ll. 2-4.)

If we turn to other Pahlavī writings, in the 'Summary of the Nasks' prepared by Āṭarpāṭ-Ayémīt, in about 931 A.C., and embodied in the eighth book of the Dînkarṭ, we find the name of Vohuman Spend-dāt in the Summary of the Chitra-dāt. (See the text in Dīnkard, vol. XV., edited by Dastur Darabji Sanjana, p. 27, D.M. Madon's Text, Part II., p. 690, and 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. XXXVII, p. 30 and n. 1.)

The 'Zand-iVohuman Yasn,' Ch. I., 5 refers to 'Artakhsîr-i kaé-śa' (king Artakhsīr the Kaé), and ch.II, 15 speaks of the same Arṭakhśir the Kae, who is called Vohuman son of Spend-dàt, who will separate the 'devs from men, adorn the whole world, and propagate the religion. (See 'Sacred Books of the East,' vol. V., Dr. West's translation on pp. 193, 198-199 and p. 198, note 5 ; B. T. Ankle saria's 'Zand-i-Vohuman Yasn' pp. 102, 105.)

The seventh book of the Dīnkarṭ, ch. VII., 5, says: "Of the rulers, there was Vohuman, son of Spend-dāt, of whom this, too, is mentioned in the Avestà : 'The just Vohuman, the greatest maker of the assemblage of Mazdā-worshippers." (See Sacred Books of the East,' vol. XLVII, p. 83, and note 1; Dastur Darabji's Dînkard, vol.XIV, text p. 48, translation p. 47 and n.6 ; D.M. Madan's text, Part II, p. 650)

From the quotations given above it can be seen that 'Vohumanō son of Spentōdāta,' whose name cannot be found in the extant Avestan literature was supposed to be the same personage as 'Artakhśir the Kaé, by the writer of the 'Zand-i Vohuman Yasn'. Aṭarpàt-i Ayémît, the second compiler of the Dīnkart, in whose time, saving the text of the Avestā and the Zand of the 'Vaśtag' Nask and the Zand of the 'Nàtar' (='Nakhtar') Nask, all the remaining nineteen Nasks were existing in their entirety, states in the seventh book of the Dînkart that there was mention of Vohuman son of Spend-dàt in the Avestà. Even in these days of scant respect for writers of antiquity, I do not find any reason to doubt the veracity of the second compiler of the Dînkart.

These Pahlavī writings must have been based on some authentic indigenous source or sources of Irànian history surviving at the time when they were written. As Frenabag, author of the 'Zand-àkāsih' (='Bundahisn') has stated, the 'Khvatàyīh nāma,' *i.e.*, "the History of Sovereignty," an authentic work which was preserved in the Royal Treasury of the Sasa-

nian kings, was existing in his time, upto three centuries after Yazdakart, and he has made use of it whilst giving the genealogy of the Irànians. (See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Bundahisn,' fol. 120b, l. 13.) Two centuries before Frenabag, Ibn al-Muqaffa had translated the Pahlavi 'Khvatāyīh nàma' into Arabic. This was perhaps, the 'Kitab' Siyar-àl-mulūk' referred to by Albérōnī (See Dr. Sachau's edition p. 108.) It is one of the wonders of the world that the Iranians, the Persians, or the Parsis, were unable to preserve the glorious history of the Parsi rulers, the Achaemenians, who had held sway over a very great part of the civilized world for over two centuries, 538-331 B.C.

Let us now turn to Abū-Raihān Muhammad b. Ahmad Albéronī's 'Athār-ul-bākiya,' written in Arbic, in 1000 A.C. The text has been edited and translated by Dr. C. Edward Sachau in 1879. Sir Henry Rawlinson first directed public attention to this work, in his celebrated article on Central Asia in the "Quarterly Review" for 1866. "The work of generations will be required to do full justice to Albiruni," says Dr. Sachau. This work, aptly styled 'The Chronology of Ancient Nations' by Dr. Sachau, was written when the author was twenty-seven years of age. "All the books, *e.g.* on Persian and Zoroastrian history and traditions, composed in early times, not only by Zoroastrians but also by Muslims, converts from the Zoroastrian creed, are altogether unknown in Europe; and it seems very probable that the bigoted people of later times have spared very little of this kind of literature...."—so says Dr. Sachau in his preface. A contempotrary of Dakîkî and Firdusi, it is very interesting to find in Albérōnî, materials for supplanting the history of Iràn, during the glorious period of Iranian history, missing in Firdausî. Upto now Abu-Raihàn Albérōnî's 'Athàr-ul-bàkiya, has been utilized by great Parsi savants such as Khurshedji Rustamji Cama, Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha, Jamshdji Dadabhai Nadersha, Mancherji Pestonji Khareghat, Dr. Manekji Batimanji Davar, and others for the elucidation of the question of intercalation in the Zarathustrian Calendar. But the wealth of information, which can be gathered of the history of Iran from the time of Gayōmarethna, the first man created on earth, upto the last Zarathustrian king of the Sasanian dynasty, Yazdakart-i Sastriyàr, has been left untouched; perhaps because the Pahlvi works which gives the scanty knowledge of history, have not as yet been carefully explored. Dr. Sachau does certainly refer to the "Bundanisn', chapters xxxii and xxxiv. (See his 'Annotations,' p. 399). But as the Irānian copies of the 'Būndāhisn' were known to very few persons in the world in 1879, when Dr. Sachau published his work, as

Dr. West's learned translation of the 'Bundahisn' appeared after Dr. Sachau's work, there was little chance of evaluating the rich material of Iranian history gathered by Abū-Raihān, at its true worth. If I now concentrate my remarks on the subject I have taken up to be placed to-day before the twelfth session of the All-India Oriental Conference, I will place before you the information Abū-Raihān Albérōnī has collected in the sixth chapter of his 'Āthār-ulbàkiya' as regards the eras, dates and reigns of kings. In order to study his subject in a masterly way before publishing his work, Albérōnī had studied the histories, eras and chronologies of all the races and nations of the world, of the different views and opinions expressed by the writers before him, and found out what he considered to be the truth out of the heap of materials which he sifted.

Albérōnī commences with (1) the chronology of the descendants of Adam upto Abraham, giving the different views of the Jews and the Christians, (2) 485 years from the time the Israelites left Egypt till the foundation of king Solomon's temple, (3) 427 years from the time the Temple was finished upto the date of its destruction by Nebukadnezar, (4) 553 years from the date of destruction of the Temple till the birth of the Messiah, (5) 600 years from the birth of the Messiah upto the flight of the prophet Muhammad; (6) the thirty-seven Assyrian kings from Bélos upto Thonos Konkoleros, who reigned during 1305 years. According to the western authors, says Albérōnī, a foreigner named *Arbāk* in Hebrew, *Dahāk* in Persian, and *Dahhāk* in Arabic, came forward against this last Assyrian king, killed him and took possession of the empire, holding it till the time when the Kayànians, the kings of Babylonia, whom western authors are in the habit of calling Chaldaeans, brought the empire under their sway. The reign of Arbaces lasted seventy-two years. According to Albérōnī, "the Chaldaeans are not identical with the Kayānians, but were their governors of Babylonia. For the original resisdence of the Kayānians was Balkh, and when they came down to Mesopotamia, people took to calling them by the same name which they had formerely applied to their governors, *i.e.* Chaldaeans." The kings of Babylonia from Nimrod upto Arpakhshadh, who reigned during 236 years, after which it was occupied by the Assyrians for five years, (8) the kings of the Chaldaeans, of Babylonia, from Nebukadnezzar the first upto Alexander ben Macedo, who ruled for 428 years. It is in this table that we find the names of the kings, now well known as "the Achaemenians." As Albéronī has stated above : the Chaldaeans were the governors of Babylonia, appointed by the Kayānians, and

they were called Chaldaians by mistake when they had come down to Mesopotamia. As Dr. Sachau says in his 'Annotations,' p. 397, this table of the kings of the Chaldaeans, given by Albérōnī, is the table of Ptolemy. Of these 'Chaldaian' kings, the first nineteen were Nebuchandnezar the first and his descendants who reigned during 192 years; the remaining 'Chaldaian' kings are the Parsi Achaemenians whom Albérōnī terms the 'Kayānians' who ruled for 228 years. I give their names :'

Darius the Median, the First	17 years
Cyrus, who rebuilt Jerusalem'	9 ,,
Cambyses	8 ,,
Darius	36 ,,
Xerxes (Ahasuerus)	21 ,,
Artaxerxes, the First	43 ,,
Darius	19 ,,
Artaxerxes, the Second	46 ,,
Ochus	21 ,,
Pharum	2 ,,
Darius bin Arsikh	6 ,,
	228 years

(See the text of Albérōnī's 'Athār-bākīyah,' p. 89 ; Sachau's translation, p. 101.)

I give below the dates of the reigns of these 'Parsi' kings for comparison with the years of reign given by Albérōnī :

Cyrus	B. C.	538-529
Smerch's son	,,	529-525
Cambyses	,,	525-522
Darius I.	,,	521-485
Xerxes (Ahasuerus)	,,	485-465
Artaxerxes I. (Longimanus)	,,	465-425
Xerxes II.	,,	Two months.
Sogdianus	,,	Seven months.
Darius II. (Notus)	,,	424-405
Artaxerxes II. (M'nemon)	,,	405-359
Artaxerxes III. (Ochus)	,,	359-338

It is in this table of 'Chaldaéan' kings given by Albéroni that we find the Achaemenian kings of Persia, whom Alberoni has termed "The Kayānians".

In the ninth table of Alberoni, he gives the names of thirty-four kings of Egypt who had reigned for 894 years. In this table we find that "the Persians till Darius" had ruled

for 114 years (B. C. 445-331). The tenth table gives the names and years of reign of the kings Macedonia, the Ptolemaeans. The eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth tables contain lists of names of the Roman and Christian kings, and kings Constantinople.

Whilst commencing with the subject of the chronology of the Persians, he divides his work into three parts: I. From Gayomarth till the time when Alaxender killed Darius; II. From that time till the time when Ardaśīr ben Bābak came forward, and the Persian empire was re-established; III. From that time till when Yazdajird ben Sāhryār was killed. Regarding the chronology of the first part, the aim of his undertaking being to collect and to communicate chronological material, not to criticize and correct historical accounts, Alberonī says, he records such facts on which the scholars of the Persians, the Herbadhs, and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians agree among themselves, and which are received on their authority.

Albéronī has divided part I into three parts: I. The Peshdadhians, 2. the kings of 'Elan'="people of the highland," the sons of Fredun: Salm, Toz and Eran, and 3. The Kayanians. Alberonī had found that there were gaps between these parts, on account of which the order and progress of chronology were much troubled and obscured. Albéronī has prepared three tables regarding the chronology and history of part I, from Gayomarth till the time when Alexander killed Darius: Table I, according to the opinion of the generality of the Persians, Table II: as Albéronī found in the book of Hamza ben Alhusain Alisfahani, who says that he has endeavoured to correct his book by means of the Ābastā'; perhaps Hamza wanted to say that he has taken only the names of the Peshdadhian and Kayanian kings of the Part I from the Ābastā; Table III: as found in Hamza taken from the copy of the Maubadh.

Albérōnī has further derived his information from the biographical and historical books that have been translated from the works of Western authors, where an account is found of the kings of Persia and Babylonia, beginning with Frédūn, whom they call Yāfūl (Pūl ?) and ending with Dārā, the last of the persian kings. Albéronī finds that these records differ greatly (from Eastern records) as to the number of the kings and their names, as to the durations of their reigns, their history, and their description. Albéronī thinks that they confounded the kings of Persia with their governors of Babylonia and put both side by side. Albéronī thought fit to preserve this tradition in a special table.

As it is my intention to give in this paper, the references to the Parsi Achaemenians in Albéronī, I will give the details of the 'Kayānian' kings of Babylonia or Chaldaea as they are termed, from these four tables. I will give the names of kings from Kailuhrāsp upto Dārā ben Dàrà, who was killed by Alexander the Greek :

Kailuhrāsp ben Kaiwaji ben Kaimanish ben Kaikubādh—till he sent Bakhtanassar to Jerusalem, who destroyed it,—the Bactrian	60	years
The same after that event	60	"
Kaiwishtāsp bin Luhrāsp—till the appearance of Zarādust al-herbadh	30	"
The same after that event	90	"
Kai Ardashīr Bahman ben Isfandiyār ben Wishtāsp	112	"
Khumānī, the daughter of Ardashir Bahman Chihrāzād	30	"
Dārā ben Ardashīr Bahman, the great	12	"
Dārā ben Dārā till he was killed by Alexander the Greek, the second	14	"
	408	years

If we compare these details with those found in the 'Zand-ākāsīh,' Chapter XXXV, 34-35, we will see that Lohrāsp's descent is traced to Uzāv, son of Manuś, son of Kaé Pīsīn, son of Kae Apīvéh, son of Kae Kavāt. According to the 'Zand-ākāsīh,' Ch. XXXVI, 7-8, Kaé Lohrāsp reigned a hundred and twenty years; Kae Vistāsp reigned thirty years till the coming of the Revelation; King Vistāsp reigned ninety years after receiving the Revelation; Vohuman, son of Spenddāt, reigned a hundred and twelve years; Humāe, daughter of Vohuman, thirty years; Dārāe son of Chīrāzāt, that is Vohuman, twelve years; Dārāe son of Dārāe, fourteen years.

We find that the first table of Albérönī is entirely in agreement with the statement of the 'Zand-ākāsīh'. We find in the fifth book of the Dīnkart a corroboration of what Albéronī has said as to Lohrāsp having sent Bakhtanassar to Jerusalem ('Bétā makdīs'). (See Dastur Peshotanji's 'Dīnkart' vol. IX, p. 476; D.M. Madan's Dinkart, Part I, p. 433; See Ervad Tahmuras's 'Dānā u Mīnöy-i Khrat,' p. 93, Porsiśn XXVI, 66: 'Aurésalim Yahūtān bé kand ū Yahūtān vasopt ū parganda bé kart'; see also 'Sacred Books of the East', Vol. XXIV, p. 65 and n.1.

In the Table II given by Albéronī taken from Hamza Alisfasānī we find;: Kailuhrāsp 120, Kaibishtāsp 120, Kai-ardashīr 112, Chīhrāzād 30, Dārā ben Bahman 12, and Dārā ben Dārā 14; that is, the list of the kings is the same as found in Table I, with this difference that the details given in the first table are dropped, that the other name of Kaiardashīr which is Bahman ben Isfandiyār is omitted and Khumānī (Humae) the daughter of Ardashīr Bahman is named Chihrāzād in the second table.

The third table taken from Hamza from the copy of the Maubadh agrees entirely with the second, but with this difference that the epithet 'Kai' prefixed to the names of Luhrāsp, Bishtāsp and Ardashīr, is omitted in it.

The special table given by Albéronī, as he found it in books translated from the works of Western authors, beginning with Frédum and ending with Dārā, the last king of Persia, is the most interesting; it shows how about ten centuries ago, the history writers of Persia had tried to equate the kings of the Kayānian dynasty, nay some of their Pésdādian predecessors with some of the Assyrian and Achaemenian kings. I will, so far as possible, give only the names of the Parsi Achaemenian kings as found in this special list :

THE KINGS OF PERSIA, ACCORDING TO WESTERN AUTHORS.

Dārā Almāhī I, *i.e.*, Darius	9	years
Koresh, *i.e.*, Kaikhusrau	8	,,
Cyrus, *i.e.*, Luhrāsp	34	,,
Cambyses	8	,,
Dārā II	36	,,
Xerxes (Ahashvirus) ben Dārā, *i.e.*, Khusrau I	26	,,
Ardashīr ben Xerxes, called Longimanus	41	,,
Khusrau II.	30	,,
Sogdianus, Notos ben Khusrau	9	,,
Ardashīr ben Dara II	41	,,
Ardashīr III.	27	,,
Arses ben Ochus	12	,,
Dārā, the last king of Persia	16	,,
	369	years

As remarked by Dr. Sachau in his 'Annotations': "A similar table occurs also in the author's *Canun Masudiccus.*"

If we compare the list of the 'Chaldaean kings' quoted above, we will notice that the so-called Chaldæans ruled over Babylonia for 228 years, whereas these 'kings of Persia' ruled for 369 years, i.e. 141 years more than the 'Chaldæans'. Whereas in the 'Chaldæan' list Cambyses is stated to have ruled 8 years, in this special list prepared according to Western authors, he is shown as having ruled for 80 years! It is likely that the 'Chaldæan' list is correct. In the Persian list 'Kioresh' and 'Cyrus', equated with 'Kaikhusrau' and 'Luhrāsp', are stated to have ruled 8 and 34 years respectively, the 'Chaldæan' list assigns to Cyrus 9 years only. Whereas the 'Chaldæan' list gives the names of eleven kings, the special list of Persian kings enumerates thirteen kings. We cannot say which two names are superfluous; at least, we can see that 'Koresh' and 'Cyrus' are two names of only one individual. 'Cyrus who rebuilt Jerusalem' cannot be the same person who 'demolished Jerusalem of the Jews,' *i.e.*, 'Luhrāsp' as mentioned in Alberonī's Table, I, the Pahlavi 'Dinkart', and the 'Dānā ū Mīnoy-i Khrat'. The years assigned to the last two kings in the special list is 12 and 16 instead of 2 and 6, as found in the 'Chaldæan' list. If we were to place the number of years of reign side by side we can easily account for the difference in the number. The name of Darius the Median or 'Almāhī', as he is named in the special list is foreign to the list of the names of the Achæmenian kings as we know to-day. It was never known to students of history that 'Koresh' was equated with Kaikhusrau by old writers of history before Alberonī. Whenever talking of Achæmenian history we must bow with deference to the great men who deciphered for the first time the trilingual Behistan Inscriptions; we will have to rely on the Greek historians, Herodotus, Xenophon and others, who preserved the history of the Fifth Monarchy of Persia, of the Achæmenides in its entirety, so far as they knew it ; and we will have to search through the shattered remnants of the Achæmenian Parsi Kings in the jumble and confusion which we find in the historical works written by the Persians in Pahlavi or in Arabic. We do not know what remained of the history of the glorious past from the Kayānian king Vistāspa upto the end of the last Achaemenian Parsi king Dārā-i-Dārāyān, when the records existing in the Royal Palace at Persepolis were burnt. It is but natural that a nation would care to preserve in its archives the records only of the rulers of its own race. The events which took place in its country after its conquest by another nation must be sought after from the records of its conquerors. Before the coming into prominence of the Achaemenians of Pàrs, the Median kings were in power, and Alberonī

has preserved a trace of the Median dynasty in his table of the Chaldaean kings as well as in his special table of the kings of Persia in the first of which he numbers 'Darius the Median,' and in the second he gives the name of 'Dārā Almāhī.' Before the eight Median kings, whose history has been preserved by Berosus, and who are supposed to have ruled for about 224 years, the Assyrians were the sovereigns of Persia. These Medians are supposed to have been Zarathustrians. We cannot exactly determine how many dynasties and which races ruled over Persia, after Kava Vistaṣpā. If we accept the statement of the Pahlavi and Persian writers of history that Vohuman, son of Spe ddāt, was a grandson of Kava Vistāspa, it is not possible for us to follow the statement that Vohuman Spend-dāt is the same as, or is the other name of, Artakhsīr-i-Darāz-dast, Artaxerxes Longimanus, and that he was a Kae. The chain of sovereigns between Vohuman son of Spend-dāt and Artakhsīr-Darāzast is missing and the historians of Persia, who depended on indigenous historical works written in Pahlavi by their own ancestors, thought that Vohuman was the other name of Artakhsîr. We, therefore, find only four names of the last Achaemenian rulers, who are termed Kayānian, in the first three tables of Albéronī : Kae Artakhsīr, Humāe Chihrāzād, Dàrà son of Kaé Artakhsīr and Dārā son of Dārā, the first four names of Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius and Xerxes, having been lost. The history of the nation or nations which conquered Persia after Vohuman Spend-dāt, having been missing, it was natural for the readers of history to confound Kava Vistāspa son of Lohrāsp with Vistāsp as on of Arsāma, the Achaemenian father of Darius I, who ruled over Persia from B. C. 521 to 485. It was the next step to place Zarathustra, the prophet of Irān, during the time of the Achaemenian Vistāspa son of Arsāma in the seventh century before Christ, in about 635 B.C.

But one important point demands our attention before we close our subject : Had Albéronī any knowledge of some of the Chaldaean kings, the sovereigns of Persia, having been mentioned in the books of the Old Testament, in Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, written after the captivity of the Jews in Babylon, after Cyrus, "the anointed of the Lord," had freed the Jews from bondage and set them to rebuilt the temple of king Solomon in Jerusalem ?

Albéronī did certainly know the story of Cyrus, whom Ezra calls "the anointed of the Lord," having rebuilt Jerusalem. Albéronī did know the name 'Ahasuerus,' by which the Jews knew 'Khsayārsa' Xerxes. Albéronī did thoroughly know

the story of the Jews from the Old Testament, as well as from other Jewish works of history; and he has given the record of the Jews from Adam upto the time of the Babylonian captivity of the Jews, as appears from the chronological tables referring to Jewish history, given by him in his work.

I request the Iranian scholars to project a correct estimate as to the ostracism of the Achaemenians from the history of Persia written by the Persians.

WHO WAS VAFRANAWAZ ?

By

J. K. DESAI M.A.

'ए राजश कोण हतो अने एनी वार्ता शुंबाबत नां इसारो छे ते चोक्स मालम पडतु नथी[1] ।' These are the words of Dr. Modi in his valuable book spoken naively and in the truest scholarly spirit. Who was Vafranawaz ? The Avesta scholars—both Europeans and Parsis—have given different interpretations of the word but none is as yet satisfactory. One of the Yashts[2] speaks explicitly about him thus :

"Vafranwaz," the ferryman[3], worshipped her. When a strong and victorious Faridum cast him upwards in the form of a vulture, he (Vafranwaz) thus flew three days and three nights to reach his home, but would not come down. At the end of the third night, at the time of strength-giving, breezy morning, he importuned the help of Ardī Sura. She heard his request and came to his help in the form of a maiden. She took hold of both his sides and brought him in a short time to the earth. "He is referred to even in the "Afrin-e- Peghàmber Zarthost" thus[4] :

"Be thou one who crosses the impassable Rangha, like Vafranwaz." What should we infer about this personage from all these reference ? Our learned Dr. Modi takes him to be a general of Faridun, sent on high mountains for some purpose, where he might have lost his way. But this seems—we say with due deference to Dr. Modi-to be a far-fetched conclusion. Then the question arises : Who was Vafranwaz ?

Dr. Modi's above mentioned inference seems to be untenable. The particulàr verb *uzdwānayat* compels us to conclude that the person in question is *not* a human being. In his dictionary Kanga derives it from Av. uz.=Sans. उद्=Ger. 'aus' Lat. 'ex'=out, up and the root dwan=to fly, meaning 'to fly up,' 'to cause to fly,' etc. This ahows that the thing has *wings*, that it can *fly*. Again the words kahaga kaharkashe (i.e. in the form of a vulture Mod. Pars. kargas undeniably show that it is a bird, resembling a vulture. Then who or what is it ?

In the first place let us examine the root significance of the word "Vafranwaz." It can be traced to Av. Vafra Pahl.

[1] See अवस्ताना विशेषनामोनी फरहंग् वफन वाक्स p. 165.

[2] Aban Yasht, Para 61.

[3] Darmesteter. Rt. Av. pere ; Sans. पृ to cross

[4] See आफरीने पेगंबर जरथोश्त para 4.

vafr, mod. Pers. *parf*=snow, kawaza from Av. Ni-vaz Pers. navāgidan=to cherish, to love, etc. Hence the word literally means 'One loving snow' which can be easily extended to 'One residing in snowy places.' This is, no doubt, an implicit reference to a bird 'resembling a vulture.' What bird can this be ? None but the so-called Seemurgh. To prove it we shall have to resort again to the inexhaustible mine of information—Shah Nameh. About the habitation of Seemurgh Firdusi says: Referring to Sam who goes to the mountain to place Zal there, the poet says: 'There was a mountain named Alburz, whose peak reached the sky, and it was away from the populace. There was a big nest therein, which could not be injured even by the Saturn. It was a palace, the top of which kissed the firmament, and was not built by human beings. (Seeing Zal) the Seemurgh came down *from the clouds* and lifted him up with its claws.' When, after a few years, Sam, repenting of his unscrupulousness, and being inspired by divine agencies, returned there to take away Zal, the bird informed Zal of every thing at the time of their separation, and "gladdened his heart, took him up, and flew *along the clouds*, treating him with *endearment*. It brought him down to his father, after the *flight* was over.[1] The hair of his head was hanging down up to his breast. Sam blessed the bird and took away his child. From this it will be seen that the bird was not at all noxious. When Sam left the child there and went away with an adamantine heart, the bird heard the divine voice : Thus :

"Take care of this milk-sucking child, as many brave warriors will be born through him. We have entrusted it to thee on this mountain: Wait and see what Time will bring forth." This heavenly message proves that the bird was not bad. Then why did Faridum fling it up ? What harm had it done ? To know it we must turn to Arabic legends. In Arabic it is known as "Oonqa" and as a rule it is said to be 'known by name but not by shape.' The author of the Persian lexicon 'Burhan-i Kate' 'describes it in these words :

'Auqā is Seemurgh of the western countries. It generally represents things that are either non-existent or unobtainable."

And about Seemurgh it is said :

"It is the Bird that brought up Zal, father of Rustom. Others maintain that it is the name of a philosopher, who instructed Zal.

[1] The words in Italics echo the Avestan description of Vafranwaz See Supra, p. 703.

The statements given above are corroborated by a Western scholar who says about the Seemurgh : "The wounderful bird that could speak all the languages of the world, and whose knowledge embraced past, present and future events."[1] Owing to its wisdom the bird might have been considered a 'Hakim,' but not as a human being. Thus, from all these controversial points, one thing is indisputable : that Oonqa and Seemurgh were not dissimilar. According to Sa'adi this bird lives on the mount Caucasus. This bird is said to have admonished even King Solomon and was always a source of relief to Persian kings. The Arabs have a tradition that this bird was formerly a man-eater, but it was cursed by the prophet Hauzallah and it disappeared from the world. Faridun[2] "caused it to fly up in the form of a vulture." Why ? Because it might be growing cannibalistic, day by day, and we know the peculiarity of vultures. Hence, it is possible that after Faridun had cast it up and it could not come down (owing to a Nirang of Faridun ?) it might have repented of its anthropophagy and requested Abān, who caught hold of its sides ("wings") and brought it down. All these most glaring facts tends to prove that so-called Vafranwāz was not a human being, but only the well known Seemurgh.

N.B.—After writing the above I have gathered some more information about the fabulous bird Seemurgh or Oonqa. I referred to the well known Persian dictionary Ghūyāth-ul-Lughd. In this lexicon Anqa is described thus :

"It is a long-necked bird, and is superior to other birds in that it has not been seen by any one . In Persian it is called Seemurgh, and it is related that in the country of the Masters of Ras a gigantic four-legged, man-like bird used to carry off children. Those people lodged a complaint before their prophet Haugala, son of Safawān, by whose prayers the bird was cast out in far-off island where it preyed upon elephants and snakes.

We have already seen the purport of this passage, that owing to the curse of the prophet Hatuzullah the bird was driven out from the world. Possibly this Hatuzullah might be Faridun, though we do not find any mention of him in the Koran. Now in Fariduddin Attar's Mustaq-ut tair Seemurgh is spoken of as the King of Birds, living at Koh-i-Kaf, on a high tree, that it is very strong and unapprochable, whom words fail to describe.

[1] Brewer. Dictionary of Phrase & Fables "Seemurgh," p. 801.

[2] In the Behram Yasht (para 40) we read : "which (Seemurgh) was kept by Faridun, the brave."

ANCIENT IRANIAN EDUCATION.

By

NOWROZ C. MEHTA, M.A. (Bombay)

Early Iranians laid great stress on the Education of their youths as can be seen from several of the ancient writings of the Persians. Besides historians like Herodotus, Strabo, Zenophon and Plato have thrown a considerable light on this subject. Because of its intrinsic value, their system of education was copied by several other nations, particularly the Greeks, so much so that Zenophon is said to have created his ideal of good education from Persian materials. We shall examine a few of the sailent facts regarding the educational system of the ancient Persians.

Age for school education was a very early one. Herodotus and Strabo give the age of 5. Plato gives 7. The Vendidad and the Dinkard give 7. Between the age of 5 and 20 youths were trained to ride, to use the bow and to speak the truth. For example, Prince Shiavakhsh was placed under Rustom for training at the age of 5 and returned to court at the age of about 20. Similarly, Behman b. Asfandiyar (Ardeshir Darazdast) was placed by Prince Asfandiyar under Rustom for training who enthroned him on the retirement of Kai Gushtasp, the patron of Zarathushtra.

Hours of study differed according to different books, some recommending 8 hours for serious study. The Avesta allots 8 hours for sleep and the remaining to be divided between recreation and study. Buzorg Meher recommends 8 hours.

Their method of teaching was simple and impressive, the pupils being made to repeat what they learnt and also to study their own history to create patriotic zeal in them. In course of teaching the preceptors watched and discoursed on various topics. The same method was adopted by the ancient Greeks.

Iranian Teachers held high social position and were mostly sons of Satraps.. They were named Aethra-paiti, i.e. 'masters of learning.' They were held in high esteem by their pupils.

Physical Education was the main part of the curriculum, every Iranian boy being made to undergo compulsory physical training. Riding, drawing the bow, playing polo, swimming

and throwing the javelin were the five main items of their sport. Physical fitness is one of the religious tenets of the Zoroastrians. In the prayer of "Ahmae-raescha" the second gift which the Zoroastrian prays for, is 'tanvo dravatatem' i.e. strength of the body, and one of the best gifts of the Angel Bahram to Holy Zarathushtra was 'tanvo vispayao dravatatem' i.e. complete strength of the body. This sort of early training produced some of the finest specimens of warriors, archers and polo-palyers whose names have come down in history as masters of these arts. The Vendidad gives a list of 12 weapons used by the ancient Persians. In this list we find "the fourth a bow, the fifth a quiver with shoulder-belt and 30 bronze-headed arrows. "The word used for bow in the Avesta is 'thanvar' 'thanvana' or 'thanvareiti' derived from the root 'thang' i.e. draw or drive. The word for swimming in the Aves ta is 'sna' = Sanskrit स्ना The Avesta word for javelin is 'dru' from the root 'dar' which is the imperative of the Persian *daūdan* to tear.

Their diet after exercise was simple and substantial, consisting of bread, cake, dressed meat, cardamum and water.

Relijious Educatin was of primary importance. Every school was attached to a fire-temple. Priests taught reading, writing, arithmetic and scriptures. Their position was very high, some acting as Chief Justice. Their income was through religious fines, tithe and voluntary gifts. Their main classes were: the Herbedan-herbed (acting as Chief Justice), the Mobed (High Priest), Zot (one who led at prayers), the Raspi (one who kept up the fire and helped the Zot and Mobeds (Chiefs of the Magi) and the Herbeds (Chiefs of Fire). There were several kinds of fire in ancient Iran like Clan or Village-fire (Adheran) Warriors or Royal Fire (Adhar-Gushnasp), Farmers' Fire (Burzin Meher) etc. Priests looked after these. Munificient gifts were sometimes offered to these fire-temples by kings undertaking a vow to do so on fulfilment of their desires.

Some eminent Priests. Pahr was the Mobedan-mobed nominated by Ardeshir I. Under Shapur II we read of Bahak and his celebrated successor Ataropat Marespendan and later on Mitrowaraz and Mitroakamid acting as High Priests. We learn from Eliseus of a great Mobed who by his theological erudition earned the title of Hamakden or 'one who knew the whole religion.' Among the famous Herbedan-herbeds may be mentioned the names of Tanser who helped Ardeshir I in reforming the religious scripts, and Zarwanbad son of Mihr Narse. We also hear of Ardaviraf under Ardeshir I who wrote the Divina Comedia of the Iranians. Son of Adarbad Marespand, viz. Zar-

dosht Adarbad and his son Adarbad Zardosht were also High Priests in succession. In Sassanian times Dadar b. Dadukht and Dastur Dad in the time of Yazdejard Sheriar were also famous High Priests.

Schools were the institutions where boys and girls were given lessons in honesty, truth and morality. Hence they were kept apart from places of debauchery and bazars which were the places of dishonest merchants who told lies to create demand for their articles.

This is all we gather from old books about their system of education.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION IN IRAN BY THE ARAB CONQUERORS. (Summary)

By

Lt-Col. M.S. Irani., I.M.S. (Rtd.) Poona,

Before the time of the Prophet the people of Arabian peninsula were idolatrous and were divided into clans and tribes and had no political unity. The new religion not only abolished idolatry and instituted monotheism, but brought about political unity of the whole Arab race. This burning desire of the prophet's soul was completely fulfilled before his death. From his epistles sent to potentates of foreign countries, it is evident that he did not wish the religion to be spread outside Arabia by force. These contain no threat of physical violence or divine displeasure. The rulers who accepted Islam are enjoined to protect their non-Moslem subjects, and not to oppress them, for which they were subject to the payment of *jazia* or the capitation tax; the Magians were also to be included among the protected people.

This policy laid down by the Prophet was strictly adhered to by the first four great Khalifs. Churches, temples and other places of worship of the protected people were immune against destruction. On the occassion of his visit to Jeruselam Khaliph Omar, the conqueror of two empires, refused to say his prayers in a Christian church when invited by the patriarch to do so, because he said if he did so, his successors would take possession of the church on the ground that Moslem prayers were offered there-before.

The conquest of foreign countries, which began in the reign of the first Khaliph Abu Baker, was undertaken solely for economic reasons and also to some extent, with the object of preventing the turbulent Arab tribes from fighting with one another and breaking away from the newly established Moslem brotherhood. The ease with which the Arabs vanquished the Imperial armies of Persia and of the Byzentine empire, with whom they clashed on the respective frontiers, and the realization of their own strength in opposing large and organished armies, tempted them for further enterprise ; and the rich and unlimited spoil they got, whetted their appetite for plunder.

The Umeiyad Khaliphs, from all accounts, adhered to the practice of protecting the subject nations that did not accept

Islam, and respecting their places of worship on the payment of the capitation tax and observing certain rules. In some instances over-zealous and vindictive Arab leaders did damage or destroy religious buildings to wreak their vengeance on rebellious subjects, but this was not a common practice and was not appoved by the Khaliphs who punished the perpetrators of such sacrilege.

Persian levies, especially from Khorasa, supported the Abbasid cause, and it was with their help that the new dynasty was raised to the throne and maintained there. During the Abbasid rule Persian influence predominated at the court, and the ministers and officials of the state were selected from the Persian converts. Persian manners and dress were adopted at the court and became generally fashionable.

Persian noble men and chiefs willingly went over to Islam on account of special privileges and advantages offered to the followers of the faith. The worldly gains were great and they could not resist the temptation for long. The well-known and authentic instance of the independent ruler of Tabaristan is typical in which Mazyar, the Zoroastrian king of the province, was invited by Abbasid Khaliph Mamun (713-733 Christian era), who offered him a title and other inducements if he came over to Islam. Mazyar succumbed to the temptation and gave up his ancient faith. In many other cases defeated rebels accepted Islam to escape punishment of death or lifelong slavery

PROCEEDINGS AND TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

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TWELFTH SESSION

Benares Hindu University

1943-4

VOL. IV.

Papers of the Sanskrit and Hindi Sections.

Edited and published for the Conference

By

DR. A. S. ALTEKAR, M.A., LL.B., D. LITT.

Head of the Department of Ancient Indian History and Culture

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Preface to Vol. IV.

Vol. IV of the Proceedings and Transactions of the 12th Session of the Oriental Conference is being herewith offered to the public. I am conscious of the great delay in its publication, but those who are aquainted with the numerous difficulties of printing in the post-war period, may perhaps be inclined to condone even this inordinate delay. I am extremely sorry for it.

Papers of the Sanskrit and Hindi sections are included in the present volume. It was not possible to send the proofs of the papers to their authors, but all possible care was taken to minimise the mistakes in proof reading.

Vol. I, consisting of the actual proceedings of the Conference, is being published simultaneously with this Volume. Vol. II was published in Oct. 1946. Vol. III consisting of the papers of the Archaeology, Linguistics, Technical Sciences and Iranian Sections is in an advanced stage of printing. Papers of Vol. V, consisting of the Arabic Persion and Islamic Culture sections, were probably destroyed during the disturbances of unfortunate Lahore in August 1947. Repeated enquries have elicited no response from the press, which was entrusted with the printing work.

I am very much thankful to Pandit D. S. Malvania, Dr. P. L. Vaidya and Mr. Avadh Kishore Narain for helping me in reading part of the proofs of this volume. The publication of this volume even after four years is due to the proprietor of the Vikrama Panchanga Press, Mr. Nagesh Upadhyaya, M. A., having agreed to undertake the printing at his new press, which he has recently started. I am thankful to him for finishing the work in a short time.

Benares Hindu University
1-3-1948

A. S. Altekar

संस्कृतहिन्दीविभागलेखात्मकश्चतुर्थो भागः ।

अनुक्रमणिका

संस्कृतविभागः

विषयः	लेखकः	पृष्ठः
१ स्वागतभाषणम्	म. म. पण्डित चिन्नस्वामी शास्त्री, काशी	१
२ संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठनपाठनपद्धतिः	पं० पुरोषत्तमशर्मा चतुर्वेदः, अजमेरम्	४
३ संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठनपाठनपद्धतिः	पं० वृद्धिचन्द्रशर्मा शास्त्री, जयपुरम्	१३
४ संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठनपाठनपद्धतिः	पं० सभापतिशर्मा उपाध्यायः, काशी	२१
५ वर्तमाने काले संस्कृतभाषायाः शिक्षापद्धतिः।	पं० मथुरानाथशास्त्री, जयपुरम्	२४
६ अखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदो मुखपत्रसंचालनम् ।	पं० गलगली रामाचार्यः, बेलगावम्	२८
७ धर्मादरप्रस्थापनमार्गः ।	पं० रघुनाथशास्त्री कोकजे, लोणावला	३४
८ हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरासे कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते।	पं० अनन्तराम शास्त्री, पुण्यपननम्	४०
९ हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते।	पं० सूर्यनारायण शर्माचार्यः, जयपुरम्	४१
१० हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते।	पं० बद्रीनाथ शास्त्री, एम्. ए., जयपुरम्	४४

हिन्दी विभाग

१ मुगलकालीन कवि रामानन्द	पं० कमलापति त्रिपाठी, काशी	४७
२ बालमुकुन्द गुप्तकी आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक कविता।	डॉ. के. ना. शुक्ल, लखनऊ	५९
३ भक्तमाल की अभिनव मीमांसा।	पं० पद्मनारायणाचार्य, काशी	७४
4 Maithili Literature, a Bird's-eye view	Kumar Gangananda Sinha, Darbhanga	79
5 Contributions to Hindi Lexicography.	Dr Hardeo Bahri, Lahore	85

चतुर्थो विभागः।

पण्डितपरिषत्प्रबंधाः।

स्वागतभाषणम्।

(म० म० पंडित चिन्नस्वामी शास्त्री)

देवीं वाचमजनयन्त देवास्तां विश्वरूपाः पशवो वदन्ति।
सा नो मन्द्रेषमूर्जं दुहाना धेनुर्वागस्मानुपसुष्टुतैतु ॥

मान्यास्सभापतिमहोदयाः, सभ्या विबुधवराश्च,

स्वागतमस्तु तत्रभवतां भवताम्। अध्वगतमवर्णनीयमविगणय्य नैकवि॰ क्लेशजातं विधूय च विविधानि विशिष्टानि कार्याणि चिरबद्धसुरगवीश्रद्धातिशये॰ वा, स्थानान्तरदुरवापमानन्दवनैकसंप्राप्यमानन्दमनुभवितुमेव वाऽस्मदनु जिघृक्षयैव वा ऊरीकृत्यास्माकीनामभ्यर्थनां स्थानेऽत्र निजपदपाथोजार्पणेना ऽस्मान् कृतार्थयतां श्रीमतां पुरतः केन वा शब्देनात्मनः कृतज्ञतामावेदयि॰ प्रभवाम इति चिरमन्विष्यान्विष्याप्यन्ततोऽनवाप्यैतत्तादृशं पदकदंबकं मूकीभूता॰ अकिञ्चनाश्च वयमपश्यन्तोऽन्यत् श्रीमत्तोषकारणं केवलमञ्जलिबन्धेनैव श्रद्धा समादरसंभृतमात्मनो हृद्गतं भावं विनिवेदयामः। अखिलभारतवर्षीयप्राच्य विद्यापरिषदः प्रतीकभूतेयं विद्वत्परिषदद्यत्वेऽत्र वारणस्यां श्रीविश्वविद्यालये सम्मिलतीति महदिदममन्दानन्दसंदोहास्पदम्। इयं पुरी पुरभिदः, भुवनत्रय वरिष्ठा वीतरागाणां, भक्तिमत्प्रवराणां धार्मिकधौरेयाणां विशेषतो विपश्चिद पश्चिमानां नित्यमावासभूमिः, आ च परमेष्ठिनः आचाद्यतनविद्वद्व्रातं, विद्याविट॰ पिनो विविधान्यगणीयान्यद्भुतरसानि विस्मयावहानि फलानि प्रसूतेऽस्म जनयन्ति चाऽद्यापि। बहवो विद्वद्वराः प्राचीना अर्वाचीनाश्चाऽत्रैव प्राप्तजनुष आचन्द्रतारमनुवर्तिन्याऽच्छाच्छयाऽऽत्मनः कीर्तिकौमुद्याऽनवरतमेधमानया दिग्दन्तिमुखान्यलिम्पन्। विश्वविद्यालयोऽप्ययं विविधासु विद्यासु कलासु विश्वोन्नतिं बिभ्रत् पूज्यैः महामनोभिः श्रीमालवीयमहोदयैस्समुत्पादितो विश्व-विख्यातवैदुष्यप्रकर्षैः श्रीसर्वेपल्लिराधाकृष्णमहोदयैस्संरक्षितः सुविराजत इती-दमपरोक्षमेव प्रायस्सर्वेषां विदुषाम्। तत्तादृशविश्वविद्यालयोद्भासितविश्वना-थनगर्यां ज्ञानैकनिधाने परिषदियं स्थाने खल्वात्मानं लभत इति। प्राच्यविद्या-परिषदोऽस्या द्वादशमिदमधिवेशनमिति स्पष्टमेव। प्राच्या विद्याः प्रायेणात्म-सात्कुर्वन्तीयं परिषत् विशेषतो गैर्वाणीं वाणीं विविधेषु विषयेषु निदानी-करोतीत्यविवादम्। तथापि दुग्धदोहां गामिव समये तां विस्मरति। द्वादश-स्वधिवेशनेषु अस्यास्संवृत्तेषु संस्कृतविद्वदधिवेशनानि नार्धाधिकान्यात्मानं लब्धुमशकन्। अतस्तदधिकारिणां पुरतस्समुपस्थाप्य विषयमिमं निवेदयितुमभि-लषामो विषयान्तरैस्सहाऽस्या अपि स्थानं समानमेव भवत्विति।

अयि मान्याः प्राज्ञवराः,

यामिमां विफलां वार्णां प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणोऽपि सेयं न तथा । परमेषा दोग्ध्री कामानां, निहन्त्री त्रिविधस्याऽपि दुःखस्य, प्रसवित्र्यात्मज्ञानफलस्य, धर्म्ये पथि विचरतां राज्यधुरं बिभ्रतां, भवसंगं जिहासतां आत्मन्येवारिरंसतां मनोविनोदमभिलषतामप्यतिरस्करणी यमनन्यसाधारणं साधनमिति को नामाऽत्र प्रगल्भते विवदितुम् । पद्यमिदं अत्रोपस्थितिपदमारोहति महाकवेर्भवभूतेः—

"कामं दुग्धे विप्रकर्षत्यलक्ष्मीं कीर्तिं सूते दुर्हृदो विप्रलान्ति । शुद्धां शान्तां मातरं मंगलानां धेनुं धीराः सूनृतां वाचमाहुः ॥ इति ॥ अत्रैव चतुर्दश, अष्टादश वा विद्या विजृम्भन्ते । अत्रैव नीतिग्रन्थाः । अस्यामेव च कलाश्चतुष्षष्टिपरिमिताः । अस्यामेव काव्यनाटकालंकारगणितायुर्वेदादयः भूगर्भविद्या, वास्तुविद्या, इत्यादीनि न वयमवगन्तुमीश्महे । यदनया परित्यक्तमन्यत्र वर्वर्तीति, नास्मकीना रसिकशिरोमणयः ? न शस्त्रचिकित्सकाः ? सहैवैताभिर्विद्याभिरौपनिषद्यामाध्यात्मिकविद्यायामनुपमा एव वयमभूम । सा हि यत्र सोपाने पदमधात् तन्मनसाऽपि गन्तुमनीशा देशान्तरनिवासिन इति स्पष्टमेवोद्घोष्यते तैरेव । इदानींतना विज्ञानपक्षपातिनः सर्वत्र भ्रान्त्वा अनधिगततत्त्वा अपरोक्षीकुर्वन्तश्चाऽस्य महतो विश्वव्यापिनो विज्ञानतरोर्मोहलोभरसभरितं जगदुत्पीडनमेव महत्फलं, यदि किञ्चित् जगतः कल्याणकरं सर्वसुखावहमस्ति भुवने सा शान्तिदान्त्युपबृंहिता निखिललोकजीवातुरात्मविद्यैव । तां विना पुरुषः प्राप्नुमेव नेष्टे प्राप्तव्यम् । तत्तादृशी वरेण्या विद्यास्मानेव वृणुते न केवलं ज्ञानोक्तं आसु विद्यासु कलास्वेव । आचारव्यवहारविषये सर्वोत्तरा एव वयमभूम । न केवलं सर्वोत्तराः अन्येषां मानवानां शीलादिशिक्षका अप्यभवाम । यथोक्तं मनुनाः—

एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।

स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥इति॥

अस्माभिरेव राज्यधूः क्षत्रकुलप्रसूतं कंचनाग्रे कृत्वा निरूह्यते स्म । अस्माकमुपरि न राज्ञामाज्ञा प्रभवति । 'राजा सर्वस्येष्टे ब्राह्मणवर्जम्' इति गौतमीयवचनमिमर्थमुपोद्बलयति । न शारीरो ब्राह्मणदण्ड इति शारीरो दण्डो निषिद्धोऽस्माकम् । राजसूयेऽभिषेकप्रकरणे राजानमभिषिच्य जनेभ्यस्तत्परिचयदानाय प्रवृत्तो मन्त्र एवं वदति—"एष वो भरता राजा, सोमोऽस्माकं ब्राह्मणानां राजा" इति ।

अस्मास्वेव यथेष्टवक्तृतां नियम्य कस्मिंश्चिच्छास्त्रीये नियमविशेषे स्थित्वा वेदाध्ययनाध्यापनातद्व्याख्यानादिपरिपाटी सुप्रथिताऽऽसीत् । अस्मत्प्रवर्तितसभ्यता संस्कृतिर्वा लोके सर्वैराद्रियते स्म । इदानीमपि महासमरसमाप्त्यनन्तरं यदि किंचन लोकतन्त्रं सर्वजनहितकरं स्थापनीयं तत् शान्तिदान्त्यादिसमलंकृतां आध्यात्मिकविद्यैकभित्तिमवष्टभ्य निर्मितां भारतीयसभ्यतामेव निदानीकृत्य स्थाप्येत इति निरधारि विचारशीलैः पाश्चात्यैः । परं कालेन हतसाधनाश्शनैः शनैस्सर्वस्मादपि साध्यात् पर्यभ्रंश्यामहि । केचिदस्मान् कथयन्ति—कीरवत् गिरमेकरतिमेव चिरकालाभ्यां गृणन्ति । त्यक्तरसानालपन्ति । अलोकज्ञान्

ब्रुवन्ते । परमेतदसाधु । बहवोऽप्यास्माकीनास्त्यक्तैषणात्रया लोकहितमाचरन्तं ऽद्यापि परिदृश्यन्ते इति नाऽविदितं तेषाम् । इदमपि च तेभ्यो निवेदयितुमीह महे—यदस्माभिरतिकृच्छ्रगतैरपि निस्साधनैरपि कथंचिदियं विद्या न पर्यपाल यिष्यताद्ययावत् तर्हि कीदृशी मूलोच्छित्तिरभविष्यत्, मूलस्यैवाभावे कं व महावृत्तमारुह्य शाखाचंक्रमणं पल्लवाग्रग्रहणं भवितुमर्हतीति भवन्त एव विभाव यन्त्विति । किञ्च येऽस्मासु दोषमारोपयन्ति—पण्डिता हि अधीतमध्यापितमर्जि यशः इत्येतावतैव परितृप्ताः ततः परं नास्माकं कर्तव्यमस्तीत्यभिमन्वाना किञ्चिदप्यकुर्वाणास्सुखमासते । तत्प्रयुक्तमेवेदमिदानीं भाषाया अनभिवर्धनम चतुरस्रता वेति । सत्यमिदम् । परं वचनमिदं भारतीयान्प्रत्यांग्लसाम्राज्योक्ति मनुसरति--तैर्हि निस्साधनान् सर्वतस्संकुचितहस्तान् पुरा कृत्वा क्षीणशक्ति कांश्चाद्योच्यते—भारतीया महतोऽस्य साम्राज्यस्य धुरं वोढुं सर्वथा प्रभवन्तीति निस्संकोचं वदन्ति । धर्मनिर्णयादौ अनधिगतास्मदीयधर्मस्वरुप एव प्रभवंति । अधिकरणधर्मदायादिनिर्णायकः कश्चिदासीत्, सोऽपि ततः प्रच्या वितः कालेन । किमधिकविवरणप्रयासेन । यत्र विद्यालयादौ अध्यापनादिकार्या यांग्लभाषाविदां पञ्चाशद्रूप्यकाणि, तत्रास्माकं पञ्चषाण्येव कृच्छ्रलभ्यानि धर्मशास्त्रादिषु विषयान्तरे चाऽस्मत्त एव द्वित्राण्यक्षराणि गृहीत्वा तान्यांग्ल भाषया संयोज्य यथेष्टं परिक्रमन्ते । तत्र सर्वत्राप्यस्माकमौदार्यं मंसास्यमौदा सीन्यमेव वा कारणम् । प्रथमतस्तद्दूरीकरणमस्माकं करणीयम् । मूलोच्छेद करं पक्षं को हि नामाध्यवस्यति । अनन्तरमैकमत्यं तत्तादृशं संघटनीयं यत् परैः परकीयैर्वा बहुप्रयतमानैरपि न विघटनीयं भवेत् स्वकार्यं च साधु संपादयेत् । सर्वत्र प्रसारो गैर्वाण्याश्शास्त्राणाञ्च यथा भवेत्तथा प्रयतनीयम् । केचित्तु पाठप्रणालीमेव सर्वथा विपरिवर्तयितुमीहन्ते । परं सर्वैर्हृदि निधेयं कस्यामप्यव- स्थायां शास्त्रपरिवर्धनकारणं शास्त्रार्थप्रणालीः न परित्यक्तव्येति । तलस्पर्शी पाण्डित्यं च साधु संरक्षणीयमिति च । यदि वयं ततः किंचिदपि पश्चाद्गच्छेम तर्हि कालेन कियताऽपि गजाश्वविनिमयन्यायेन रिक्तहस्ता एव शिष्येमहि । अतस्तामनुत्सृजद्भिरेव यतितव्यं दैव्या वाचो विवृद्धये । समयेऽत्रावश्यस्मर्तव्यं स्मारयन्नहं मन्ये न प्रकृतादद्दूरं गत इति । अयं च स विषयः—अस्मदध्यक्षमहो- दयाः श्रीमन्तो महामहोपाध्यायाः गिरधरशर्माचतुर्वेदास्स्वमायुस्सर्वमप्येतदर्थमेव समर्पयन् यतन्ते च सर्वप्रकारोन्नत्या अस्या इति कियदिदं प्रमोदस्थानम् ।

विषयेऽत्र दिङ्मात्रमुपदर्शितम् । नेतः परं कालयापनेन वृथा टाल्यते मया । इतोऽप्यधिकं वक्तव्यं तद्विवरेणाऽस्माननुगृह्णीयुः, समीचीने पथि नयेयुरानयेयु- रस्यास्तपस्विन्या भाषायाः प्राक्तनं परमं स्थानं, प्राचीनां चाऽस्माकीनां संस्कृतिं सभ्यतां वाऽनुपमामिति सविनयमनुनयन् नरण्यन्ते सूनृतां स्वागतवाचं संकु- द्रुचिवानेतावतैव विरमामि ॥

श्रीहरिः ।

संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठन–पाठनपद्धतिः ।

(ले० पुरुषोत्तमशर्मा चतुर्वेदः, साहित्याचार्यः, शुद्धाद्वैतालङ्कारश्च,
धर्मोपदेशकः, संस्कृताध्यापकश्च, राजकुमारविद्यालयः
(मेयोकालेज), अजमेर)

(१)

साम्प्रतिकी संस्कृतशिक्षा

न खलु विशेषतो विनिवेदनीयमिदं विदितवेदितव्यानां विदुषां पुरतो यदियं महामहर्षिभिर्महितापि, दार्शनिकशिरोमणिभिः कपिल-कणाद-गौतम-पतञ्जलिप्रभृतिभिरुत्तमाङ्गेनाभ्यर्हिताऽपि, व्यास-वाल्मीकि-भास-भारविभवभूति-कालिदास-भर्तृहरि श्रीहर्षादिभिरनिशमनर्घ्यानर्घ्यरत्नराशिभिरभिपूजितपदपाथोजाऽप्यमरसरस्वती साम्प्रतं समयविपर्ययेण वा, तत्सुतानामस्माकं विवशतया वा, शिक्षाया धनार्जनैकप्रयोजनतया वा, आध्यात्मिकेषु भक्तिज्ञानादिविषयेष्वनत्यादरेण वा, प्रतीच्यसभ्यता-विज्ञानादिचाकचक्येन भारतीयानां चमत्कृतलोचनतया वा, दारिद्र्यदुर्विलसितहेतुकेन परसेवामात्रप्रवणत्वेनाध्ययनाध्यापनप्रचारादिष्वभिमतज्ञानामनवसरग्रस्ततया वा, न केवलं नोद्वहति प्रचारप्राचुर्यम्, न केवलं नाधिकरोत्यतः पूर्वं सर्वथाधिकृतमपि भारतीयराष्ट्रभाषाभावम्, न केवलं नाद्रियते दार्शनिकैः, न केवलं न विज्ञायते वैज्ञानिकै, न केवलं न काम्यते कविकुलैः, न केवलं नालंक्रियते ललिततमलेखैर्लेखकमहोदयैः, किन्तु न दीयते पदमप्यस्यै विविधेषु विद्यालयेषु,विरुध्यतेऽस्याः प्रचाराचरणमपि, व्यपदिश्यते मृतेति दुरभिधानेन परोलक्षेषु तदुपजीविषु विद्यमानेष्वपि, तिरस्क्रियन्ते चात एवैतस्याः सेवका अपि। अपि नामास्मिन् विषये विचिन्तितं दरविनिमीलितनयनमुकुलैरस्याः प्रणयिभिरस्माभिः? विचिन्तितं चेदवश्यमेव निदानमस्यैतस्या दुरभिभवस्यान्वेषणपथमवतीर्णमेव स्यात् ।

तत्र यद्यपि सर्वप्रथमं च कारणं राजाश्रयाभावो दृष्टिपथेऽवतरति, सत्यं चैतदुचितं चापि, तथापि भवेदेव तथाविधमितरदपि कारणं यदिह पुराकाले संस्कृतविदुषां सत्यपि सर्वप्राधान्ये सम्प्रति तेषां सर्वोपेक्षणीयत्वं संपादयति। विषयेऽस्मिन् जनेनानेन भूयो भूयोऽनुभूय विचारचतुरैर्विचक्षणमहानुभावैः सह विमृश्य च यत् किञ्चिद् विज्ञातम् तत्प्रतीकारप्रकारश्च परामृष्टस्तदेतद् द्वयं प्रेक्षावतां पुरस्तादुपन्यस्यते, आशास्यते च सहृदयाः सुधियः सुधीरं समीक्ष्यात्र तथा किमपि निर्णयेयुर्यथा निराश्रयतया प्रचारस्यल्पाल्पतामुपगच्छन्तीयं सुरसरस्वती कथमपि पुनरुज्जीवितुं प्रभवेत्।

तदिदं द्वितीयं सर्वप्रधानं कारणमस्मदीयपाण्डित्यस्य लोकानुपयोगितैवेत्यत्र नास्त्यल्पतोऽपि नः संशयः। प्रतिपादयिष्यामश्चैतदुपरिष्टाद् यत् कथमिमे वयं प्राक्तनकाले स्वच्छसलिलसंभृताः सलिलाशया इव सर्वोपयोगिनोऽभ्म-

सतृष्णा च जनताऽस्मानुपागच्छन्त्यदृश्यत, कथं चेदानीं पथिकैरमितहिमानीव सुदूरपरित्यक्ता रजताचला इवाराज्ञनचाकचक्यमावहन्तोऽपि समीपमागतानां जाड्यमेव निदर्शयामो विरक्तिभाजनतां चोपयामः।

तथाहि—छान्दोग्योपनिषदि सप्तमाध्यायारम्भे नारदेन 'अधीहि भगवः' इत्यनुयुक्तः सनत्कुमारो लौकिकविद्यानभिज्ञस्यात्मविद्योपदेशानर्हतां मन्यमानः स्पष्टमेवावोचत् 'यद्वेत्थ तेन मोपसीद ततस्त ऊर्ध्वं वक्ष्यामी' ति । अब्रवीच्च ततो नारदः "ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदम्, सामवेदम्, अथर्वणं चतुर्थम्, इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमम्, वेदानां वेदम्, पित्र्यम्, राशिम्, दैवम्, निधिम्, वाकोवाक्यम्, एकायनम्, देवविद्याम्, ब्रह्मविद्याम्, भूतविद्याम्, क्षत्रविद्याम्, नक्षत्रविद्याम्, सर्वदेवजनविद्यामेतद् भगवोऽध्येमि" इति । अत्र ह्यूनविंशतिर्विद्या नामभिरेव निर्दिष्टाः, या ह्यसौ नारदः स्वस्मृतिविषयत्वेन स्वीकरोति, ततः परा अपि काश्चन स्युर्या अध्ययनमात्रविषयाः स्युर्न स्मर्यन्ते स्म, यतोऽयमध्येमी'त्येवोक्तवान्, न पुनरधीता इति । सर्वस्याप्यध्ययनविषयस्य वर्त्तमानकालिकस्मरणविषयत्वविरहः सर्वजनसिद्ध इति तदध्ययनस्यापि विषयस्ततो भूयानेव स्यादित्यत्र नास्त्येव निवेदनीयम् । अथवा माभून्नाम तदीयज्ञानप्रसरस्ततोऽधिके विषयजाते, तथापि संदर्भेणैतेन तद्युगोद्भवानां विविधलौकिकविद्याभिज्ञत्वं तु स्पष्टमेव परिज्ञायते ।

याज्ञवल्क्यस्तु धर्मस्थानमात्रनिरूपणेऽपि—

पुराणन्यायमीमांसा धर्मशास्त्राङ्गमिश्रिताः ।
वेदाः स्थानानि विद्यानां धर्मस्य च चतुर्दश ॥

इति पुराणादिदशोपबृंहणोपकारकसंहितानां वेदानां तथात्वमाह । विष्णुपुराणे पुनः पूर्वोक्ता एव विद्या भिन्नक्रमेण विनिर्दिश्य

आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चेति ते त्रयः ।
अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं च विद्या ह्यष्टादशैव ताः ॥

इत्येवं लोकोपकारकविद्याचतुष्टयसहितानां तासामष्टादशत्वं प्रतिपादितम् । कामन्दकस्तु

आन्विक्षिकी त्रयी वार्त्ता दण्डनीतिश्च शाश्वती ।
विद्याश्चतस्र एवैता योगक्षेमाय देहिनाम् ॥

कथंचेदित्थम्—

आन्वीक्षिक्याऽऽत्मविज्ञानं धर्माधर्मौ त्रयीस्थितौ ।
अर्थानर्थौ तु वार्त्तायां दण्डनीतौ नयानयौ ॥

इति साङ्ख्य-न्यायो-भयमीमांसादिरूपात्मान्वीक्षणसाधनभूतान्वीक्षिक्याऽऽत्मविज्ञानम्, त्रय्या च धर्माधर्मज्ञानमिति पूर्वार्धेन निःश्रेयससाधनभूते विद्ये निरूप्योत्तरार्धेन लोकोपकारिके वार्त्तादण्डनीती न्यरूपयत् ।

कविकुलगुरुस्तत्रभवान् कालिदासोऽपि रघुविनयने

धियः समग्रैः स गुणैरुदारधीः
क्रमाच्चतस्रश्चतुरर्णवोपमाः।
ततार विद्याः........................(र. वं. ३।३०)

इति तदेतद्विद्याचतुष्टयमेव जिज्ञास्यत्वेन प्रतिपेदे।
श्रीमद्भागवते भगवतोः श्रीरामकृष्णयोः शिक्षामुपक्रम्य

तयोर्द्विजवरस्तुष्टः शुद्धभावानुवृत्तिभिः।
प्रोवाच वेदानखिलान् साङ्गोपनिषदो गुरुः॥
सरहस्यं धनुर्वेदं धर्मान्न्यायपथांस्तथा।
तथा चान्वीक्षिकीं विद्यां राजनीतिं च षड्विधाम्॥
(१०।४५।३३-३४)

इति विद्या विनिरूप्य

अहोरात्रैश्चतुःषष्ट्या संयत्तौ तावतीः कलाः

इति कला अपि शिक्षणीयत्वेन निरूपिताः।

तदेवं श्रुति-स्मृति-पुराण-नीतिशास्त्र-साम्प्रदायिक कविप्रभृतिभिः सर्वैरपि न केवलं निःश्रेयससाधनभूतानामेव किन्तु लोकोपयोगिसर्वविधविद्यानामपि जिज्ञास्यत्वं सर्वसंमत्या स्वीकृतमित्यपाणिपिहितम्। भगवती श्रुतिस्तु देवर्षेर्नारदस्यापि गन्धयुक्ति-नृत्य-गीति-वाद्य-शिल्पादीनां विज्ञानमपि प्रतिपेदे, यानि कदाचिदेवाधुनिकाः पण्डितपुङ्गवाः श्रोतुमप्यनुमन्येरन्।

वस्तुतस्तु तदिदमुचितं चावश्यकं च। यतः पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयसिद्धिर्हि पुरुषजीवनस्य लक्ष्यम्। तत्र यद्यपि प्राधान्यं मोक्षस्य, तथापि "अनेकजन्मसंसिद्धस्ततो याति परां गतिम्।" इति भगवद्गीतोक्तरीत्या न तस्य सुलभत्वं सर्वजनाधिगम्यत्वं चेति त्रिवर्गसिद्धिरेव सर्वजनोपयोगिनी। नैतावदेव, किन्तु "नाऽनुभूय न जानाति नरो विषयतीक्ष्णताम्" इति श्रीमद्भागवतोक्तरीत्या मोक्षोपयोगिनी, मोक्षप्राप्तिपर्यन्तजीवनधारणाय चापेक्षिता चेत्यप्यकामैरप्यभ्युपेयमेव। एवं चैषा पुरुषार्थसिद्धिः पूर्वोक्ताभिरेव विद्याभिः संपादयितुं शक्येत्यप्यविवादमेव। आसीच्च सोऽपि समयो भारतवर्षे यदा पुरुषार्थचतुष्टयप्राप्तये प्रयतमानाः परांश्चापि प्रेरयन्तः पण्डिताः सर्वजनोपयोगिनः सर्वसमादृताश्चाभूवन्नित्येतन्निःसंकोचं प्रतिपद्यन्त एव पुरातत्वविदः पाश्चात्यपण्डिता अपि। तदेतत् प्रपञ्च्य समययापनं निरर्थकमेव।

अथ साम्प्रतिकी संस्कृतशिक्षा समीक्ष्यताम्। अद्यत्वे हि संस्कृतविदुषां प्रधानं क्षेत्रं वाराणस्येव। तत्र चेदानीं न्यायव्याकरणे एव प्रधान्येनाध्याप्येते, तत्रापि परमं प्राधान्यन्तु नव्यन्यायस्यैव। यदि सुबहुश्रुतोऽपि विद्वान् नव्यन्यायशैल्या स्वीयं वक्तव्यं न परिष्कर्तुं शक्नोति, तर्हि तदीयो विमर्श एभिः कर्णेऽपि न

क्रियते, का कथा पुनस्तस्य विद्वत्सु परिगणनायाः। अत एव तादृशपरिपाटी पण्डितानामाधुनिकानां भूयस्सुशास्त्रार्थेष्वपि स्वपक्षस्थापनारहितया परपक्षखण्डनैकप्रवणया वितण्डया निग्रहस्थाने नयनमेव दृष्टिपथमवतरति सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया निरीक्षमाणानाम्।

यद्यपि न्यायव्याकरणयोरेषां सूक्ष्मेक्षिका तदवगन्तॄणां मनोहारिणी चौत्सुक्यवर्धिनी चेति निः संशयं वक्तुं शक्यते, किन्तु किमेभिस्ततो निस्सारितं सारम्। तथा हि प्रथमतस्तु यदि वस्तुबुद्ध्या विचार्येत तर्हि गौतमप्रणीतं न्यायशास्त्रं न पदार्थशास्त्रम्, किन्तु तत्त्वविमर्शसाधनभूतं तर्कशास्त्रमेव। तच्च यथा पारमार्थिके तत्त्वविमर्शे उपयुज्येत तथैव परिष्कारपरिपाटीपरिहीणं लौकिकेषु न्यायाधिकरणादिष्वप्युपयोक्तुं शक्यते। संजायेत तेन सुमहांल्लाभो जनतायाः, भारतीया वस्तुविवेचनशैली च सपक्षमुपतिष्ठेताधुनिकतार्किकम्मन्यानाम्। किन्तु केवलं नव्यन्यायरीत्या वाग्जालप्रसारण एवास्माभिस्तदेतदुपयुज्यते। नैतेन निः श्रेयसाधिगमो भवितुमर्हति, न च लौकिकसत्यासत्यविवेचना।

न च तत्र निर्दिष्टाः षोडश पदार्थाः परैः कणादनिर्दिष्टायां सप्तपदार्थ्यामन्तर्भाविता इति तस्य पदार्थविज्ञानशास्त्रत्वं स्वीक्रियतामिति वाच्यम्। सर्वस्यापि प्रापञ्चिकपदार्थजातस्य कणाददर्शने सप्तपदार्थ्यबहिर्भूतत्वेन तथा कर्तुं सुकरत्वात्। नैतावन्मात्रेण न्यायशास्त्रं काणाददर्शने संमिश्र्य वस्तुविद्यात्वेन प्रत्यभिज्ञापयितुं शक्यते।

अथ यदि पदार्थशास्त्रमेवेदं मन्येत, तथापि तस्य न पदार्थलक्षणमात्रविचारणे समाप्तिरुचिता। यतो गोर्लक्षणमविदन्तोऽपि गोपाला एव गोपदार्थतदुपयोगविदः स्वीक्रियेरन् जनतया, तदुभयतत्त्वज्ञत्वात्, न तु गोलक्षणनिर्माणाय भूयो भूयः प्रयतमानाः पण्डिताः अत एवेदं न्यायशास्त्रमदो वैशेषिकशास्त्रं चोभयमपि क्रमेण लाजिक (Logic)-सायन्स (Science) रूपेण परिणमनार्हमपि लक्षणैकचक्षुर्भिरस्माभिर्लोकानुपयोगितां नीतामिति केन वा परिणामदर्शिना तत्त्वज्ञेन न स्वीक्रियेत।

अथ सेयमेव दशा व्याकरणस्यापि। तथा हि भगवान् पतञ्जलिः प्रारम्भ एव व्याकरणमहाभाष्यस्य शब्दानुशासनं प्रयोजनं "रक्षोहागमलघ्वसंदेहाः प्रयोजनम्.........." इत्यादिना सुमहता संदर्भेण वेदोपकारकत्वमेव प्रतिपादयाम्बभूव। कैयटोऽपि च व्याकरणस्य वेदद्वारैवोपयोगिताम् "पारम्पर्येण पुरुषार्थसाधनतामस्याहे"त्यनेन वाक्येन स्पष्टतया प्रतिपेदे। किन्तु सुमहदस्माकं दुर्भाग्यम्, यदाधुनिका वैयाकरणशिरोमणयोऽपि कदाचिदेव वेदज्ञानेऽस्योपयोगं विदध्युः, यतः सर्वेषामपि साम्प्रतिकव्याकरणाचार्याणां शिक्षा पाणिनिसूत्रेष्वर्धमात्रामात्रस्यापि लाघवं कर्तुं न शक्यत इत्यत्र, दीक्षितेन यत् किमपि लिखितं तदेव सर्वांशेन साधु, मुनित्रयमतं केवलमनेन वा नागेशेन वा सम्यक् परिज्ञातम्, स्वतन्त्रं चेदं दर्शनमित्यत्रैव परिसमाप्नोतीति नातिरोहितं विदुषाम्। आसीदिदमुपयोगि पाणिनि-सूत्रप्रचारकाले सिद्धान्तकौमुदी प्रचारकाले चेति तैस्तथा

विहितम्, किन्तु साम्प्रतम् कस्तस्योपयोग इति न तिरस्क्रियतां विचारसरणेः। सिद्धान्तकौमुद्याः, अपेक्षितस्य तद्विवरणस्य चाध्ययनं सुतरामुपयोगीत्यत्र कस्तावद् विद्वान् विप्रतिपद्येत, किन्तु पाणिनिसूत्राक्षरविचारणमात्रे, दीक्षित-नागेश-लेखसमर्थने च जीवनयापनं धर्ममोक्षयोः साधनमिति कस्तावच्छ्रद्दध्यात्।

अथेतरेष्वप्यध्याप्यमानविषयेषु निःक्षिप्यतां दृष्टिः। साहित्यशास्त्रं हि सर्वविधकविकर्ममर्मविज्ञानायैवाविष्कृतम् अत एव तत्र भाषाभेदमनादृत्य संस्कृतपद्यानीव प्राकृतपद्यान्यप्युदाहृतान्येव काव्यप्रकाशकारादिभिः। किन्तु साम्प्रतिकः साहित्याचार्योऽपि संस्कृतभाषायां येषु दोषेषु दृष्टेषु नासिकासंकोचमञ्चति तत्सजातीयानेव दोषान् हिन्दीभाषायां विदधानो दृश्यते, न च हिन्दीपद्यानि विवरीतुमप्येष यथावच्छक्नोति। तदेवं साहित्येऽपि भूयांसः पुस्तकपाठका एव दृष्टिपथमायान्ति, न पुनः श्रुतमात्र एव पद्ये तत्तत्काव्यवृत्ति-प्रयोजकव्यङ्ग्यालङ्कारादितत्त्वविदः।

सेयमेव दशा ज्यौतिषस्य। ज्यौतिषं हि ज्योतिर्विषयकं विज्ञानम्। किन्त्वेते महाशया आचार्यपर्यन्तमधीयाना अपि च परिचिन्वन्ति ते खगोलस्थानि ज्योतींषि, कुतः पुनरेते विद्युरस्मिन् विषये नवनवमन्विष्यमाणं वस्तु, कुतश्चास्योपयोगं विदध्युः।

अत्युपयोगिन्यायुर्वेदेऽपि सेयं दुरवस्था दरीदृश्यते। वैद्यमहाशयो विद्यालये औषधालये वा विश्राम्यन्नेवोद्धाद्यतामार्त्तानां संपादयितुं प्रयतते। नैष परिचिनोत्योषधीः, नापि नवनवानुत्पद्यमानान् विकारान्। अत एव सुविमृश्य निरूपितोऽप्यृषीणामौषधोपचारो न तथा साफल्यमधिगच्छति यथाऽस्यास्माकं शास्त्रेषु दृश्यते गौरवम्।

परमार्थसाधनस्य प्रधानसाधनत्वेन स्वीक्रियमाणानामतिमात्रश्रद्धया पञ्चमवेदत्वेन गृह्यमाणनामधेयानां पुराणेतिहासानां धर्मशास्त्रादीनां च सोपपत्तिपाठने तु प्रत्यक्षमेवास्माकमसामर्थ्यं जागर्ति। संस्कृतज्ञा हि यथा व्याकरणादीनि पंक्तिशो निरवकरीकृत्य पाठयितुं शक्नुवन्ति न तथा वेदपुराणेतिहासधर्मशास्त्रादीनि। अत एव वयं समुपस्थिते धर्मसंबन्धिनि प्रश्ने परिष्कारादिना प्रतारयन्तो वा गजनिमीलिकामाचरतो वा दृश्यामहे।

मान्याः मनीषिमहानुभावाः, दिङ्मात्रमेवैतत्। पौरोभाग्यमयमाचरतीति मन्यमानानां लेखकः कोपभाजनतामेव नेयादिति विरम्यते ऽस्माद्दुरालोचनात्।

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अथ कीदृशी शिक्षाऽपेक्षिता।

तदेवमधस्तात् प्रदर्शितया दिशा विचारे विधीयमाने साम्प्रतिक-संस्कृत-शिक्षायामिमे दश दोषा दृष्टिविषयतामुपयान्ति—(१) एकदेशिता (२) व्यवहारानभिज्ञता (३) लक्षणैकचक्षुष्कता (४) वाग्जालप्रसारणमात्रपाटवप्रसक्ते

प्रयत्नः (५) परपक्षखण्डनैकप्रवणता (६) तत्त्वज्ञताभावः (७) स्वल्पफलानां चिरकालपाठ्यग्रन्थानां समावेशः (८) भारतीयधर्म-संस्कृतीतिहासाद्यावेदक-ग्रन्थानामप्रवेशः (९) कलादिसहयोगिविषयशून्यता (१०) प्रारम्भिकशिक्षायाः काठिन्यं चेति ।

तदपनयाय विविधोपायप्रदर्शनमपहाय़ेह महामहोपाध्यायश्रीगिरिधर-शर्ममहानुभावानामनुरोधेन जयपुरे संमिलितयैकया लघुसमित्या, यस्यास्मिन् विषये रसवद्भ्यः कतिपयजयपुरराजकीयविद्यालयाध्यापकेभ्योऽतिरिक्तः पङ्क्तीनामासां लेखकोऽप्यासीत्, निर्णीतः पाठ्यक्रमस्तदनन्तरसमुदितविचारा-नुसारिकिञ्चित्परिवर्त्तनसहितः पण्डितपरिषदोऽस्याः समक्षं समुपस्थाप्यते, आशास्यते च देशकालादिविशेषं विदन्तस्तत्रभवन्तः सुधियः सुधीरं विमृश्य, सत्यामावश्यकतायां समुचितं परिवर्त्तनं च विधाय, निजोररीकारप्रदानेन प्रचारानुग्रहेण च परिश्रममिमं तथा सफलयेयुर्यथा भगवतीयममरभारती पुनरपि यथापूर्वमुज्जीवितुं प्रभवेत् उद्घोषयेम च भूयोऽपि भगवन्मनुमतमनुसृत्य ससंमानम्—

एतद्देशसमुत्पन्नसंस्कृतज्ञसकाशतः ।
प्रावीण्यं प्राच्यविद्यासु प्राप्नुयुः सर्वमानवाः ॥

पाठ्यक्रमः

१—संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनप्रयोजनानि

१—भारतीयसंस्कृतिसंरक्षणम्, २—भारतीयविद्यानामतुलनिधानस्य, भारतीयविदुषामनुपमसूक्ष्मविवेचनशैल्याश्च संरक्षणप्रचारौ, ३—जनतायां धार्मिकरुचेरुत्पादनम्, धर्मज्ञानप्रसारः, आध्यात्मिकशक्तिविकासं प्रति प्रगतेः प्रयासश्च, ४—यथार्थेतिहासनिर्माणम्, ५—प्राच्यपाश्चात्त्योभयविधशिल्पक-लाविज्ञानादीनां तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम्, अन्वेषणद्वारा तन्न्यूनतानां त्रुटीना-ञ्चापनयनप्रयत्नश्च, ६—भारतीयधर्मदर्शनादिषु क्रियमाणानामाक्षेपाणां समुचितः परिहारः, ७—व्यावहारिकजीवने सौम्यता-सारल्ययोर्भारतीयविनयशिष्टा-चारयोश्चादर्शोपस्थापनम् ।

२—जीविकासाधनानि

१-अध्यापनम्, २-अन्वेषणम् (Research) ३-उपदेशः, ४-कथावाचनम्, ५—संस्कृतग्रन्थानामन्यभाषास्वनुवादः, आवश्यकग्रन्थानां संस्कृतभाषायां चानु-वादः, ६—कर्मकाण्डप्रयोगः, ७—अनुष्ठानानि, ८—ज्योतिर्विद्या, ९—भैषज्यम्, १० पुस्तक-सामयिकपत्रादिसंपादनम्, ११—अभिनवग्रन्थप्रणयनम्, १२—मुद्रण-पत्रसंशोधनम् (Proof-readership), १३ समुचितक्षेत्रेषु (यथा क्षत्रियरा-ज्येषु दानविभागाध्यक्षता, देवस्थान-भगवन्मन्दिराद्यधिकार इत्यादि) योग्य-पद-प्राप्तिः इत्यादयः । *

* तालिकायामस्यां कलाभिज्ञता-कृषि-व्यापारादयोऽपि निवेशयितुं शक्यन्ते । एतेनेदमभि-प्रेतम्—यत् संस्कृतज्ञाः संस्कृताध्ययनेन सह तथैव कला-कृषि-व्यापारादिविषयेषु नैपुण्यमासादयेयु-र्यथाऽऽङ्ग्लपाठशालासु वैकल्पिकविषयत्वेनाभ्यस्यमानेषु Drawing, music, agriculture, commerce प्रभृतिषु । विषयाश्चेमे संस्कृतपाठशालास्वप्यध्याप्येरन् । भारतस्य स्वाधीनतावसरेऽस्माकं पूर्वजैस्तदेतत् सर्वमनुष्ठितमेव । संगीतविद्या तु सुकथोपदेशादिस्व-प्युपयोगिनीत्यतिरोहितमेव ।

३—पाठ्यविषयाः

प्रथमा

(सर्वविषयसाधारणेयं परीक्षा)

(I) संस्कृतम्—सूत्रग्रन्थाध्ययनमन्तरैव संस्कृतगद्यपद्ययोर्यथाविधि-वाचन-लेखने, अनुवाद-वाक्यरचनाद्यभ्यासश्च।

(II) मातृभाषा—साधारणगद्यपद्ये।

(III) वङ्ग-तैलङ्ग-ग्रन्थाक्षरपरिचयः।

(IV) गणितम्—मिश्रभागान्तम्, व्यवहारोपयोग्यायव्ययादिपरिज्ञानं च।

(V) धर्मः—(मातृभाषायाम्) मनूक्ता दश सामान्यधर्माः, शौचाचार-सन्ध्या-स्तोत्रादिकम्, प्रमाणावताराचार्यादिपरिचयः, पञ्चाङ्गावलोकनं च।

(VI) इतिहासः—प्राक्तन-नूतनेतिहासकथाः।

(VII) भूगोलम्—भूगोलीयपरिभाषा, पञ्चमहाद्वीपपरिचयः, राजनैतिक-व्यापारिक-धार्मिकदृष्टिभिर्भारतस्य संपूर्णं परिज्ञानम्।

(VIII) वैकल्पिकविषयाः—(क) वेदः—पुरुषसूक्तम्, साधारणकर्मोपयोगिमन्त्राश्च। (ख) चित्रकला। (ग) संगीतम् (स्वरसाधनामात्रम्)। (घ) आङ्गलभाषायाः प्रारम्भिकज्ञानम्। एष्वन्यतमं किञ्चित्।

मध्यमा।

(I) संस्कृतम्—(क) व्याकरणम् (मध्यकौमुद्या अनवरं किञ्चित्) (ख) साहित्यम् (प्राचीनार्वाचीनोभयविधगद्यपद्ययोस्तदुपयोगिसाधारणच्छन्दोलङ्काराणां च परिज्ञानम्, शाकुन्तलादिसममेकं नाटकं च।) (ग) संस्कृतभाषातो मातृभाषायां मातृभाषातः संस्कृतभाषायामनुवादे नैपुण्यम्, निबन्धरचना च।

सूचना—शिक्षायामस्यामिदमवश्यमवधेयम्—यच्छात्रस्य विविधशास्त्रप्रवेशयोग्यता, उभयविधानुवादयोग्यता च पूर्णतया संपद्येतेति।

(II) मातृभाषा—गद्यपद्यसाहित्यस्य यथेष्टपरिचयः, निबन्धलेखाभ्यासश्च।

II) धर्मः—वर्णधर्माः, आश्रमधर्माः, साधनधर्माः (तत्तत्संप्रदायमनुसृत्य), तीर्थव्रतोत्सवादीनां साधारणतया यथेष्टः परिचयश्च।

V) इतिहासः—वेदोपनिषत्पुराणप्रतिपादितविशिष्टब्रह्मर्षि-राजर्षीणां परिचयः, प्राच्यमध्ययुगीयराज्य-समाज-धार्मिकव्यवस्थानां यथार्थबोधः, देशदुर्दशाकारणविवेचनं च।

(V) भूगोलम्—भौगोलिकसिद्धान्तानां प्राचीनार्वाचीनदेशादीनां परिचयश्च ।

(VI) विज्ञानम्—आरम्भिकः परिचयः ।

(VII) वैकल्पिकविषयाः—(क) न्याय-साहित्ये, (ख) वेदः, (ग) ज्यौतिषम्, (घ) आयुर्वेदः, (ङ) आङ्ग्लभाषा (मिडिलक्लासपर्यन्तम्) (च) चित्रकला (छ) संगीतम् ।

उच्चशिक्षा

(शिक्षायामस्यां निम्न-लिखिता विषया निर्धारिताः, येष्वन्यतमं किमप्येकं परीक्षार्थिना ग्रहीतुं शक्यते) १—वेदः (क) कर्मकाण्डम् (ख) वैदिकतत्त्वपरिज्ञानम् २—व्याकरण—साहित्ये (३) नव्य-न्यायः (४) दर्शनानि (क) वैदिकदर्शनानि (ख) जैनबौद्धदर्शनानि (५) धर्मशास्त्रम् (क) स्मृतयस्तन्त्राणि च (ख) व्यवस्थोपयोगिनिबन्धाः (ग) उपदेशोपयोगी सर्वसंग्रहः (६) पुराणानि (७) इतिहासः (समाजस्य साहित्यस्य च) (८) ज्यौतिषम् (गणितं फलितं च) (९) आयुर्वेदः (१०) अर्थशास्त्रम् (कौटल्यादिप्रणीतम्) संपत्तिशास्त्रं वार्त्ताशास्त्रं च (१२) भाषाविज्ञानम् (पाणिनीयपञ्चपाठीं निरुक्तादि चानुसृत्य) (१३) पदार्थविज्ञानम् (*Science*) ।

सूचना—एतावदधीत्य शिक्षार्थी स्वस्वविषयेऽधिकृतः स्वीक्रियेत । विशिष्टयोग्यतार्थं परिगणितविषयाः पृथङ् निर्दिष्टाः । समयः— परीक्षास्वासु प्रत्येकं वर्षत्रयं पर्याप्तं स्यात् । तदेवं वर्षनवकानन्तरं यदि परीक्षार्थी कामयेत तर्हि कार्यक्षेत्रे प्रविशेत्, यदि तु विशिष्टयोग्यतां कस्मिंश्चिद्विषये वाञ्छेत्तर्हि वर्षत्रयं तस्मिन् विषये प्रयस्य प्रावीण्यमासादयेत् ।

विशेषज्ञताविषयाः ।

१—वेदः (क) पाठः (ख) प्रयोगः (ग) तत्त्वज्ञानम् । २—व्याकरणम्, ३—साहित्यम् (क) शास्त्रम् (ख) कवित्वम् (ग) नाट्यम्, ४—न्यायशास्त्रम् (क) शब्दखण्डम् (ख) अनुमानखण्डम्, ५—प्राचीनन्यायवैशेषिके, ६—सांख्ययोगौ, ७—वेदान्तदर्शनम् (क) शाङ्करम् (ख) रामानुजीयम् (ग) निम्बार्क-भास्करीये (घ) माध्वम् (ङ) वाल्लभम् (च) प्रत्यभिज्ञा (छ) यावद्वेदान्तानां तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम् । ८—भक्तिशास्त्राणि—भागवत-पञ्चरात्रादीनि । ९—पूर्वमीमांसा—१० जैनदर्शनम्—११ बौद्धदर्शनम् १२—प्राच्य-प्रतीच्यदर्शनानां तुलनात्मकमध्ययनम् । १३—स्मृतयः, १४—तन्त्राणि, १५—पुराणानि, १६—धर्मोपदेशकता, १७—

इतिहासः, (क) समाजस्य (ख) साहित्यस्य, १८—ज्यौतिषम् (क) गणितम् (ख) सिद्धान्तः (ग) फलितम्,१९—आयुर्वेदः (क) शास्त्रम् (ख) प्रयोगः।२०—शासनपद्धतिः, २१—राजनीतिः,२२—जीविकाशास्त्रम् (वार्त्ता),२३—अर्थशास्त्रम्, २४—व्यवहारशास्त्रम् (Law), २५—कृषिः,२६—वाणिज्यम्, २७—पाशुपाल्यम्, २८—भाषाविज्ञानम्, २९—शिल्पविद्या, ३०—भौतिकविज्ञानम्, ३१-रसायनविज्ञानम्, ३२—मनोविज्ञानम्, ३३-प्राणिशास्त्रम्, ३४-वनस्पतिविज्ञानम्, ३५-भूगर्भविद्या चेत्यादयो यथायथं यथासंभवं निर्देश्यास्तच्छिक्षणाय शिक्षकादिकं च सति संभवे सज्जीकरणीयमित्यलमतिप्रपञ्चितेन ।



॥ श्रीः ॥

संस्कृत-पाठशालासु पठनपाठनपद्धतिः ।

निबन्धा—श्रीवृद्धिचन्द्रशर्मा शास्त्री, व्याकरण-धर्म्मशास्त्राचार्यः,
प्रो०—महा० संस्कृत-कालेज, जयपुरम् ।

अन्तरायतिमिरोपशान्तये शान्तपावनमचिन्त्यवैभवम् ।
तन्नरं वपुषि कुञ्जरंमुखे मन्महे किमपि तुन्दिलं महः ॥

आसन् तेपि दिवसाः, येषु महीमण्डलमण्डितायमानं भारतमिदं वस्तुतो भारतमेवासीत् । अत्रत्या ज्ञानविज्ञानशालिनो ब्राह्मणा भूसुराः परिगण्यन्ते स्म । राजतन्त्रेपि ब्राह्मणानामेव शास्त्रज्ञानां प्राधान्यं वर्तते स्म । वाणिज्य-व्यवसाय-कलाकौशलादिशिक्षणेपि तेषामेवासीदधिकारः । किं बहुना ब्राह्मणमन्तरा नासीत्कस्याप्यध्यापने हस्तक्षेपः । व्यवस्थाया अस्याः फलमेतद् भवति स्म, यत् सुदूरदूरदेशान्तरतोऽपारं पारावारं समुपलङ्घ्य अपरिमितं कष्टमनुभूयापि विद्याग्रहणाय अस्मानुपतिष्ठन्ते स्म द्वीपान्तरस्था जनाः । तस्मिन् समये देशस्यास्य आसीदेषैव संस्कृता भाषा, एता एव पाठशालाः, यासु शिक्षिता जना न केवलमस्मिन्नेव देशे गौरवभाजोऽभूवन्, देशान्तरेष्वपि स्वनामकीर्तिस्तम्भानरोपयन्निति पुरावृत्तमस्माकं साक्षि । को न जानीते, अनयैव भाषया, आस्वेव पाठशालासु शिक्षा गृह्णाना मानैकधना महर्षयः करतलामलकवद् ब्रह्माण्डपदार्थजातमवलोकयन्ति स्म । धर्म्मशास्त्रपारंगतो महाराजो मनुरस्मिन्नेव भारतभूखण्डे जनिंलेभे । भगवता द्रोणाचार्येण मन्ये न देशान्तरं गत्वा शस्त्रास्त्रविद्यासु पाटवमासादितम् । कामशास्त्रमध्येतुं वात्स्यायनेनापि न विदेशयात्रायातना सोढा । नीतिशास्त्रनिष्णातेन चाणक्येनापि एतद्देशीयपाठशालास्वेवाधीतम् । वक्तव्यस्यास्य अयमेवाभिप्रायो यद् भारतवर्षीयासु संस्कृत-पाठशालास्वेव भारतीयेभ्यो गुरुभ्य एव तैर्ज्ञानमर्जितमासीत् । किं बहुना, यद्देशप्रसूतः प्रत्येकं द्विजन्मा गुणानामागारमासीत् । नासीत् तादृशी काचिद् विद्या यया परिचितो नाभूद् भारतीयो भूसुरो विद्वान् । 'यद् वै मनुरवदत् तद् भेषजं' मिति प्रमाणान्तरनिरपेक्षया श्रुत्या यस्य वचनस्य प्रामाण्यमुररीकृतम् स एव भगवान् मनुः किं वदतीति मनाग् निभाल्यताम्—दरमुकुलितदृशा महाभागैः ।

"एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः" इति ।

किन्तु हन्त ! न हि भवन्ति सदा समानानि दिनानि । स एवायं देशः, त एव हि अग्रेजन्मानः, ता एव पाठशालाः, किन्तु क्व तज्ज्ञानगौरवम् ? न ता विद्यालयाः पाठशालाः, न तेऽग्रेजन्मानो ये सकलकलाप्रवीणाः, अद्यत्वे त्वस्माकं देशो ज्ञानोपार्जनाय परमुखमपेक्षमाणोऽवलोक्यते । विद्यालया अस्माकं केवलं पुण्यालयाः परिगण्यन्ते । विद्यैकधनाः भूसुरास्तिरस्क्रियन्ते । संस्कृत-पाठशालासु

शिक्षमाणाः शिक्षिताश्च शिक्षितसमाजे न क्वचित् संमानमर्हन्ति । हन्त! अनेहसि विपरीते किं न भवति विपरीतम्? अवस्थामिमामवलोक्य कविकुलगुरोः श्रीकालिदासस्यार्थगौरवा—उक्तिरियं स्मृतिपथमायाति—"नीचैर्गच्छत्युपरि च दशा चक्रनेमिक्रमेण" इति ।

आस्तां तावत् । सर्वमेतदवगतं विद्वत्तल्लजानाम् । किमनेन भूतस्मरणरूपेण पिष्टपेषणेन । विचारणीयं तावदेतदेव, यज्जगन्मूर्द्धन्यस्य ज्ञानविज्ञानविद्यासु कुशलस्य देशस्यास्य ईदृशी दुरवस्था कथंकारं समजनीति । केवलं समयशिरसि दण्डपातनेन न नाम कार्यसिद्धिर्भविता । दोषान्तराण्यप्यन्वेषणीयानि । किञ्चिद् विचार्यमाणं इदमेव दृष्टिपथमायाति यदस्माकं शिक्षादीक्षापद्धतौ बहूनि दूषणानि संप्रविष्टानि, येन वयं तादृशा अपि एतादृशा संजाताः । अस्माकं शिक्षापद्धतौ कालक्रमानुसारं तादृशा दोषाः समागताः यैरस्माकं पठनपाठनपद्धतिः सर्वथानुपयोगितां गता । गतं चास्माकं ज्ञानगौरवम्, न चास्मान् पृच्छतिः कोपि वराटिकाभिरपि ।

अत्र केचित् प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्ते विचारचातुरीचतुराः—'न चास्माकं पठनपाठनपद्धतौ दोषलेशोऽपि संप्रविष्टः । केवलं राज्याश्रयाभाव एव प्रचाराभावस्य कारणम्, गौरवाभावस्य च । यदि राज्याश्रयं वयं लभेमहि, तादृशमेव गौरवं प्राप्नुयामः' इति । सत्यं तेषां शेमुषीजुषां कथनमिदम् । मन्ये, राज्याश्रयमनुपलभ्य न कापि शिक्षा तथोन्नतिं कर्तुं समर्था यथा तदाश्रयमुपलभ्य । किन्तु मान्याः, न केवलं स एव हेतुः संस्कृत-शिक्षायाः पश्चात्पदत्वे शेखरायते । अपि तु कालक्रमेण अनिवार्यतया समुत्पन्नानां दोषाणामपरिमार्जनमेव मुख्यतमो दोषोऽस्याः समुन्नतौ बाधक इति मन्मतिः ।

सैव खलु पठनपाठनपद्धतिश्चिरं प्रचलेत्, या हि ज्ञानशक्तिं विकासयन्ती क्रियापाटवमपि शिक्षयेत् । सैव च भवेद् मनुजसंघस्य कल्याणाय । तद्विपरीता च केवलं समययापनायैवेति शास्त्राणामस्माकं घण्टाघोषः केन वा न श्रुतः साक्षरेण "शास्त्राण्यधीत्यापि भवन्ति मूर्खाः यस्तु क्रियावान् पुरुषः स विद्वान्" इति । ये हि परलोकहितसाधनमात्रं शिक्षायाः फलं मन्यन्ते, मन्ये धर्मध्वजिनः सन्तोऽपि ते वस्तुतो वर्णाश्रमधर्मध्वंसका एवेति कटुसत्यं मे कृपया मर्षणीयम् । मान्याः! केवलं परलोके मोक्षे वा शिक्षायाः फलं तदा धर्मार्थकामरूपः त्रिवर्गः केन साध्यतां नाम? तस्मात् चतुर्विधपुरुषार्थसाधनीयं संस्कृता वागित्यवश्यं प्रतिपत्तव्यम् । सा हि चतुर्थाश्रमकृते परं वैराग्यं यथा शिक्षयति, तथा साम्राज्यसंचालनाय राजधर्मानपि न विस्मरति । गृहस्थाश्रमस्य सम्यग् व्यवस्थित्यै समाजशास्त्रं कामशास्त्रं च यथा क्रोडे करोति तथैव प्रतिपदं विशुद्धान् सदाचारानपि न परित्यजति । विद्याप्रवणापि कलाविस्तारमक्षुण्णं रक्षति । किंवा अधिकविस्तारेण, देशकालपात्रादिभेदेन यस्मिन् समये यस्याः शक्तेरुपयोगः आवश्यकः तस्याः सर्वस्या अपि विकाससामग्री यथोचितं संस्कृत-भाषामये साहित्ये पूर्णतां भजते । किन्तु अद्यत्वे किं किं संस्कृतपाठशालासु पाठ्यते इति न

तिरोहितं विदुषाम्। ये हि विषया जनसाधारणोपयोगिनः सन्ति, तेषां तु तत्र कथैव न, पाठनं तु दूरापेतम्। "विद्या तु वैदुष्यमुपार्जयन्ती जागर्ति लोकद्वय-साधनाय" इति-अभियुक्तोक्तप्रकारेण ऐहिलौकिकाः पारलौकिकाश्चेत्युभयविध-विषया विद्यास्वन्तर्भूता वर्तन्ते। आस्ताम् द्वयम्, इह तु एकोऽपि लोकः साध्य-मानो न विलोक्यते हन्त! संस्कृतपाठशालासु एतास्वधीतवन्तः संस्कृत-पण्डिताः लौकिकज्ञानशून्या भवन्तीति किंवदन्ती न नाम सर्वथा न तथ्यतां भजते। संस्कृत-पाठशालासु विषयाणामेषां सर्वथा पाठनाभावात्। गणितसदृशे समुपयोगिनि विषयेपि न नाम पण्डितानां गतिः। बहूनां तु खलु पण्डितानामेष विश्वासो यद् यस्य गणिते गतिः न स व्याकरणं न्यायं वाऽध्येतुं प्रभवेत् कदाचि-दपीति। ये च वैयाकरणा नैयायिका वा, न ते गणितशास्त्रे प्रवेशं लभन्त इति। एवं सर्वास्वेव लोकोपयोगिविद्यासु संस्कृत-पाठशालासु अर्द्धचन्द्रं प्राप्तासु अवशिष्टा केवलं पारलौकिकी सिद्धिः। सापि न क्वापि दृग्गोचरीभवति। न हि आस्तिकाः, धर्मप्रवणाः, निस्पृहाः, एकान्तनिषेविणः, विषयान् विषमिव त्यजन्तोऽलोक्यन्ते संस्कृतज्ञाः पण्डिताश्छात्रा वा। तादृशविषयाणामपि अध्ययनाध्यापनेऽप्रवेशात्। 'स्वर्गकामो यजेते' ति वाक्योच्चारणेनैव मन्ये न स्वर्गप्राप्तिः सुलभा। "सुचिन्तितं चौषधमातुराणां न नाममात्रेण करोत्यरोगमि" त्यभाणकं हि सर्वजनविदितम्। आस्तां कथा ऐहिलौकिकसुखसाधनस्य। स्वर्गादिसाधनेष्यस्माभिः किं क्रियते यत्नविशेषः? स्वर्गादिसाधनकथा दूरे तिष्ठतु, तज्ज्ञानायापि किं पाठ्यते इति। न परोक्षं पण्डितप्रकाण्डानाम्। कथयन्तु महाभागाः! अनया पठनपाठनप्रणाल्या कार्योपयोगिनी कीदृशी शक्तिरस्मास्वाविर्भवति? कीदृशं च ज्ञानं वयं समुपलभा-महे, युगान्यधीत्यापि संस्कृत-पाठशालासु आसु?

अत्रेदमाशङ्कते केचिद् वैतण्डिकाः- न कोऽपि विषयः ऐहिलौकिकपारलौकि-कान्यतरसंबन्धं जह्यात्। तेनानिच्छतापि त्वया एकेन केनापि सहावश्यं संबन्धः स्थापनीयः संस्कृतशिक्षाया इति। तान् प्रति ब्रूमो वयम्—सत्यं, संबन्धः स्थापनीयः। वस्तुतस्तु नास्त्येव सः। भांति सिद्धा अपि पदार्थाः किं न सन्ति संसारे? सन्त्येव। किन्तु वस्तुतो न सन्ति सत्ता तेषाम्। तथैव लोकद्वयेन न वास्तविकः सम्बन्धो वर्तमानसंस्कृत-शिक्षायाः। काल्पनिकोऽस्तु। किं तेन साध्यतां नाम।

अद्यत्वे संस्कृत-पाठशालासु किं किं पाठ्यत इत्यपि न परोक्षं विदुषाम्। तथापि किंचिद् विविच्यते—व्याकरणं न्यायः साहित्यं चेति विषयत्रयी संस्कृत-पाठशालाप्राङ्गणे नृत्यन्ती दरीदृश्यते। तत्रापि न्यायः खलु क्षीणपुण्यो विरलविरलः शनैर्जीर्णतां नीयमानोवलोक्यते। अवशिष्टा केवलं विषयद्वयी। तत्र व्याकरणं मुखस्थानीयत्वान्मुख्यतां भजते तस्यैव दशा किंचिदवलोक्यतां नाम विचक्षणैः।

व्याकरणं हि शब्दशास्त्रम्। व्याकरणाध्ययने शब्दानां शुद्धोच्चारणं शुद्ध-लेखनञ्च प्रयोजनम्। किन्तु पठनपाठनप्रणालीदूषणेन द्वादशवर्षमविच्छिन्नमधीत्या-पि शुद्धभाषणे लेखने च न प्रभवन्ति वराकाश्छात्राः? किं बहुना शुद्धोच्चारणे च बहूनां विद्वत्सल्लजानामपि दृष्टा समुपेक्षा। स्थानप्रयत्नज्ञानेपि मन्ये न तत्र पक्षपातः।

केवलं फक्किकासु कृतपरिश्रमाः समवलोक्यन्ते सर्वत्रछात्राः। व्याकरणज्ञानस्य मुख्यं प्रयोजनं "रक्षोहागमलघ्वसन्देहास्तु" सुदूरदूरं गतम्। को हि व्याकरणमधीत्य वेदार्थज्ञाने नियुंक्ते? तिष्ठतु तावद् वेदार्थज्ञाम् भाषापाण्डित्यं तु सिद्ध्येत्। तदपि न हन्त! सिद्ध्यति। वस्तुतस्तु भाषापाटवं न व्याकरणाध्ययनस्य विषयः, अपि तु व्यवहारस्य। स्वीकृतं हि व्याकरणैकधनैर्महाभाष्ये कृतभूरिपरिश्रमैः पण्डितप्रवरैः श्रीनागोजिभट्टमहाभागैर्व्यवहारस्य शक्तिग्राहकशिरोमणित्वमिति।

बहवश्छात्रा अस्माभिस्तादृशा दृष्टाः, ये सिद्धान्तकौमुदीकण्ठाग्रीकृत्यापि शब्दानां क्रियाणां च न प्रवक्तुं पारयन्ति शुद्धानि रूपाणि। एष मन्ये पठनपाठनस्यैव दोषो न राज्याश्रयाभावस्य। ग्रन्थपरिमितानां प्रयोगाणामर्थज्ञाने तु नास्माकं प्रयासः। भावयति शब्दस्य कोऽर्थ इति पृष्टे 'भवन्तं प्रेरयति भावयतीति' सम्यग् विग्रहे कृतेऽपिशब्दस्य वास्तविकोऽर्थो बहुभिश्छात्रैर्न कर्तुं पार्यत इति बहुशो दृष्टचरम्। अस्तु, कौमुद्यन्तव्याकरणस्य कथा, उच्चकक्षास्वपि किं पठामः; केवलं सूत्राक्षरविषयको विवाद एव। एवमेव न्यायशास्त्रेऽपि अनुमानप्रपञ्चअवच्छेदकावच्छिन्नवागुरासु पतिता वयं न पदार्थपरिचये प्रभवामः। हेत्वाभासलक्षणे एव केवलममूल्यजीवनस्यास्य यापनं कुर्मः।

आसीत् तादृशोऽपि समयः, यस्मिन्नस्य महती आवश्यकतासीत्। तर्कप्रधानैश्चार्वाकैर्बौद्धैश्च व्याप्तेस्मिन् देशे आर्यसभ्यतायाः सनातनधर्मस्य च रक्षणार्थं स्वीकृतोऽयं पन्थास्तात्कालिकैरस्माकं पूर्वजैः। किन्तु प्राघुणिको गृहानधिकरोतीति कोयं जघन्यः प्रकारः? अद्यत्वे धर्मसंस्कृतिघातकाः ये ये प्रकारा अस्माकं पुरस्तिष्ठन्ति तेषां निराकरणं नाद्यतनेषु संस्कृतपाठशालासु पाठ्यमानेन न्यायशास्त्रविचारेण संभवतीति निःसंध्वसं शक्यते वक्तुम्। इयमेव परिस्थितिः काव्यसाहित्याध्ययनस्यापि। पर्यायरटनेनैव काव्याध्ययनं समाप्यते। काव्याध्ययनस्य मुख्यं प्रयोजनं भूगोलेतिहासपदार्थजातप्रक्रांतपरिचयादिव्यवहारज्ञानं च दूरापास्तम्। किन्तु आचार्यपरीक्षोत्तरणं यावत् प्रपठ्यापि भाषाज्ञानातिरिक्ता न कापि कार्योपयोगिनी शक्तिर्विकासमापद्यमानावलोक्यते। महाभागाः! अप्युपयोगिनी शिक्षापद्धतिरियम्? किमनयैव पठनपाठनपद्धत्या स्वोन्नतिः समाजोन्नतिर्देशधर्मोन्नतिर्वा शक्यते संसाधयितुम्? किं बहुना व्युत्पन्ना अपि छात्राः केवलं वाक्शूरत्वमेव भजन्ते, नार्थप्रवणतायै यतन्ते। विचार्यताम्–अर्थविषयिणी कापि शक्तिः प्रज्ञारूढा न भवेत् तर्हि केवलं शब्दयोजनाशक्त्या किंवा वराकः स जगति साधयेत्। अस्माकं पूर्वजैः सुबहु परिश्रम्य यज्ज्ञानमर्जितम् तस्य रक्षणमपि नैवंविधेनाध्ययनेनाध्यापनेन वा संभवति। आस्ताम् तावत्, बह्वाम्रेडितोयं विषयो न विस्तारमपेक्षते।

भारतीयशास्त्राणामेष घण्टाघोषः–यज्जीवनस्य धर्मार्थकाममोक्षरूपचतुर्वर्गफलप्राप्तिरेव मुख्यं लक्ष्यम्। यया शिक्षया तेष्वेकतमोऽपि न सिद्ध्यति सापि किं शिक्षा? कथमिति चेच्छ्रूयताम्, धर्मविषयविवेचकानां धर्मशास्त्राणां न क्वापि पठनपाठनं प्रचलति, येन मास्तु क्रियाप्रावीण्यम्, धर्मज्ञानं तु भवेत्? अस्माकं धर्मशास्त्र

एव राजनीतिर्व्यवहारशास्त्रं च समाविष्टम् । तयोः सर्वथाऽज्ञाने एव धारासभासु के के प्रस्तावा धर्मविरुद्धाः समागच्छन्ति, कैः प्रस्तावैः समाजशास्त्रस्य संबन्धः इत्यपि न ज्ञातुं शक्यते अस्माभिः इति कथं धर्मरक्षकत्वमस्माकं सुरक्षितं भवेत् ? अर्थकामशास्त्रयोस्तु कथैव कर्णकुहरे न पतिता पाठशालास्वासु । अवशिष्टा केवलं मोक्षचर्चा । मान्याः ! मोक्षो हि नाम न तादृशं सुलभं वस्तु यदनायासेन केवलं वाक्प्रपञ्चेन प्राप्नुयान्नरः । अविदितसुखदुःखं निर्गुणं वस्तु किञ्चिन्मोक्षपदं लभते । द्वन्द्वातीताः कति छात्राः पण्डिता वावलोकिता भवद्भिर्महाभागैः ।

किंच—धर्मज्ञानाय "धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां प्रमाणं परमं श्रुतिः" इति वचनेन भगवतो वेदस्यैव प्राधान्यम् । वेदाध्ययनेनैव सोऽयं धर्मः परिज्ञातुं शक्यते । तस्य भगवतो वेदस्याध्ययनाध्यापनं न प्रायेण संस्कृतपाठशालासु प्रचलति । क्वचित् प्रचलितमपि केवलं वेदाक्षररटनमात्रेणैव परिसमाप्यते नार्थपरिज्ञाने प्रयत्नः प्रविलोक्यते । अनर्थाध्ययनस्य निन्दा स्वयं वेदेनैव विहिता—"स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम् । योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा ।" एवं यद् गृहीतमविज्ञातम्, उत त्वः पश्यन्, उत त्वं सख्ये इत्यादिबहुभिर्मन्त्रैस्तथा प्रतिपादितम् । भगवता जैमिनिना तु "आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानाम्" इति सूत्रयता न केवलमर्थज्ञान एव विश्रान्तमपि तु क्रियाप्रवणतायां सार्थकत्वमुररीकृतं वेदस्य । भगवता मनुनाप्युक्तम्—

फलं कतकवृक्षस्य यद्यप्यम्बुप्रसादनम् ।
न नामग्रहणादेव तस्य वारि प्रसीदति ॥ इति ।

नीतिशास्त्रस्याप्ययमेवोपदेशः—
"शास्त्राण्यधीत्यापि भवन्ति मूर्खाः, यस्तु क्रियावान् पुरुषः स विद्वान् ।" इति किं विस्तारेण शब्दप्रधानशिक्षा नास्माकं पूर्वजैः कदाप्यादृतेति न विस्मरणीयम् । परमस्माकं दुरदृष्टत्वाद् बहोः कालाद् देशेस्मिन् शब्दप्रधानतैव शिक्षापद्धतौ सुदृढं स्थानं चकार । न जाने कीदृशः स आसीद् भारतसौभाग्यापकर्षको दुर्भाग्यसूचकः समयो यस्मिन् किल शब्दप्रवणतैव निदधाति स्म पदमस्माकं शिक्षापद्धतौ । परीक्षायुगे प्रचलिते तु सा दृढतरं पदं रोपितवतीति न परोक्षं विदुषाम् । विद्यार्थिनां केवलमेतावदेव लक्ष्यम्, येन केनापि प्रकारेण परीक्षाम्बुधिमुत्तरेम इति । फलमेतस्यैतत् संजातम्—यद् वयं शिक्षायाः सुदूरं पतिताः । निर्वेजकस्य सारमेयस्येव संस्कृताध्येतॄणां गतिः समजनि । न ते ज्ञानैकधनाः न च भाषाभूषणानि च संवृत्ताः । "संस्कृतं मृतभाषा" इति वैदेशिकानां कथनं कर्णकुहरेषु सत्यं शूलायते नाम परं किञ्चिद् विचार्यमाणे व्यावहारिकशब्ददारिद्र्यमस्माकं पुरोवतिष्ठत एव । यस्या भाषायाः कोषः पूर्णतां न भजते, परिपूर्णोपि वा कोषो नूतनशब्दप्रवेशैर्न वर्धयते तस्या व्यावहारिकत्वं कथं सिध्येत् ! प्रतिसहस्रमेकोपि वा पुरुषो यया न व्यवहरति सा कथं परैर्मृतभाषेति न व्यपदिश्येत ? तस्माद् व्यावहारिकतां प्राप्यैतां परिमार्जनीयः पण्डितानां शिरसि समागतः कलङ्कः । तदर्थं प्राथमिक्यां शिक्षायां भाषाज्ञानाय यतनीयम् । व्यावहारिकशब्द-

ज्ञानं समुपेक्ष्य व्याकरणनियमांश्च तिरस्कृत्य यद्वातद्वाशब्दैर्वाक्यमापूर्य अस्यामेव शताब्द्यां संस्कृतं राष्ट्रभाषा भवेदिति समुद्घोषणं तु मन्ये परिहासास्पदमेव भवेत् । तस्मात् प्राचीनकाव्यकोषादिसाहाय्येन व्यावहारिकः शब्दकोषः परिबृंहणीयः । माध्यमिक्यां च शिक्षायां समयोपयोगिनो विषयाः प्रवेष्टव्याः । यो हि संस्कृतभाषामार्यसंस्कृतिं च रक्षितुं वाञ्छति, तेन अनिच्छतापि अवश्यमेतत् संशोधनं स्वीकार्यम् । अस्माकं शिक्षाया इतिहासोपि समये समये शिक्षायाः परिवर्तनमङ्गीकरोति इति किं न विदितम् ?

आसीत् कश्चित् सुसमयः, यस्मिन् वेदप्रधानैव शिक्षा भारतीयासु सर्वास्वेव पाठशालासु प्राचाल्यत । किन्तु दोषयुक्तायां च तस्यां जातायां बौद्धजैनादिमतानामाविर्भावः समजनि । तदा वादात्मिका दर्शनशिक्षाप्रणाली प्रचलिता । भारतयवनप्रवेशप्राक्काले च कृतकृत्यंमन्याः लोकनायकाः दुर्वहगर्वतया स्तुतिकथाश्रवणोत्सुकाः, विलासितया च नायिकादिवर्णनेषु दत्तचित्ता आसन् यदा, तदा स्तुतिप्रधानानि नायिकानखशिखावर्णनपराणि च काव्यानि जनिं लेभिरे तान्येव च पठनपाठनस्य विषयः । तदानींतने च काले वैदिका उपहसनीयतां गताः । दार्शनिकानां दर्शनमपि नाभवज्जनानां रुचिकरम् । किन्तु कालक्रमेण तादृशोपि समागतः समयः यत्र "रण्डागीतानि काव्यानि" इति ध्वनिः श्रवणविवरातिथिः समजनि । काव्येन हन्यते शास्त्रं तच्च गीतेन हन्यत इत्यपि प्रसृतः पण्डितप्राङ्गणेषु कोलाहलः । वादैकप्रवणाः पण्डिता एव वास्तविका विद्वांसः परिगण्यन्ते स्म । किन्तु अद्यत्वे न सोपि समयः । अद्यत्वे तु परिपाटीयं प्रचलिता यद् येन केन प्रकारेण परीक्षां समुत्तरामः । पठनस्य परीक्षोत्तरणमन्तरा न किमप्युद्देश्यम् । यावदध्ययनं क्षेत्रादिषु भोजनं लभेमहीति विचारयन्तः भविष्यज्जीवने दृक्पातमकुर्वन्तः संस्कृतपाठशालासु प्रविशन्ति बहवश्छात्राः, यथाकथंचित् परीक्षासु समुत्तरन्ति च समुत्तीर्य च परीक्षाः, मार्गभ्रष्टा इव इतस्ततो विचरन्तः सेवाकृते जनानामुपहासास्पदतां व्रजन्ति । किं तैरधीतमद्यावधीति पृष्टाः मौनमेवावलम्बन्ते । लौकिकोपयोगिविषयाध्ययनाभावे न तेषां शिक्षितपदभाक्त्वं वराकाणाम् । लोकोपयोगिनो विषयाश्च-गणितं भूगोलविद्या, इतिहासः, विज्ञानम्, अर्थशास्त्रम्, भाषाशास्त्रम्, गणितशास्त्रं चेति प्रथिता लोके । तेषु चञ्चुप्रवेशोपि नैषां महानुभावानाम् । कतिभ्यश्चिद् वत्सरेभ्यः पूर्वं वाराणसेय-गवर्नमेण्टपरीक्षायाः प्रथमविभागे महाकवेः कालिदासस्य मेघदूतं खण्डकाव्यं नियतमासीत् । मेघदूतस्य प्रश्नपत्रे ग्रन्थनाम न विलिख्य "भूगोले प्रश्नाः" इति लिखितमासीत् । कदाचित् परीक्षा-विभागस्य परीक्षकस्य वा ध्यानमत्राकर्षितम् । किन्तु भूगोलविषये अपरिचिताश्छात्राः केवलं समासपर्यायादिभिरेव व्याख्यां कुर्वन्तोस्माभिर्दृष्टाः । तस्यायमेव हेतुः यन्न ते तादृशं पठिताः । अन्यथा तथैव ते उदतरिष्यन् । मन्ये संस्कृतमधीयानाश्छात्रा भवन्ति प्रायशो दरिद्राः किन्तु न ते बुद्धिदरिद्रा अपि भवन्ति । यदि ते पद्धतिं तादृशीं व्यज्ञास्यन् तदा तथैव कार्यमकरिष्यन् ।

अपि च लोकवृत्तज्ञानाय दैनिकसमाचारपत्रपाठनादिप्रवृत्तिरपि

छात्रेष्ववश्यमाधेया । एतदर्थं संस्कृतभाषायामपि वृत्तपत्रं निःसारणीयम् यस्मिन् समये, यस्यां जातौ, यस्मिन् देशे वयमुत्पन्नाः यत्र वा वयं तिष्ठामस्तस्य देशस्य तस्य कालस्यज्ञातेर्वा ज्ञानं विहाय केवलं परःसहस्रवत्सरेभ्यः पूर्वमेव वयं विचराम इति सत्यमुपहासास्पदम् ।

संस्कृतपाठशालासु शिक्षणीयतया गृह्यमाणेष्वपि विषयेषु कस्यचिदेकस्यैव विषयस्याध्ययनं सर्वाङ्गीणशिक्षाप्राप्तौ न्यूनतापादकमिति अपरो दोषः । प्रारम्भावधि आचार्यपर्यन्तमेकमेव विषयमधीत्य स्वात्मानं पण्डितं मन्यमानाः संस्कृतज्ञाः विषयान्तरे अपरिचिता एव सर्वथा भवन्ति । व्युत्पत्तिर्हि नाम नैकविषयज्ञानाधीना । प्राचीनानां सर्वतोमुखं पाण्डित्यमत्र निदर्शनम् । तस्माद् विषयान्तरेष्वपि चञ्चुप्रवेशोऽवश्यं कर्तव्यः ।

किञ्च—प्रारम्भिकशिक्षायां नाम्ना लघवोऽपि ज्ञाने कठिना ग्रन्था नियता वर्तन्ते, सोऽपि मन्ये पठनपाठनपद्धतौ दोष एव । शिक्षाविज्ञानगवेषकैः सुबहु निर्णीय सिद्धान्तितं यत् प्रारंभिकी शिक्षा यावदेव सरलत्वं रुचिकरत्वं च प्राप्नुयात् तावदेव शिक्षाप्रचारे सौकर्यं भवेत् । अत एव स्वभाषाप्रचारमभिलाषकाः शिक्षाधिनायकाः प्रतिदिनं प्रारंभिकशिक्षायां सरलतामाधातुं प्रयतन्ते । तेनैव तेषां भाषाणामधिकाधिकः प्रचारोऽवलोक्यते । अस्माकं तु प्रारंभिका शिक्षाऽद्यापि काठिन्यं भजत एव । अक्षरपरिचयं कृत्वा संस्कृतपाठशालायां प्रविविक्षूणां छात्राणां संमुखं विद्वन्निकषायमाणं सूत्रनिबद्धं पाणिनीयं व्याकरणमस्माभिरुपस्थाप्यते । कोषश्च घोषणार्थम् । तच्चेदं दृढमर्गलाद्वयं प्रवेशमेव तेषां कोमलमतीनां वारयति सुन्दरेऽस्मिन् संस्कृतमन्दिरे । अपरिचितसंस्कृतभाषाणां वराकाणां छात्राणां शेमुषी कथं नाम प्रवेशमासादयेत् कठिने व्याकरणे । ततः किल वराकास्ते बालकाः अध्यापकैस्ताड्यमानाः केवलं ग्रन्थाक्षराणि वा गुरुमुखान्निःसृतानि वाक्षराणि कण्ठे कुर्वन्ति । फलमस्यैतद् भवति यद् शतशश्छात्राः प्रथमशिक्षायामेव नैराश्यं भजमाना कार्यान्तरे नियुक्ता भवन्तीति नैकशो दृष्टचरम् । कथमित्थं संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः सेत्स्यति । कथं वा कोणे विलीना, पीना भवन्तीयं जीवनं स्वकीयं रक्षिष्यति ! प्राक्तने च संस्कृतशिक्षाप्रचारकाले संस्कृतशिक्षायाः सरलत्वाय यतन्ते स्म विद्वांसः इति तेषां ग्रन्थावलोकनेन स्पष्टं प्रतीयते । विषयावबोध एव तेषां मुख्यं लक्ष्यम् । सरलसरलैः शब्दैः गंभीरगंभीरा विषया यथावगता भवेयुरिति ते प्रयतन्ते स्म । तस्यैतस्य एतत् फलं भवति स्म यद् भाषावबोधाय न कालयापनं संलग्नमभूत् । अद्यत्वे तु भाषाकाठिन्यमपि पाण्डित्ये परिगण्यते । हन्त ! तद् विहाय सरलसरलैर्वाक्यैः भाषापरिचयः तदनु च तदीयव्याकरणज्ञानमित्ययं युक्तियुक्तः पन्थाः परिगृहीतव्यः संस्कृतप्रचाराय ।

अपरोऽपि एको महान् दोषोऽस्माकं पाठनपद्धतौ संप्रविष्टः । स चायं वर्तते । यत् न कापि पाठशाला या न भवेदाचार्यान्ता, न कोऽपि पण्डितो यो न सर्वं पाठयेत् । विरलाः खलु पण्डिताः विरलाश्च पाठशाला रोगेणानेन मुक्ताः ।

'नहि सर्वः सर्वं जानातीति' न तेषां पुस्तकपत्रादिषु क्वचिदपि समागतम्। केवलेनैकेन पण्डितेन साहित्यं व्याकरणं न्यायः आयुर्वेदश्चेति विषयचतुष्टयी शास्त्र्याचार्यान्तपरीक्षापर्यन्तं पाठ्यमानास्माभिर्दृष्टा । तस्याध्यापकस्य कृते सर्वमेतद् गौरवायेति मन्यामहे । किन्तु–उच्चकक्षास्थच्छात्रानध्यापयत एव तस्य सम्पूर्णःसमयो व्यत्येति । वराकाः प्रथमशिक्षाच्छात्रास्तु मध्यमादिश्रेणिस्थ-विद्यार्थिभिरेव पाठ्यन्ते । कथं ते प्रथमकक्षाच्छात्राणां मानसभावविकासाय प्रभवेयुः । केवलं कण्ठस्थीकरणार्थं काचित् पङ्क्तिस्तदग्रे वाचयन्ति । तेपि चानन्यगतिकाः घोषणामात्रशरणाः केवलं कीरत्वमेवावलम्बन्ते । तेनैव च घोषणाबलेन ते परीक्षा अप्युत्तरन्ति ! शास्त्राचार्यादिपदवीरप्यधिगच्छन्ति। अध्यापकाश्चाग्रे भवन्ति । किन्तु घोषणाप्रधानैस्तैः संस्कृतस्य क उपकारः क्रियेत नाम ? तस्मादारम्भादेव शिक्षार्थिनां यथा मतिर्विकासमासादयेत्तथा सपरिश्रमं यतनीयम् । तदर्थं च पाठशालासु पठनपाठनस्थैर्यत्तापि स्थिरीकरणीया। नियमाश्च संरक्षणीयाः पालनीयाश्च ।

उद्देश्यं च संस्कृत-शिक्षायाः सुविचार्य स्थिरीकरणीयम् । मदीयविचारे भारतीयधर्मस्य भारतीयसंस्कृतेश्च रक्षणमेव संस्कृतशिक्षाया उद्देश्यमिदानीं भवितुमर्हति । अनयोः संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनमात्रसाध्यत्वात् । भारतीयधर्मज्ञानं च वेदस्मृतिसदाचारज्ञानसाध्यम् । "श्रुतिः स्मृतिः सदाचारः स्वस्य च प्रिय-मात्मनः । एतच्चतुर्विधं प्राहुः साक्षाद् धर्मस्य लक्षणम् ।" इति स्मृतत्वात् । तस्मात् सार्थवेदाध्ययनम्, स्मृत्यादिधर्मशास्त्राध्ययनम्, पुराणेतिहासाध्ययनम्,सदाचार-शिक्षा च संस्कृतपाठशालानां भवेत् प्राधान्येनाध्ययनस्य विषयः । आवश्यक-कर्मकाण्डोपि नाम पण्डितैर्ज्ञातव्यो ज्ञापयितव्यश्च । व्याकरणादिशास्त्रे कृतपरि-श्रमाः व्युत्पन्नाः पण्डिताश्च कथावाचने पाटवं संस्कारादिक्रियाकारणे कौशलं धर्मोपदेशे चातुरीं च नात्मसात्कुर्वन्तीति साधारणनामसंस्कृतज्ञानां तत्तद्विषये दृश्यते प्रवेशः, येन हि जनतायाः प्रतिदिनं जायमानाऽश्रद्धा, संस्कृतपण्डितानां जीविकाप्रश्नश्चेत्युभयमस्माकं संमुखे तिष्ठति । यदि तेस्मिन् विषयेपि दत्ता-वधानाः भवेयुस्तर्हि-"आम्राश्च सिक्ताः पितरश्च प्रीणिताः एका क्रिया द्व्यर्थकरी प्रसिद्धा" इत्याभाणकमपि चरितार्थं भवेत् । संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रचारः आर्यसंस्कृतेः रक्षणञ्च संभवेदिति शम् ।

॥ संस्कृतपाठशालासु पठनपाठनपद्धतिः ॥

श्रीसभापतिशर्मा उपाध्यायः, बिरलामहाविद्यलयाध्यक्षः, काशी

श्रीः

श्रीप्राच्यविद्यापरिषत्सुवल्ली समुन्नयाद्रिं परिचुम्बयन्ती ।
सम्पादयन्ती विदुषामभीष्टं नृपप्रजासौहृदमातनोतु ॥

न तिरोहितमेतत्प्रेक्षावतां धीधनानां यत्साम्प्रतं निखिलभाषामातृभूतायाश्चतुर्वर्गफलप्रसविन्यास्त्रिदशीयभाषायास्तद्भाषोपजीविनां लोकसंस्थितिकारणीभूतविद्याचतुष्टयभारतीयनिधिरक्षकाणामद्यत्वे ऽकिञ्चित्करत्वेनोद्धोष्यमाणानां गीर्वाणवाणीसद्विदुषां च कीदृशी दयनीयाऽवस्थेति । तत्र कारणगवेषणायां प्रवृत्तायां प्राधान्येन राजकीयसम्बन्धाभाव एव तदुन्नतौ प्रतिबन्धकः, तत एव शिक्षणपद्धतेस्समीचीनप्रकाराभावोऽपि तथा । यद्यपि तत्र तत्र संस्कृतविद्याप्रचाराय भूयांसो विद्यालयाः स्थापिता दृश्यन्ते, तथापि न तेषु शिक्षणमार्गप्रदर्शकानां दृष्टिलेशोऽपि दृश्यते । यत्र कुत्रचित्कथञ्चित् तेषां दृष्टिपातो जायते तत्र तादृशदृष्टिनिक्षेपेणानेकविधकुप्रबन्धतो हानिरेव संपद्यते । प्रथमं तावत्संस्कृतभाषाशिक्षणाय स्थापितेषु विद्यालयेषु नहि काचन नियमिता पाठनपद्धतिर्दृश्यते । केवलं राजकीयशिक्षासमित्या नियमितपरीक्ष्यग्रन्थानां यथाकथञ्चिदध्ययनाध्यापनमात्रेण छात्राणामुत्तीर्णतया नहि तद्गौरवं कथमपि स्यात् । अतः संस्कृतविद्यालयस्थापनाय तत्रोपयोग्यध्ययनाध्यापनाय च कश्चन नियमो विधेयः । यथाऽऽङ्गलविभागे हिन्दीशिक्षाविभागे च तत्तद्वर्गपर्यन्तं शिक्षाप्रदानाय एतादृशं स्थानम्, एतावन्तोऽध्यापकास्तत्तद्विषयाध्यापनाय लेखनानुवादादिकार्यसौकर्य्याय च नियुक्ता उपलभ्यन्ते, एवमेव गृहाद्यसंकीर्णेषु विस्तृतेषु स्वास्थ्यवर्द्धकेषु विद्याभ्यासप्रतिबन्धकदोषास्पृष्टेषु स्थलेषु पाठशालाः स्थापनीयाः तत्तद्वर्गशिक्षोपयुक्ताः तत्तद्विषयानुसारेण अध्यापकाश्च ।

संप्रति संस्कृतविद्यालयसंस्थापकानामिच्छैव तत्र संस्कृतविद्योपहासकरनियमप्रवर्तिका । अत एव वराकाणां छात्राणां सर्वविधेषु विषयेषु पाटवाभावः प्रतीयते । अतो ये विद्यालयाः प्राचीना यथाकथञ्चित्प्रचलिता अवलोक्यन्ते तेषु यथासम्भवं परिष्कारो विधेयः । परिष्कारासम्भवे तु उपेक्षणीयाः । परन्तु अतः परं ये नवीनाः स्थापिताः स्युस्तदर्थं सर्वथा प्रतीयमानानां त्रुटीनां परिमार्जनाय संस्कृतविद्यागौरवसंरक्षणाय च यतनीयमेव । यास्त्रुटयस्संस्कृतान्तेवासिषु प्रतीयन्ते तत्र शिक्षाप्रवर्तकानामेवापराधः । संस्कृतसाहित्ये व्यवहारोपयोगिनीतिशास्त्रस्य, कर्तव्याकर्तव्यज्ञानप्रदधर्मशास्त्रस्य, प्राड्विवाकत्वसंपादकशास्त्रस्य च साम्प्रतमुपलभ्यमानस्यापि न कुत्रचित्काचन शिक्षा विद्यते ।

प्रथमां परीक्षामारभ्य मध्यमां यावत् त एव विषयाः स्थापनीया ये व्यवहारोपयोगिनः सन्तः संस्कृतभाषाभाषणे पाटवसम्पादका भवेयुः । तत्र राजकीयभाषा स्वस्वप्रान्तीयभाषा हिन्दीभाषा च गौणतया शिक्षणीया । यतस्तत एवा-

ध्ययनाद्विरतानां संस्कृतज्ञानां क्वचिद्विभागे जीविकोपलब्धिः स्यात् । एवं सति राजकीयप्रबन्धसमितिष्वपि (डिस्ट्रिक्टबोर्ड, म्युनिसिपैल्टीत्यादिषु) संस्कृतज्ञानां प्रवेशः सम्भाव्येत । मध्यमापरीक्षातः परं ते ते प्रधानविषया नियन्त्रणीयाः यतस्तेषु प्रौढपाण्डित्यं सम्पादितं भवेत् । राजकीयसहायताविभागतो यावद् द्रव्यं समुपलभ्यते तत्रापि-अस्मिन्विषये एतावान्व्यय-इत्येवंरूपेण यत्तच्छास्त्रमाश्रित्य व्ययस्य विभागो विधेयो येन सर्वशास्त्राणामध्ययनाध्यापनप्रवृत्तौ छात्राणां प्रवेशः सम्पद्येत । प्रतिप्रान्तं तत्तत्परीक्षासु प्रथमश्रेण्यामुत्तीर्णेभ्यश्छात्रेभ्य आङ्गलादिविभागवत् क्रमशः प्रशस्ताः वृत्तयः प्रदेयाः । यतः संस्कृतान्तेवासिनामुत्साहोपवर्द्धनं सम्भवेत् ।

अदृष्टसम्पादनायैव संस्कृतविद्यालयाः स्थाप्यन्ते न तु दैशिकापेक्षितयोग्यव्यक्त्युत्पादनायेति तत्संस्थापकानां मनोवृत्तिर्निराकृता यथा स्यात् अदृष्टसिद्धिरैहिकसिद्धिश्च इत्युभयमपि कार्यमनेन सम्पद्यत इतिमनोवृत्तिश्चोत्पद्येतेत्येवं प्रबन्धो विधेयः । एतदर्थं संस्कृतविद्यापारंगतानां भाषान्तरमपि जानतां व्यावहारिकप्रबन्धेऽपि लब्धपाटवानां योग्यतमविदुषामेका समितिः स्थापनीया । यतः प्रदर्शितक्रमेणैव विद्यालयानां प्रबन्धो भवेन्नतु संस्थापकव्यक्त्यनुरोधमात्रेण । अन्नसत्ररूपेण रूपान्तरेण च या या वृत्तयस्तत्र तत्र महनीययशःशालिभिः प्राक्तनराजवर्गैः धनिकश्रेष्ठ्यादिवर्गैश्च प्रचालिता विद्यन्ते तासां संस्कृतान्तेवासिनां कृते शोभनोपयोगो यथा भवेत् तथा प्रबन्धनीयम् । तया समित्यैव स्वस्वपर्यालोचितकार्यस्य सौकर्य्यसम्पादनाय धनं संगृह्य कश्चन स्थायीकोषः स्थापनीयः । तत्समित्या सह तत्र तत्राध्यापयतां विदुषामपि निर्धारितनियमेन सम्बन्धोऽवश्यं स्थापनीयः । प्राक्तनपुराणेतिहासादीनामाधुनिकभूगोलेतिहासादीनाञ्च सामान्यरूपेण ज्ञानायापि कश्चन प्रबन्धोऽपेक्ष्यते । अल्पायेन कालं यापयतां संस्कृताध्यापकानां छात्राणां च कृते स्वास्थ्यादिसंरक्षणाय आयुर्वेदाचार्याश्चिकित्सका डाक्टरपदप्रसिद्धाश्च यथाकथञ्चिन्नियोजनीयाः । वैदेशिकमार्गेण प्राप्तावसरेभ्यो दुर्व्यसनेभ्योऽपि छात्राः संरक्षणीयाः ।

प्रतिमासं तत्तद्विषयमवलम्ब्य सभासु सम्भाषणायापि छात्राः शिक्षणीयाः । वेदपुराणेतिहासादिषु परस्परविरुद्धत्वेनाभासमानानां विषयाणां विरोधपरिहारशैलीष्वपि वैदुष्यसम्पादनाय शिक्षाविभागः स्थापनीयः ।

आधुनिकविज्ञानवैभवेनोपलभ्यमानानां नानाविषयाणां संस्कृतसाहित्ये सन्निवेशो यथा स्यात्तथा संस्कृतभाषयाऽनूद्य निबन्धा निर्मापणीयाः । एवं राजकीयन्यायविभागे भिन्नभिन्नरूपेणोपस्थितानां शासनोपयोगिनां वार्तादण्डनीत्यादीनामपि संस्कृतभाषासु सन्निवेशाय पारितोषिकादिदानेन आङ्गलादिभाषाभिज्ञाः संस्कृतविद्वांसः प्रवर्तनीयाः । अधुना संस्कृतभाषा कियतांऽशेन भाषान्तरमतिक्रान्तापि भाषान्तरीया साधारणविषयविहीना सुरभारती यथा न भवेत्तथा यतनीयम् । उच्चकक्षासु संस्कृतभाषयैवाध्यापनादि कार्यं विधेयम् । येन प्रवाहरूपेण संस्कृतभाषया भाषणे भूयसां विदुषां कापि [illegible]

एवं कृते कियत्कालानन्तरं प्रगाढपाण्डित्यवन्तो विद्वांसः स्वस्वजीविका-निर्वाहाय तत्तद्विभागेषु प्रवेशनार्हा स्वल्पसंस्कृतविद्याशालिनश्चोत्पत्स्यन्ते । साम्प्रतमुपलभ्यमाना दोषाश्च निवर्त्स्यन्ते । इति दिक्

प्राच्यविद्यापरिषदः सभ्यानां शक्तिरीदृशी ।
जायतां सुरविद्या स्याद्यया सर्वातिशायिनी ॥
काशीस्थबिरलाराजमहाविद्यालयाधिपः ।
इतीशं याचते नम्र उपाध्यायः सभापतिः ।



वर्तमानकाले संस्कृतभाषायाः शिक्षापद्धतिः

कविशिरोमणिभट्टश्रीमथुरानाथशास्त्री, जयपुरम्

भगवद्भावभूयिष्ठा भूरिभाग्यविभासिता ।
भ्राजद्विभवभोगाढ्या भारते भातु भारती ॥ १ ॥

सभाजनीयाः सभापतिमहाभागाः! माननीया महद्वर्गाः! पूजनीयाः पण्डितपुङ्गवाश्च!!

सोयं संस्कृतशिक्षाविषयः संस्कृतविद्याया लीलाभूमौ वाराणस्यामस्यां विचार्यत इति परमः प्रमोदविषयः । वाराणसी हि न केवलं संस्कृतविद्याया एव केन्द्रम्, अपि तु मालवीयमहोदयानां महोद्यमसाक्षिणा हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयेन सामयिकविज्ञानस्यापि संप्राप्तिभूमिः सेयं संजातास्ति । यथा हि मम 'घनाक्षरी' पद्यम्—

प्रारब्धो विकासः प्राच्यविद्यारुचेः प्राचीमुखे
साचीकृतामेतां तमोलहरीं निरीक्षध्वम्
प्रोल्लसन्ति सर्वजगज्जीवनाय चास्मिन्कला
विमलाममुष्य विभां परितः परीक्षध्वम् ।
प्रारब्धा सुधौघपारणैषा विबुधानां मुखे
संमुखे महोत्सवं सुमनसामुदीक्षध्वम्
भारतीयसारस्वतसिन्धूत्थितं मञ्जुमिष-
* मिन्दूपमं हिन्दूविश्वविद्यालयमीक्षध्वम् ॥

वर्तमानां संस्कृतशिक्षापद्धतिं ये किल मर्मदृशा समालोचितवन्तस्तेषां कथनमस्ति यत्सेयं शिक्षाप्रणाली वर्तमानकाले लोकानामुपयोगादत्यन्तं दूरतरास्ति । शिक्षा हि मानवस्याऽस्य हृदयं परिष्कृत्य लोकव्यवहारोपयोगिनीं परलोकसाधिकीं च शक्तिं तस्मिन्संपादयतीति सर्वसंमतः सिद्धान्तः । वर्तमानकाले परीक्षाक्रमनिबद्धा सेयं संस्कृतशिक्षाप्रणाली निजस्योद्देश्यपूर्तौ कियत्सफला भवतीति सांप्रतं विचारणीयं स्यात् ।

लोकालये निवसतोऽस्य मनुष्यस्य लोकव्यवहारनिर्वाहो यद्यप्यावश्यक एव किन्तु भारतवर्षस्यास्य चरमं प्रतिष्ठास्थानमस्ति आध्यात्मिकं तत्त्वम् । भौतिकविज्ञानमये नानाविधैराविष्कारैश्चरमामुन्नतिमधिरूढे चास्मिन् युगे भारतवर्षस्य यत्किञ्चिद् गौरवमस्ति तत्किलाऽस्माकं महर्षीणां दिव्यं ज्ञानमादायैव । राजभाषाधिगमेन नवीनेस्मिन् भौतिकविज्ञाने भारतीयाः कामं कियतीमप्युन्नतिं संपादयेयुः किन्तु पाश्चात्यदेशानां समक्षे न तेषामग्रगामित्वं संभवति । स्पर्द्धापरिधावनस्य ('रेस') दीर्घतमेऽस्मिन् क्षेत्रे पाश्चात्यदेशा नितान्तमग्रगामिनः संवृत्ताः । न तैः साकं भारतवर्षस्य स्पर्द्धाक्रमः संभवति । भौतिकविज्ञानगर्वितानां पाश्चात्यानां संमुखे यदि भारतवर्षस्य मस्तकमुन्नतमस्ति, तर्ह्यार्षं विज्ञानमवल-

* इन्दुसदृशो विश्वविद्यालयः, अतएव—इन्दुपक्षे रुचिः कान्तिः, पक्षान्तरे अभिरुचिः एवं कलाः, षोडशभागाः, चतुःषष्टिकलाश्च । विबुधा देवाः पण्डिताश्च, एवं सुमनसो देवाः सुधियश्च ।

मस्त्येव । अस्माकं प्रतिष्ठासीद् दर्शनग्रन्थैः । ये वैदेशिका विद्वांसोऽस्माकं दर्शनग्रन्थानां यत्किञ्चन तत्त्वमधिजग्मुस्ते उन्मुक्तहृदयेन प्रशंसन्ति यत्--'यस्मिन्देशे उपनिषत्सदृशानि ग्रन्थरत्नानि प्रसूयन्ते, अवश्यं स देशो ज्ञानज्योतिषामाकरभूतः' ।

दर्शनग्रन्थेषु योग्यतां संपादयितुम्, भाषाया उपर्यधिकारमधिगन्तुं च प्रथमतो व्याकरणस्य न्यायस्य चाध्ययनं प्रचलितं प्राचीनकालात्। 'मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्' इति हि महिमा हिमालयपर्यन्तं विश्रुतः। अत एव हि संस्कृतशिक्षाशरीरे मेरुदण्डभूतस्यास्यैव शास्त्रस्य पाठ्यक्रममालोचयन्तु दृष्टान्तरूपेण तत्रभवन्तः ।

'प्रथमा'परीक्षां प्रवेशिकां प्राज्ञपरीक्षां चोत्तीर्य यदा ह्यस्मिन् शास्त्रे प्रविशति तदा मध्यमामारभ्य आचार्यपरीक्षापर्यन्तम्-कौमुदी-मनोरमा-शब्दरत्नपरिभाषेन्दुशेखर-शब्देन्दुशेखर-वैयाकरणभूषण-मञ्जूषा-शब्दकौस्तुभ-महाभाष्यवाक्यपदीयान्ता ग्रन्था अध्येतव्या भवन्ति । सूक्ष्मदृशा साम्प्रतमेषां विषयविचारः क्रियताम्-व्याकरणसूत्रकारस्तत्रभवान्पाणिनिरेतेषां सर्वेषां मूलम् । श्रीमान्पाणिनिर्वैदिकलौकिकशब्दानां साधुत्वमनुशशास--इमे शब्दाः साधवः, अत एव भाषायां व्यवहर्तव्याः, एतद्विपरीतास्तु त्याज्याः ।

एतस्मिन्विषये लब्धा सफलता श्रीमता पाणिनिना । गीर्वाणभाषायां बहुभिर्विद्वद्भिर्व्याकरणानि निर्मितान्यासन्, किन्तु पाणिनेर्व्याकरणमेव बहुसंमतिनियमेन लेभे प्राधान्यम् । कौमुदीमारभ्य भाष्यपर्यन्तेषु सर्वेष्वपि व्याकरणपाठ्यग्रन्थेषु-'पाणिनेर्यत्सूत्रं तस्यैकैकं पदं सार्थकम्, न किञ्चिद् व्यर्थम्। नच सूत्रगतपदसंनिवेशः कथमप्यन्यथा कर्तुं शक्यः' । एतावन्तं पाणिनेर्ग्रन्थसमर्थनरूपमर्थमादाय युक्तिप्रयुक्तिभिः 'वादयुगस्य' तादृशी सृष्टिर्जाता या हि संस्कृतपण्डितसमाजं सती योषिदिव नाद्यापि परिहरति । न चास्याः प्रतीकारः कर्तुं शक्यते । वर्तमाने परीक्षाक्रमे सर्वेष्वेव शास्त्रेषु ये ग्रन्था अस्माभिरधीयन्ते ते हि प्रायः शास्त्रार्थयुगे निर्मिताः । तेषु शब्दप्रवणतैव आमूलचूडं विलोक्यते । एकैकं वाक्यम्, पदम्, पदैकदेशम्, किं बहुना एकैकां मात्रामादायापि कतिपयपत्रव्यापकः शास्त्रार्थो ग्रन्थेष्वेषु प्रचलति । आश्चर्यम्, अर्द्धमात्रालाघवेनापि वयं पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यामहे, परम् इतः सर्वमप्यायुः केवलं शब्दाडम्बरेणैवास्माकं व्यत्येति, इत्यस्योपरि नास्माकं दृष्टिः ।

ग्रन्थस्य तत्त्वबोधाय किल टीका निर्मीयन्ते स्म । 'टीकते सह गच्छन्ति' इति टीका, इति व्युत्पत्त्या ग्रन्थस्य प्रत्येकाक्षरस्वारस्यबोधाय महद् गौरवं टीकायाः । किन्तु शास्त्रार्थयुगे याष्टीका निरमीयन्त तासां सृष्टिः खण्डन-मण्डनार्थमेवाऽभूत् । मूलकारे यदुक्त-नीचैष्टीकायां तद्विपरीतमेवावलोक्यते । 'ग्रन्थाक्षराणां किं तात्पर्यम्' इति मनसि संदेहोदये सति टीका साहाय्यमाचरति, किन्तु व्याकरणादिग्रन्थानां याष्टीकाः शास्त्रार्थयुगे निर्मितास्तासु खण्डनमण्डनान्येव बहुशः समुपादीयन्ते स्म । युगेऽस्मिन्प्रत्यक्षं परीक्ष्यतां—शास्त्रार्थ—

प्रचुराः सिद्धान्तकौमुद्या न काश्चिट्टीकास्तत्त्वजिज्ञासूनामुपकुर्वते। ग्रन्थयोजनतत्परा बालमनोरमैव सर्वत्र सर्वदेशेषु च व्याप्ता।

एकमात्रस्य व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य दृष्टान्तमादाय एकदेशीयशास्त्रशिक्षायास्तदिदं फलं निदर्शितम्। किन्तु वर्तमानकाले 'परीक्षा'प्रकारस्य तथा सृष्टिर्जातास्ति येन वास्तविकपाण्डित्यं संशयापन्नमेव समभवत्। 'भारतवर्षे शिक्षायाः क्षेत्रं पुरा एतावद्भिस्ततं नासीदिति' नवीनालोचका वदन्ति, किन्तु एतेन सहैतदप्यवश्यमासीद् यत्सा पुरातनी शिक्षा सेवावृत्त्यर्थं द्वारं द्वारमाहिण्डमाना घोरतरमपमानमपि कदाचिदेवासहिष्ट। प्राक्तनशिक्षायाः कृते यद्यपि भूयान् समयोऽपेक्षितोऽभूत्, कष्टान्यप्यनेकानि सोढव्यान्यभूवन् परं सा शिक्षा स्थायिप्रभावा बहुमूल्या चासीत्। एषु दिनेषु कालेजस्था विद्यार्थिनो हसन्तः क्रीडन्तश्च स्वल्प एव वयसि आचार्याः, एम.ए.पदकाङ्क्षिताश्च भवन्ति। किन्तु पूर्वमाचार्यतासंपत्त्यर्थं भूयसः समयस्य अनल्पस्य चानुभवस्यावश्यकताऽभवत्। एतदर्थं ते गुरुकुले तीव्रां तपस्याम्, कठिनां च गुरुशुश्रूषामकुर्वन्। गुरुकुले तदेतत्क्लेशसहनं नासीत्काचिन्निन्दनीया वार्ता, प्रत्युताऽस्मिन् भूयानभिमानो महद् गौरवं चागण्यत। अनर्घराघवस्य कर्ता मुरारिकविर्गर्वादाह—'गुरुकुलक्लिष्टो मुरारिः कविः'।

किन्तु समयस्य परिवृत्त्या गुरूणां गृहात्, आश्रमेभ्यश्च शिक्षा निर्वासिताऽभवत्। वर्तमानेन प्रवाहेण तेषां स्थाने 'स्कूलानां कालेजानां' च सृष्टिरक्रियत। तेषु प्रतिवर्षं सहस्रसहस्रसंख्यासु शिक्षिताः समवेता अभवन् एतावद्भिस्ततायाः संख्यायाः पूर्ववत्परीक्षणं नासीत्सहजं कार्यम्। अत एव कालेजपदवाच्येभ्यः शिक्षितानां परीक्षणाय नानाविधपरीक्षाणां सृष्टिरभवत्। परीक्षायुगस्यारम्भे परीक्षानियमानां नासीज्जटिलता। किन्तु पाठ्यग्रन्थेष्ववश्यं कठिनतासीत्। किन्तु शनैः शनैः परीक्षाधिकारिणः पाठ्यग्रन्थेष्वपि सारल्यं कृतवन्तः। ततः परीक्षासमयस्य मध्ययुगे सोयं संक्षेपः प्राचलद् यत् परीक्षार्थिनः परीक्षानियतानेव ग्रन्थान् यथावदभ्यास्यन्, परीक्षातो बहिर्भूतान् स्वस्वशास्त्रीयान् ग्रन्थांस्तु जीविकाद्युपार्जनकार्येषु संसक्ततया नाधिगन्तुमशक्नुवन्।

इतोऽग्रे सोयं प्रकारः प्रारब्धो यत्परीक्षानियतेष्वपि मुख्यमुख्या अंशा एव सपरिश्रमं परीक्षार्थिभिरधीयन्ते स्म, न किल ते संपूर्णा ग्रन्थाः। वर्तमानसमये तु संक्षेपस्यापि पराकाष्ठा परिकल्पिता लोकैः। यानि स्थलानि परीक्षकाः पृच्छन्ति, अथवा अतीतेषु वर्षेषु यानि प्रश्नपत्राण्यागतानि तद्गतानेव विषयान् बहवः परीक्षार्थिनोऽभ्यस्यन्ति। सम्प्रति हि प्रायः सर्वासामेव परीक्षाणां गतवार्षिकाणि प्रश्नपत्राणि मुद्रितान्युपलभ्यन्ते। द्रव्यलाभलोभेन तदुत्तराण्यपि संप्रति पण्डितमहाभागैर्मुद्रितानि।

परीक्षाप्रणाल्या नाहमन्धविरोधी। अहमप्येतस्मिन्नेव परीक्षायुगे शिक्षितगोष्ठ्यामन्तर्गणनीयोऽस्मि संवृत्तः। समयेऽस्मिन् परीक्षाप्रकारं विना एतावत्संख्याकानां लोकानां शिक्षासमीक्षणस्य न कथंचित्संभव इत्यहं जानामि। किन्तु

वर्तमानेषु कतिपयवर्षेषु परीक्षार्थिभिर्जनैः परीक्षाप्रकारस्य योऽयं दुरुपयोग आरब्धस्तस्याहं विरोधी ।

अस्तु एकदेशीयशास्त्रक्रमः परीक्षाप्रणालीयं चेत्युभयोः संदंशे पतितायाः संस्कृतशिक्षायाः सांप्रतं स्वरूपमेव विपर्यस्तम् । न केवलं संस्कृतशिक्षाक्षेत्रे एव अपि तु राजभाषादिशिक्षास्वपि शिक्षायां वास्तवं फलं नाधिगच्छन्ति । अस्ति ममैकं 'घनाक्षरी' पद्यं *'साहित्यवैभवे'—

'चित्तपरिष्कारे या हि शिक्षा भूरिदक्षाऽभवद्
वित्तपुरस्कारेणैव साऽद्य सुपटीयसी
पूर्वपुरुषाणां पुरापद्धतिः प्रकृष्टाऽभव—
न्न्यपुरुषाणामद्य सरणिर्गरीयसी ।
मञ्जुनाथ जानीयाम दूरदूरदेशकथां
'को धर्मोऽथ, के वयम्' कथेयं तु दवीयसी
वर्तमानकाले बत शिक्षावधूभालेऽलेखि
कालेजेन चारुचित्रमालेयं महीयसी ॥

कीदृशः पाठ्यक्रमः साम्प्रतं योग्यः, एतद्विषये विस्तरः 'संस्कृतरत्नाकरस्य' 'शिक्षाङ्के' द्रष्टव्यः । किन्त्वेवंविधेषु महासंमेलनेषु समवेताः शिक्षाकर्णधारा अमी संस्कृतभाषायाः पाठ्यप्रणालीं व्यवहारोपयोगिनीमपि कर्तुं प्रभवेयुरिति हृदये विश्वस्य, विश्वस्य कर्तारं तथाऽनुग्रहीतुं प्रार्थये इति शुभम् ।

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*एतन्नामकं नवीनरचनानिबद्धं पुस्तकम् एतन्निबन्धलेखकस्य नाम्ना 'नागरपाडा, जयपुर' इति स्थानात्प्राप्यम् ।

॥ श्रीशः शरणम् ॥

अखिलभारतीयसंस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदः स्थायिसंघटनम् तद्द्वाराः मुखपत्रसंचालनं च

निबन्धकः—गलगली रामाचार्यः मधुरवाणीसहसंपादकः बेलगांव (कर्णाटक)

संस्कृतभाषाया महत्त्वमलौकिकता च ॥

वसुन्धरावलयेऽस्मिन् सर्वाभ्यो भाषाभ्यः संस्कृतभाषैव बहुप्राचीनकालतः प्रवृत्तेति जानीयुरेव अक्षरमुखाः। सेयमेव भाषा भरतखण्डे प्रचलन्तीनामार्यभाषाणां जननी द्राविडभाषाणां पोषणीति च प्रमाणप्रमितोऽयं विषयः। संस्कृतभाषेयं न केवलं पौर्वात्यभाषाणां जन्मदायिनी, अपि तु आङ्ग्लादिपाश्चात्यगिरामपि मातृस्थानीयेति पाश्चात्यपुरातत्त्वविदो मन्यन्ते। संस्कृतभाषोपनिबद्धान् वेदोपनिषदादीन् अपौरुषेयतया सप्रमाणं साधयन्तो दर्शनकारा अस्या भाषाया अनादिकालीनतामाकलयन्ति। दशसहस्रवत्सरेभ्यः प्रागपि वेदानामस्तित्वमभ्युपगच्छन्तः पौर्वात्य-पाश्चात्यसंशोधका अपि इदमेव मतं द्रढयन्ति। अनेन ज्ञायते प्रथमा मानवसृष्टिः संस्कृतभाषासहकृतैवेति। जगदीशेन प्रथमतया सृष्टस्य मानुषशिशोः मुग्धाव्यक्तभाषा संस्कृतमय्येव आसीदिति वचनं नातिशयोक्तिसीमानं स्पृशति। मानवजातेः प्रागेव समुत्पादिता देवजातिरपि अनयैव भाषया व्यवाहरन्निति गीर्वाणवाणीति नाम्नैव स्फुटीभवति। सृष्टिकर्तारं केचन मन्यन्तां वा न वा, परं स्वजातेः प्रथमभाषेति सर्वैः सादरं साभिमानं च कृतज्ञतया सम्माननीया पालनीया पोषणीया चेयम्। पुरातनापीयं भाषा अद्यापि नवयुवतीव सर्वांगपरिपुष्टा मनोहरतराकारा दिव्यभावा समुज्ज्वलगुणा सकलव्यवहारदक्षा च विद्योतते। प्राकृतभाषाजननीयमात्मनोऽप्राकृततां व्यनक्ति सम्यगेव। वेदोपनिषदादिषु गूढातीन्द्रियविषयान् उदात्तप्रगल्भान् विचारान् सुविशदं प्रतिपादयन्तीयं संस्कृतभाषा नूनमात्मनोऽलौकिकतामन्यादृशं महिमानं चाविर्भावयति।

संस्कृतभाषा नाम विविधज्ञानभाण्डागारमेव। तस्याम् अध्यात्मविद्यामारभ्य कुट्टिनीकुटिलतन्त्रपर्यन्तं सर्वेऽपि सुसूक्ष्मा विषयाः साङ्गोपाङ्गं विशदतया समुपवर्णिता उपलभ्यन्ते। प्रामुख्येन अध्यात्मविद्या, साहित्यकला, संगीतविज्ञानम्, आयुर्वेदः, धनुर्वेदः, शिल्पकला, स्थापत्यविद्या, रसायनविद्या, ज्योतिर्विज्ञानम्, अर्थशास्त्रम्, कामशास्त्रम्, द्यूतादिविनोदविज्ञानं, नीतिशास्त्रं, भाषाशास्त्रं, रत्नपरीक्षणादिकला, धातुलोहसंशोधनशास्त्रं, भूगर्भशास्त्रं, गणितशास्त्रं, भूमितिशास्त्रं, अश्वगजादिलक्षणशास्त्रं, युद्धशास्त्रं, चित्रकला, यन्त्र-तन्त्रकला चेत्येवमाद्योऽपरिमिता विषयाः प्रौढतया विवेचिता विस्मापयन्त्याधुनिकानपि विदुषः सर्वतोमुखत्वमहिम्ना।

प्राचीनपण्डितानामलौकिकी संस्कृतभाषासेवा।

तदस्याः संस्कृतभाषायाः सर्वात्मना समुन्नतिशिखरप्रतिष्ठापनश्रेयः, रक्षण-पोषण-संवर्धनसुकृतं च सर्वथा १

मुद्रणयुगात्प्राक्चिरकालं संस्कृतभाषां पठन-पाठनपरिपाट्या वैभवशिखरमुपनीय तद्द्वारा अत्युच्चतमा सर्वमानवजातेरादर्शप्राया विमला भारतीयसंस्कृतिस्तैरेव पर्यपाल्यत महानुभावैः विश्वहितैकदृष्टिभिः निष्कामवृत्तिभिः । येषां निवासगृहं वने जीर्णकुटीरम्, अशनं कन्दमूलफलानि, वसनानि चीवराणि, वृत्तिरयाचिता, स्वभावः शिशोरिव निष्कपटः सरलश्च, विषयभोगपराङ्मुखी चेतःप्रवृत्तिः, उच्चा विचारसरणिः, शुद्धाऽऽचारपद्धतिः, अनरुन्तुदा मधुरा वाग्धोरणी, निरुपमा निस्पृहता, अखण्डा ज्ञानलालसा, परिवारः विनीताः सहस्राधिकाः विद्यार्थिनः, सहकारतरुमूलमेव महाविद्यालयः, तेषां संस्कृतपण्डितानां महानुभावता कियती वा वर्णनीया ? तदेतदुपलक्ष्यैव भवभूतिना—

> प्रियप्राया वृत्तिर्विनयमधुरो वाचि नियमः
> प्रकृत्या कल्याणी मतिरनवगीतः परिचयः ।
> पुरो वा पश्चाद्वा तदिदमविपर्यासितरसं
> विशुद्धं साधूनामनुपधि रहस्यं विजयते ॥"

इति साधूक्तम् ।

प्राचीनकाले पण्डितानां परिस्थितिः ॥

पुरा निष्कामतया पवित्रकर्तव्यतया ज्ञानप्रसारैकमयजीवितानां तेनैव जन्मसाफल्यं मन्यमानानां विदुषां पोषणभारं समवहन् सार्वभौमः, माण्डलिका राजानः, श्रीलाश्च । सर्वसद्व्यवसायविरोधिन्या उदरचिन्ताया विमोचिता मनीषिणो नैकेषु गहनेषु शास्त्रेषु प्रौढग्रन्थान् प्रणेतुं प्राभवन् । प्रावाहयंश्च लोकेऽविच्छिन्नं ज्ञानप्रवाहम् । विक्रमादित्यकालस्तु पण्डितमार्तण्डमण्डलस्य समूर्जितो मध्याह्नः, कविसुधाकराणां राकारजनी । तस्मिन्नेव काले तस्य संसदि व्यराजन् कालिदासादिनवरत्नानि । अधुनेव ज्ञानप्रसारसाधनविरहकालेऽपि पण्डितानां संस्कृतभाषासेवा असामान्यां महतीमावेदयति ।

आङ्ग्लसाम्राज्यात्पूर्वकाले पण्डितानां स्थितिः ॥

तदा न केवलं हिन्दुभूपालैरेव पण्डिताः सममान्यन्त, अपि तु परधर्मीयैरपि महम्मदीयैः । तेषां सभामलमकुर्वन् संस्कृतसूरयः सादरं सत्कृता वर्चस्वशालिनः । अत्र श्रीमान् पण्डितराजजगन्नाथकविरेव निदर्शनम् । तस्य "असफविलासकाव्यम्", "दिल्लीवल्लभपाणिपल्लवतले नीतं नवीनं वयः", "दिल्लीश्वरो वा जगदीश्वरो वा मनोरथान् पूरयितुं समर्थः" इत्यादि वचनानि नैकशः सन्ति प्रमाणानि । महाराष्ट्रसाम्राज्ये विशेषतः श्रीपेशवेप्रभूणां शासनसमये संस्कृतविदुषामग्रस्थानमासीत् । विजयनगरसाम्राज्येऽपि संस्कृतपण्डितानां प्रभुत्वमासीत् । तदा प्रायो न्यायाधीशस्थानानि संस्कृतपण्डितैरेवालङ्कृतानि । प्रतिवत्सरं महोत्सवावसरे सादरमामन्त्र्य सभायां सममान्यन्त संस्कृतविद्यापारंगताः । एवमार्यावर्तेऽपि सर्वैरपि हिन्दुक्षितिपालैरत्याद्रियन्त गुणिनो गुणज्ञ-

ध्यैः । एवं राजाश्रयपोषिताः मनीषिणः प्रतिग्राममार्यसंस्कृतिं तदुद्बोधकसंस्कृतज्ञानं च प्रासारयन् सर्वत्र । मण्डलाधीश्वराः ग्रामाधिपतयो धनिकाश्च संस्कृतप्रेम्णा पाण्डित्यमेषां समुदतेजयन् विपुलधनवितरणेन । एवमाङ्ग्लप्रभुत्वतः पूर्वं राजाश्रयाद् धनिकलोकावलम्बनात् सामान्यजनगौरवाच्च संस्कृतपण्डितानां परिस्थितिश्चिन्ताविधुरा नितान्तमादरणीया चासीत् ।

आङ्ग्लसाम्राज्ये अधुना पण्डितानां स्थितिः ।

पूर्वतना समूर्जिता पण्डितस्थितिः आङ्ग्लसाम्राज्यप्रस्थापनात्प्रारभ्य विदेशीय-विधर्मीय-राजमण्डलानुकूल्यवैकल्याद्वा कालमहिम्ना वा पाश्चात्यशिक्षणप्रभावाद्वा माण्डलीकमहीभृतामौदासिन्याद्वा धनिकजनानामनादराद् विदेशविद्याविमुग्धसुशिक्षितसमाजस्य समुपेक्षणाच्च क्रमेण परिहीयमाना सांप्रतं नितान्तमवनतेश्चरमां सीमां स्पृशतीव ! तेन संस्कृतभाषाया भारतीयसंस्कृतेश्च विलोपप्रसंगः समासन्नप्राय इव संदृश्यते । आङ्ग्लसाम्राज्यप्रारम्भे राजकीयाधिकारिणः संस्थानाधिपतयश्च कंचन कालं प्रावर्तयन् संस्कृतविद्यापरंपराम् । तन्निदर्शनं तु महाराष्ट्रे पेशवेप्रभुत्वेऽस्तंगते प्राचीनज्ञानरक्षणार्थं प्रथमं पुण्यपुरे प्रास्थाप्यत संस्कृतमहाविद्यालयः । पेशवेप्रभुभिः प्रतिवत्सरं विद्वत्संभावनार्थं देयद्रव्येण संस्कृतप्रसारायैव महाविद्यालयः प्रचाल्यत इति प्रथममाश्वासयन् जनतां राजकीयाधिकारिणः । परमचिरादेव संस्कृतं संस्कृतपण्डितांश्च अग्रस्थानात्प्रच्याव्य विद्वत्संभावनावित्तेन प्रचालितः स विद्यालयः पाश्चात्योच्चशिक्षणसंस्थात्मना पर्यणंसीद् "डेक्कन कालेज" इति नामान्तरमनुप्राप्तः । संस्कृतपण्डितैः प्राप्यं प्राचीनदक्षिणारूपं धनं संस्कृतेतरविषये पदवीधरेभ्यः समर्पितम् । संस्कृतप्रधानस्थानमाङ्ग्लभाषया आत्मसात्कृतम् । तदिदं दक्षिणाद्रव्यमिदानीमाङ्ग्लविद्यालयछात्राणां शिष्यवृत्तये 'दक्षिणा फेलोशिप्' नाम्ना प्रथितम् । एवमन्यैश्च कारणैः सम्प्रति पण्डितवर्गस्य संस्कृतभाषायाश्च महती विपत्तिः समुपस्थिता ।

पण्डितानां सांप्रतिकी साम्पत्तिकी स्थितिः ॥

राज-प्रजाश्रयवैकल्येन पण्डितवर्गोऽयं सांपत्तिकस्थित्या शोचनीयां दशामनुभवति । न्यायाधिकरणे धार्मिकशासननिर्णयाधिकारस्थानं, विद्यालये महाविद्यालये च संस्कृताध्यापकपदं च लुप्तमेव संस्कृतपण्डितानाम् । अन्येभ्यो दत्तमेतत्पदम् । विशेषतो मुम्बाप्रान्तविभागे उच्चविद्यासंस्थासु संस्कृतविदुषां पदानि अवसादितानि । अत्र विश्वविद्यालयसंस्थायां इतरप्रान्तेष्विव नास्ति संस्कृतविद्यापरीक्षा, समुत्तीर्णेभ्यः पदवीदानं च । एवमवस्थायां कुतो विद्यालयस्य महाविद्यालयस्य प्रत्याशा ? मद्रप्रान्ते वङ्गदेशे युक्तप्रान्ते च विद्यालयपीठेषु पण्डितानां नातिशोचनीया न वाऽप्यभिनन्दनीया स्थितिर्विद्यते । एवं च सर्वत्र पण्डितानां जीवनसाधनानि नोपलभ्यन्ते ।

संस्कृतपण्डितसंघटनाया आवश्यकता ॥

संस्कृतवाग्देवताया विहारभवनायमाने भारतेऽस्मिन् सांप्रतं संस्कृतभारत्यां प्रायः सर्वत्र महानवम्यश्चानादरो दिने दिने वर्धमानदशामापत्स्यमानो दरीदृश्यते ।

क्वचन विद्वेषविषवायुरपि वहति परितः । तेनाऽस्य भारतदेशस्य भाविनीमनर्थपरंपरामुदीक्ष्य कम्पते हृदयं विषादभरभुग्नं भारतहितैषिणाम् । यस्मिन् भारते प्रतिभाप्रभाभासुरा विश्वविस्मयावहा दर्शनकृतः, दिगन्तविश्रान्तयशसः कविप्रवरा व्यराजन्; यस्मिंश्च आबालमास्थविरं सर्वे जना ललनाश्च संस्कृतगिरा व्यवहरन्ति स्म, तस्मिन्नेव देशे बहुसंख्यया संस्कृतगन्धविधुरान् संस्कृते समुदासीनान्, कांश्चन विद्वेषिणश्च विलोक्य कस्य वा सचेतसो मनो न दूयेत ? एवमेव समुदासभावे अनादरे च क्रमेणोपचीयमाने विद्वेषेणैक्यमापन्ने संस्कृतसरस्वती नामशेषतामुपेयादिति शंकते चेतः । संस्कृतगिरश्चास्तित्वाभावकल्पनाऽपि रोमाञ्चमुत्पादयति भयेन । संस्कृतं नाम भारतीयानां जीवनसर्वस्वम्, नवचैतन्यावहं संजीवनौषधम्, अमरतापादकममृतम्, त्रिकालदर्शकममलं दर्पणम्, स्फूर्तिझरीप्रस्रवणम्, निश्रेयसनिदानम्, सुख-शान्तिसागरः, पितृपैतामहप्राप्तश्चालयो महीयान् निधिनिक्षेपः, ज्ञान-विज्ञानकासारः, सकलेष्टार्थप्रदः कल्पतरुः, तापत्रयतिमिरभास्करः, कविचकोरसुधाकरः धर्मदेवताया आधारस्तम्भः सर्वादृतसर्वोच्चसंस्कृतिलताया उपघ्नतरुः, ज्ञानपिपासूनां गङ्गाप्रवाहः, सर्वविद्यानां महीयानाकरः, भिन्नभिन्नभाषासंकुलिते भारते सर्वैरवगम्यमानवैज्ञानिकशब्दनिर्माणे शक्तिसंपन्नम्, आध्यात्मविद्याप्रसवभूमिश्च । विविधसुखभोगसमृद्धेषु विपुलैश्वर्यसंपन्नेष्वपि परराष्ट्रेषु यस्य महिम्ना सहस्रमुखगीयमानं दुर्गतमपि भरतखण्डमिदम् गौरवास्पदं पदमध्यास्ते; तस्य संस्कृतस्य सर्वात्मना ह्रासे क्रमेण विलोपे च भरतवर्षोऽयं प्राणकलाविकल एव जायेत । अतो भारतहितैकदृष्टिभिः महाशयैः सर्वतः प्रथमं संस्कृतभाषासमुदयकर्मणि, यावद् भारतं न विनश्येद्, यावच्च संस्कृतविद्या अङ्गुलिपरिगणनीयेषु विद्वत्सु कथंचिदपि प्राणानवलम्बेत तावदेव बद्धपरिकरैः भाव्यम् । अन्यथा स्मृतिशेषतामुपगतायां गैर्वाण्यां कृतो महीयानपि प्रयत्नो विनिर्गते सलिले सेतुबन्धनमिव, निर्यातेषु प्राणेषु शरीरे रसायनप्रयोग इव वैफल्यमापद्येत । तद्विदां सत्वरमेव प्रवर्त्यतां दक्षैर्महाभागैः ।

तदस्मिन् महति श्रेयस्करे कर्मणि के वा प्रवर्तन्तामित्येको जटिलः प्रश्नः परिस्फुरति पुरतः । लोके महत्तमं कार्यं राजाश्रयाद् भूयसां लोकानामवलम्बनात् श्रीमतां साहाय्याद्, विदुषां प्रयत्नाच्च सिद्धिपथमुपयाति । तत्र सार्वभौमस्तु राजा विदेशीयः । ततः संस्कृतभाषाया अभ्युदयापेक्षा अपेक्षितुरेव मुग्धतां प्रकटयति । माण्डलिकास्तु भूपाला भारतीया अपि स्वपूर्वजपरिपोषित-परिवर्द्धितसुरसरस्वतीमहिमानभिज्ञानाद्वा विविधव्यापारनिमग्नतया वा महीयस्यास्मिन् कर्मणि न मनोयोगं ददते अनावश्यकेषु कार्येषु विपुलं धनराशिं विकिरतोपि । महैश्वर्यसंपन्नास्तु भाग्यशालिनो वदान्या अपि मनसाऽपि नाकलयन्ति विषयमेनम् । सामान्यजनानां तु स्वोदरचिन्ताक्रान्ततया एतादृशविषयविचारायापि नावकाशः । विद्वत्सु, पाश्चात्यविद्याविभूषिताः केचन अनादरभाजः, अपरे उदासीना, अन्ये विरोधनश्च । वैदेशिकविद्यागन्धविधुराः

संस्कृतविद्यैकपारंगतास्तु मनीषिणः स्वभावाद्वा जनानां दृष्टिकोणपरिवर्तनाद्वा, सर्वैरुपेक्षिता लक्ष्मीकृपाकटाक्षस्य अविषयीभूता जनसंपर्कभीता अध्यापन-मननैकमग्ना बाह्यव्यापारानभिज्ञा महान्दोलनसाध्यं भूरिप्रयत्नगम्यं महत्तममिदं कार्यं कर्तुं न समुत्सहन्ते, नापि क्षमन्ते । एवं च सर्वेषां भारतीयानां परिस्थित्यां संस्कृतभाषोन्नतेराशाया अपि कोऽवकाशः ? । तथापि कश्चिदस्ति आशाङ्कुरस्याव-सरः । ये पाश्चात्यविद्यानिष्णाताः संस्कृतप्रणयिनो भारतहितैषिणः कर्तृत्वशक्त्या प्रथितयशसो राजमान्याः प्रजाविश्वासभाजश्च विरला एव सन्ति महात्मानो भारते पण्डितमदनमोहनमालवीय-राधाकृष्णन्सदृक्षास्तथा उच्चाधिकारपदा-धिरूढा विद्याविभागाधिकारिणो, विधिमण्डलसदस्या, न्यायाधीशा, व्यवहा-राजीविनः (वकील) देशमान्याः पत्रिकासपादकाश्च ते यदि अनाथाया मुमूर्षु-शय्यामधिष्ठितायाः सुरभारत्याः समुद्धारे अव्याहतं महान्तं प्रयत्नं विदधीरन्, तर्ह्येव संस्कृतसमुत्कर्षस्य पण्डितानां गौरवस्य उपजीवनस्य च प्रत्याशा । अन्यथा न कथंचनेति बाढमाचक्ष्महे । अस्याः परिषदो दर्शनेन तादृशा महानु-भावा भारतीयानां सुदैवेन कर्मण्यस्मिन् प्रवृत्ता इति विज्ञाय अचिरादेव सुरगिरः समुन्नतिप्रत्याशया प्रमोदते नश्चेतः । ईदृशैश्च महाभागैः संस्कृतपण्डितानां साहाय्येन कृतः प्रयत्नो महदान्दोलनं च अल्पीयस्येव समये महतीमेव फलसंप-त्तिमवाप्नुयादिति द्रढीयान्नः प्रत्ययः । संस्कृतपण्डिता अपि आत्मनः सहज-मौदासीन्यं दृढमेकान्तप्रियतां निरुत्साहतां च दूरीकृत्य अहमहमिकया संघशः पुरस्सृत्य तदस्मिन् पवित्रतमे सर्वेषां क्षेमावहे विशेषतः आत्मन एकयोगक्षेमा-वहे कर्मणि स्वयं स्फूर्त्या प्रवर्तेरन् । एवं च संस्कृतसमुद्धारे उभयपण्डितानामेक-मतीनां सम्मेलनमावश्यकम् । नेदं कार्यं संस्कृतपण्डितान्विहाय लोकादरभाजनै-रपि पाश्चात्यविद्याविशारदैः निर्वोढुं शक्यते । नापि लोकेऽविज्ञातप्रभावैः केवलं संस्कृतपण्डितैरपि फलेग्रहित्वमापद्यते । अतः उभयविधविद्वद्भिर्मिलित्वैव कार्यकरणे सत्वरमेव सिद्धिपथमुपेयात् । राष्ट्रीयसभेव हिन्दूसभेव अखिलभार-तीयसंस्कृतप्रणयिनां संस्कृतपरिषन्नाम्नी समग्रभारतव्यापिनी संस्था स्थापनीया । केवलं संस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदः स्थापनेन स्थायिसमितेर्निर्माणेन च नाधिकं कार्यं संपत्स्यत इति प्रामाणिकोऽनुभवसिद्धोऽभिप्रायः । एवमभिप्राये केचन संस्कृत-सूरयो विमनायेरन् । परं किं करणीयम्? वस्तुस्थित्यपलापे अवश्यवक्तव्यानुक्तौ च संस्कृतस्यैव महती हानिः स्यादित्यगत्या साम्प्रतिकी परिस्थितिः स्पष्टमावे-दनीया कार्यसिद्ध्यैकदृष्ट्या । कार्यसिद्ध्यै आवश्यकगुणाश्च लोकप्रियत्वं, राजकी-यमण्डले वर्चस्वं, संस्थानाधिपेषु गौरवास्पदता, श्रीलवश्यात्वं, कष्टसहिष्णुत्वं, सततकार्यप्रवणता चेत्येवमादयो विपुलतया इह लौकिककार्यकर्तृषु दृश्यन्ते । परं नैष दोषो यदीदृशगुणविरहः संस्कृतपण्डितानां परमार्थविचारैकानरतानाम् । एवं च संस्कृतसमुन्नतिकाङ्क्षिणाम् अखिलभारतीयानां लौकिक-पण्डितानां काचन महती संस्था आवश्यकी स्थापनीया प्रचालनीया च । तस्याश्च कार्यकारणी स्थायिसमितिरप्येका संघटनीया । तत्र प्रत्येकप्रान्तस्य साम्येन प्रतिनिधि-

तस्या उद्देशाश्च (१) संस्कृतभाषायाः प्रसारः, (२) प्राचीनसंस्कृतिसंरक्षणम्, (३) संस्कृतपण्डितानां सांपत्तिकस्थितिसुधारणा, (४) संस्कृतभाषायाः पण्डितानां च राजकीयमण्डले लोके विद्यापीठेषु समुचितगौरवास्पदस्थितिसंपादनम्, (५) स्वतन्त्रतया संस्कृतविद्यापीठस्थापनम्, (६) संस्कृतविद्यान्तर्गतगूढतत्त्वसंशोधनम्, (७) संस्कृतपण्डितेषु समुचितं यावदावश्यकमर्वाचीनज्ञानसंवर्द्धनम्, (८) प्रचलितदेशभाषासु संस्कृतभाषायाः सामरस्यापादनं च।

संस्कृतपरिषदः अधिवेशनं प्रत्यब्दं भारते भिन्न-भिन्नप्रान्ते प्रवर्तनीयम्। तस्याः स्थायिसमित्या यावदेकवत्सरं सर्वैः संस्कृतप्रणयिभिः निर्वर्तनीया कार्यकलापप्रणाली निर्धारणीया। अस्याः सभायाः संघटना राष्ट्रीयसभाया इव देशभाषासाहित्यपरिषद् इव वा विधेया। सदस्यताधनेनैकरूप्येण भाव्यम्। अस्याः सभायाः कार्यविशेषस्तु सामान्य-जनेष्वपि हिन्दूधर्मप्रसारणम्।

अस्याः सभाया उद्देशप्रसारार्थं प्रतिप्रान्तं देशभाषया मासपत्रमेकं संचालनीयम्। येन सामान्यजनेषु संस्कृते आदरः पण्डितेषु सगौरवसहानुभूतिर्जायेत। तथा समग्रे भारते एका, शक्यं चेत्प्रतिप्रान्तमेकैका साप्ताहिकी संस्कृतपत्रिका, बृहदाकारा विविधविषयभासुरा सर्वाङ्गसुन्दरा मासपत्रिकाऽपि संचालनीया। येन लोके संस्कृतमहत्त्वं ज्ञायेत, संस्कृतवाचनाभिरुचिश्च वर्धेत।

संस्कृतपरिषदः स्थापने तदङ्गतया, अस्थापने च स्वतन्त्रतया संस्कृतपण्डितपरिषदः स्थापनं स्थायिसमितेश्च संघटनमत्यावश्यकम्। संस्कृतपरिषदुद्देशा एवास्या उद्देशाः। तथा अन्येऽपि उपयुक्ता उद्देशाः स्युः। यत्र पण्डितानां सुखदुःखविचारः स्वधर्माविरोधेन अर्वाचीनज्ञानायत्तीकरणम् संस्कृतविद्यानां प्रसरणोपायचिन्तनमित्येवमादिकं कार्यं स्यात्। मिथः सौहार्दं जायेत। सोत्साहं कार्यप्रवणता भूयात्।

एवं निर्दिष्टकार्यकरणेन अचिरादेव संस्कृतं पुनरुन्नतिपथमीयात्, संस्कृतपण्डितानां च सर्वात्मना श्रेयः स्यादिति बाढं विश्वसिमः। तदेतत्कार्यं सफलं भूयादिति भगवन्तं विश्वेश्वरं सभक्त्युन्मेषं संप्रार्थयाम इति शम्॥



धर्मादरप्रस्थापनमार्गः ।

(ले०—तर्कसाङ्ख्यतीर्थ, धर्मपारीण, पं० रघुनाथशास्त्री कोकजे, पो० लोणावला, जि० पुणे)

योऽसावनादरो दरीदृश्यते हिन्दुसमाजे स्वधर्मविषये, तस्य निदानं प्रथमतः करणीयम् । न खलु प्रशस्तेऽनादरः प्रवर्तते । प्रशस्तं सुखदं वा विषयं न कोऽपि परिवर्जयति । अपि तु सर्वः कान्तमात्मीयं पश्यतीति न्यायात्तमेव प्रापयितुं यतते । धर्मे यः खल्वनादरस्तत्र तस्य प्रशस्तत्वाज्ञानमेव प्रथमं कारणम् । इदानींतना ये हिंदुसमाजे धर्मनियमा धर्माचारा वा दृश्यन्ते ते केवलं गतानुगतिकत्वेनैव सेव्यमाना न चिकित्सकमतीनां सहृदयानां संतोषाय भवन्तीति धर्मधुरीणैः पर्यालोचनीयम् । तथा पर्यालोच्यमाने तु 'हा ! हतो धर्मः, जितमधर्मेण' इत्यादिकोलाहलेन केवलेन कथमपि न भविष्यति धर्मोन्नतिरिति सुधीभिरवगन्तव्यम् । धर्मोन्नत्यै धर्मादरप्रस्थापनाय वा तादृशमेव विवेचनमावश्यकं येन धर्मनियमानां धर्माचाराणां च प्राशस्त्यं बुद्धावारूढं भविष्यति ।

प्राचीनग्रन्थानां विवेचनसरणिः

धर्मशास्त्रे खलु ग्रन्थदारिद्र्यं नास्ति । शतशः सहस्रशो वा ग्रन्था उपलभ्यन्ते धर्मशास्त्रे । तथापि ते श्रद्धालुमेवोपकुर्वन्ति । न खलु ते चिकित्सकमतीनां परितोषायालं भवन्ति । यस्मात्तेषु केवलं विधिनिषेधानामेव वर्णनं दरीदृश्यते । तत्र कारणं तु प्रायशो न केनापि प्रतिपाद्यते । स्वरसतः खलु ये न ग्रन्थप्रामाण्यबद्धादरास्ते न भवन्ति समाहितमनसः केवलं विधिनिषेधश्रवणमात्रेण । एवं च विधिनिषेधबीजभूता तत्त्वसरणिर्यावन्न प्रदर्श्यते तावन्नैव धर्मादरः प्रस्थापयितुं शक्यते ।

वैदिकी सरणिः

वेदेषु हि सरणिरियमेवाङ्गीकृतासीदिति वक्तुं शक्यते । न केवलं विधिवाक्यानि वेदैः प्रतिपाद्यन्ते किन्त्वर्थवादसहितानीत्यस्येदमेव कारणम् । ते चार्थवादा विध्युक्तकर्मप्राशस्त्यं प्रतिपादयन्ति । ततश्च विध्युक्तकर्मप्राशस्त्यं विज्ञायते । वेदे तावत्

"सुप्रीणितिश्चिकितुषो न शासु ।" ऋ. १. ७१. १ ।

"प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय ।" ऋ. ८. ११. १५ ।

"यद्व किं च विचिकित्सति श्रेयसि हैव भ्रियते ।" शतपथ २. २. ४ ।

"यदेव किंचानूचानोभ्यूहति आर्षमेव तद्भवति ।"

इत्यादि वचनजातेषु चिकित्साया माहात्म्यं कण्ठरवेण प्रतिपाद्यते । भगवद्गीतास्वपि—

"मोहादारभ्यते कर्म यत्तत्तामसमुच्यते ।

मोहात्तस्य परित्यागस्तामसः परिकीर्तितः ॥"

इत्यादिवचनजातेनायमेवार्थः प्रतिपादितः । वेदेष्वनन्तरग्रन्थेषु च योऽयं दृश्यते चिकित्सासमादरः स इदानीन्तनेषु धर्मग्रन्थेषु न दृश्यते । अत एव न ते ग्रन्था न वा तत्प्रतिपाद्या धर्माः समाद्रियन्ते हिन्दुभिराधुनिकशिक्षानिपुणैः ।

प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रराद्धान्तः

न केवलं वेदपर्यालोचनेन किंतु प्रवृत्तिशास्त्रपर्यालोचनेनाप्येतदेव सिद्ध्यति । इष्टसाधनताज्ञानं हि प्रवर्तकमिति दार्शनिकानां राद्धान्तः । इष्टं च मुख्यतः सुखं, * दुःखनाशः, परंपरया तत्साधनान्यपीति न विपश्चिदपश्चिमानां तिरोहितम् । धर्मस्य यदि प्रवर्तकत्वमपेक्षितं तदा तस्य सुखसाधनत्वप्रदर्शनमत्यावश्यकम् । 'बुद्धिपूर्वकारिणो हि पुरुषा यावत् प्रशस्तोयमिति नावबुध्यन्ते तावन्न प्रवर्तन्ते' इति वदता कुमारिलेनाप्ययमेवार्थोऽङ्गीकृतः । तदेवं धर्मस्य सुखसाधनत्वज्ञानं विना धर्मे प्रवृत्तिरशक्येति धर्मप्रवृत्त्यर्थमपि सुखसाधनत्वप्रतिपादकधर्मग्रन्थावश्यकता सिद्ध्यत्येव ।

आक्षेपविशेषः

अत्रापरे प्रत्यवतिष्ठन्ते—"ऐहिकं सुखं यदि धर्मफलं स्यात्तदा पुरुषबुद्ध्यो चिकित्सापुरःसरं तत्प्रतिपादनं सुशकं भवेत् । तदेव तु न संभवति । धर्मस्यादृष्टफलकत्वात् । अदृष्टं च फलं देहपातादनन्तरं स्वर्गादावुपलभ्यमानं कथं पुरुषबुद्ध्या विविच्येत ? तस्माच्चिकित्सापूर्वकं धर्मविवेचनमशक्यमेव । अङ्गीकृतोऽयमेवार्थः सर्वथा 'चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्म' इति वदता जैमिनिना पूर्वमीमांसायाम् । शङ्कराचार्यैरपि 'शब्दैकसमधिगम्यस्त्वयमर्थो धर्मवत्' इति वदद्भिरिदमेवोट्टङ्कितम् ।" इति । सोयमाक्षेपः प्रथमतः परिहर्तव्यः । आक्षेपकास्त्वेते धर्मस्य चिकित्सायाश्च भिन्नौ पन्थानौ मन्यन्ते । सोऽयं तेषां ग्रहः साधुरसाधुर्वेति प्रथमतः परीक्षणीयम् । तदर्थं कीदृशं धर्मफलं तच्च पुरुषमतिग्राह्यं न वेति प्रथमतो विचारणीयम् ।

धर्मफलविचारः

श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेषु हि बहुशो धर्मलक्षणानि समुपलभ्यन्ते । तेषां पर्यालोचने तु धर्मफलमैहिकं पुरुषबुद्धिग्राह्यं चेत्येव सिद्ध्यति । तथा हि

"धर्मो विश्वस्य जगतः प्रतिष्ठा ।" नारायणोप० ।

"धृतिः क्षमा दमोऽस्तेयं शौचमिन्द्रियनिग्रहः ।
धीर्विद्या सत्यमक्रोधो दशकं धर्मलक्षणम् ॥" मनु० ६.९२ ।

"यः स्यात्प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।
धर्मादर्थः प्रभवति धर्मात्प्रभवते सुखम् ॥ रामा.३.९.३० ।

"धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च ।" म.भा.शान्ति.१०६ ।

"लोकयात्रार्थमेवेह धर्मस्य नियमः कृतः ।" म.भा.शान्ति.२८६ ।

इत्यादौ धर्मस्यैहिकी समाजव्यवस्थितिस्तदुपयोगिनो गुणा वा धर्मलक्षणत्वेनोक्ताः । वात्स्यायनेन तु न्यायभाष्ये (४.१.६२)

* "यदा वै सुखं लभतेऽथ करोति, नासुखं लब्ध्वा करोति, सुखमेव लब्ध्वा करोति । छान्दोग्य ७-२२-१ ।

'लोकव्यवहारव्यवस्थापनं धर्मशास्त्रस्य विषयः'
इति वदता तदेवाङ्गीकृतम्। दक्षेण तु
"सुखं वाञ्छन्ति सर्वे हि तच्च धर्मसमुद्भवम्।
तस्माद्धर्मः सदा कार्यः सर्ववर्णैः प्रयत्नतः॥ ३०२५"
इति वदता धर्मस्य स्पष्टमेवैहिकं फलमभ्युपगतमित्यत्र नास्ति विवादः। एवं च यदि धर्मस्यैहिकोत्कर्षस्तदुपयोगिनो वा गुणाः फलमिति सर्वसंमतं तदा कथं पुरुषबुद्धिर्विचिकित्सा वा धर्मनिर्णयासमर्थेति सुधीभिर्विभावनीयम्।

जैमिनेरभिप्रायः

'चोदनालक्षणोऽर्थो धर्म' इति लक्षयता जैमिनिनापि लक्षणे अर्थपदस्य समावेशनात् अर्थानर्थकरत्वस्य च पुरुषबुद्ध्यवधारणीयत्वान्न तस्यापि धर्मे चिकित्साप्रवेशोऽसंमत इत्यवश्यमङ्गीकरणीयम्। वस्तुतः पूर्वमीमांसायां यागस्यैव प्रतिपादनात् तस्य च दृष्टफलप्रदर्शनं दुर्घटं मन्यमानेनैव जैमिनिना श्रौतधर्मस्यैव तथा लक्षणमङ्गीकृतं न पुनर्वर्णाश्रमाचारपरस्य स्मार्तस्येति न कापि हानिः। न चैवमङ्गीक्रियमाणे धर्मविशेषेऽदृष्टमितरत्र च कुत्रचिद्दृष्टमित्यर्धजरतीयन्यायापात इति वाच्यम्। न्यायमात्रस्याकिञ्चित्करत्वात्। अन्यथा सर्वेक्षुन्यायापातात्। न हि मध्यमं काण्डमिक्षुदण्डस्य चोष्यमिति मूलमपि तस्य चोष्यतामापद्यते। इदं च वस्तुगतिमनुरुध्य समाधानमुक्तम्। यज्ञकाण्डस्य यदि विशेषतः पर्यालोचनं क्रियते तदा तस्यापि दृष्टफलकत्वप्रदर्शनं नाशक्यं किन्तु विस्तारभयात् प्रकृते च स्मार्तधर्मस्यैव विचारणीयत्वान्न श्रौतधर्मनिरूपणमावश्यकं प्रतिभाति। किं च जैमिनेरभिप्रायः श्रुतिस्मृतिवत्सर्वथा प्रामाण्यं भजते इति नैवाङ्गीकरणीयम्। नागोजीभट्टादिभिर्मार्कण्डेयपुराणाद्युपन्यासपुरस्सरं तस्य विनिन्दितत्वात्। तथा हि लघुमञ्जूषायामेवं प्रतिपाद्यते—

'किंच जैमिनेरेव सर्ववस्तुतत्त्वज्ञताभावो मार्कण्डेयपुराणादवगम्यते सुतरां तदीयानाम्।

ईशसिद्धिमयाद्वेदशास्त्राप्रामाण्यमीयुषाम्।
मानकृज्जैमिनिर्मुनिः केन मानेन सिद्ध्यति' इति।

यदपि च मीमांसादर्शनं समन्वयपद्धतेर्मीमांसापद्धतेर्वा पुरस्कारार्थमाद्रियत इति केषांचिन्मतं तदपि न सर्वसंमतम्। माधवाचार्यैरेव पराशरस्मृतिव्याख्यानप्रस्तावे तस्या निन्दितत्वात्। तथा हि

"स्मृत्यन्तरानुसारेण विषयस्य व्यवस्थितिः।
कल्पनीयेति चेद् ब्रूहि सर्वज्ञं मन्यसे कथम्॥
स्वेन दृष्टास्तु यावत्यस्तासामित्ययुक्तिमत्।
क्वचित्कदाचिदन्यासां दर्शनादव्यवस्थितेः॥
अत एव निबन्धेषु दृश्यते नैकवाक्यता।
सर्वथापि त्वया प्रोक्तां निर्मूलां बुद्धिकल्पिताम्।
कामाकामादिभेदेन नाङ्गीकुर्मो व्यवस्थितिम्॥
स्मृतिव्याख्यातृभिः सर्वैर्वचनानां व्यवस्थितिम्।
ब्रुवाणैर्मन्दमतयो व्युत्पाद्यन्ते हि केवलम्॥"

इत्यादिवचनजातेन माधवाचार्यैरपि मीमांसापद्धतिर्दत्ताञ्जलिः कृतेति सुधीभिर्निर्मत्सरैर्विभावनीयम् । युक्तं चैतत् ; धर्मनिर्णये मीमांसापद्धतिः प्राधान्यं भजते इति तु सर्वथा अन्याय्यमेव ।

"धर्मे प्रमीयमाणे तु वेदेन करणात्मना ।
इतिकर्तव्यताभागं मीमांसा पूरयिष्यति ॥"

इत्यादौ श्रौतक्रियासु इतिकर्तव्यताभागपूरणार्थमेव तस्या अङ्गीकरणीयत्वात् । स्मार्ते तु वर्णाश्रमधर्मे, तस्याः प्रामाण्याश्रयणं सर्वथा परंपराविरुद्धमेव । तदेवं मीमांसकैस्तदनुयायिभिर्वा समन्वयपद्धतिमालम्ब्य यद्धर्मे ग्रन्थप्रामाण्यमेव वरीवर्ति तत्र चिकित्सायाः पुरुषबुद्धेर्वा प्रवेशो नास्तीत्युद्घोष्यते तदविचारितरमणीयमेव । विचारचातुरीचतुरैस्तु तदेतन्मोहजालं सुदूरमपास्योपरिष्टात् प्रदर्शितं श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणेतिहासवचनजातमूरीकृत्य चिकित्साश्रयपूर्वकमेव धर्मनियमधर्माचारविवेचनं करणीयम् । तथा सति धर्माचाराणामैहिकोन्नत्या संबन्धः सुस्पष्टो भविष्यति प्रवर्त्स्यन्ते च तादृशं फलं दृष्ट्वा धर्ममार्गे हिन्दवः ।

ऐहिकफलमाहात्म्यम्

सत्यपि धर्माचाराणामामुष्मिके फले तेषां दृष्टमेव फलं धर्मप्रवर्तनायालं भविष्यति । यस्माद्वर्तमाने हि फले पुरुषस्य दृढं प्रीतिबन्धो भवति । उक्तं च कुमारिलेन तन्त्रवार्तिके (१.२.३)

"सर्वलोकस्य भूतभविष्यदनादरेण वर्तमानोपकारानुरागात् न भूते भाविनि वा तादृशी प्रवृत्तिर्यादृशी वर्तमाने ।"

इत्यादि वचनजातेन । श्रुतावपि

"को हि तद्वेद यद्यमुष्मिन् लोकेऽस्ति वा न वा ।" तै.सं.७.२.२

इति परलोकास्तित्वविषयेऽनादरोऽत एव युज्यते । प्रत्युत तत्र तत्र लौकिकफलनिर्देशपुरस्सरमेव धर्माचारेषु प्रवर्तनं दृश्यते । तथा हि स्वाध्यायप्रशंसायां शतपथब्राह्मणे (११.८.७.६)

"प्रिये स्वाध्यायप्रवचने भवतः । युक्तमना भवत्यपराधीनः, अहरहरर्थान् साधयते, सुखं स्वपिति । परमचिकित्सक आत्मनो भवति । इन्द्रियसंयमश्चैकात्मता च प्रज्ञावृद्धिर्यशो लोकपक्तिः ।"

इत्यत्र दृष्टानामेव फलानां विवेचनं दृश्यते । नारायणोपनिषदि दानफलवर्णनेप्येवमेव दृष्टफलविवेचनं श्रूयते । वैदिके समये दृष्टफलानां विवेचनमासीदत एव तदा लोकानां धर्मे प्रवृत्तिरासीदिति किमु वर्णनीयम्? इदानीन्तनास्तु निबन्धकाराः सर्वथा दृष्टार्थानपि धर्मनियमानदृष्टार्थत्वेन बलाद्वर्णयन्तो दृश्यन्ते । तदेतत्सर्वथा धर्मविघातायैव भवति ।

उन्नत्यर्थमभ्यासावश्यकता

सोऽयं विघातश्चेन्निवारणीयस्तदा दृष्टविधया धर्मशास्त्राभ्यासः प्रथमत आवश्यकः । विद्यमानं सर्वमपि धर्मनिबन्धवाङ्मयमद्धाहासेनादृष्टार्थत्वमेव धर्मा-

चाराणां प्रतिपादयति । तथापि मूलस्मृतिसूत्रादिपर्यालोचने कृते क्वचिदर्थवाद-समाश्रयेण क्वचित् कल्पनया फलसंदर्भनिर्धारणं कठिनमपि नाशक्यम् । चिकित्सकैः पण्डितैरास्थापूर्वकं समालोच्यमाने तथाविधं बुद्धिग्राह्यं धर्मविवेचनं नाशक्यम् । अतः पण्डितैः धर्मोद्धाराय प्रथमत एतादृशः प्रयत्नः समाश्रयणीयः ।

परिवर्तनावश्यकता

पण्डितैः सर्वथा स्थितस्य गतिश्चिन्तनीयेति न्यायेन पर्यालोचनं न कार्यम् । क्वचिदधर्मस्यापि धर्मत्वेन प्रतिपादनात् । अधर्मस्य धर्मत्वं द्विधा संपद्यते । क्वचिन्मोहात् क्वचित्कालात्ययात् । प्रथमस्योदाहरणं नियोगः । स च वेनेन मोहाद्धर्मत्वेनाङ्गीकृतः । अपरस्य तूदाहरणं यज्ञीया पशुहिंसा । यदा खलु सर्वेप्यार्या मांसाहारपरा आसन् तदा 'यदन्नः पुरुषो भवति तदन्नास्तस्य देवताः' इति न्यायेन यज्ञेपि पशुमांसोपयोगो धर्मपर एवासीत् । परन्तु यदा वयं शाकाहारिकपरा मांसविमुखाश्च संपन्नास्तदापि केवलं परंपरामालम्ब्य यज्ञे पशुवधो धर्मत्वं नार्हति । विस्तरेण चैतत्प्रतिपादितं महर्षिभिरिन्द्रयागप्रसङ्गे । अनूदितं च तद्वायुपुराणे । तत्र महर्षीणामुक्तिः

"न वः पशुवधस्त्विष्टस्तव यज्ञे सुरोत्तम ।
अधर्मो धर्मघाताय प्रारब्धः पशुभिस्त्वया ।
नायं धर्मो ह्यधर्मोऽयं न हिंसा धर्म उच्यते ॥" अ.८७

इत्येवं स्पष्टमेव दृश्यते । मनुयाज्ञवल्क्यादिभिर्द्वादशविधाः पुत्रा उक्ताः । परन्तु कलियुगे औरसदत्तकयोरेव धर्म्यत्वमङ्गीकृतम् । अत्रापि परिवर्तनमेव स्वीकृतं धर्मशास्त्रकारैः । एवं च धर्मनियमानां धर्माचाराणां च यथावत् परिशोधनं कृत्वा कुत्रचित् परिवर्तनमप्यावश्यकम् । विशेषत इदानीन्तनानां जनानां जीवनकलह-पीडितत्वं दुर्बलत्वं चावेक्ष्य कतिपयधर्मबन्धनशैथिल्यमाचाराणां विस्तृतानां संक्षेपोप्यत्यावश्यकः ।

परिवर्तनसरणिः

अनन्यगतिकतया तु परिवर्तनमेतादृशं भवत्वेव । परन्तु तत्र शास्त्रीयमधिष्ठानं न भवति । सुयोग्यं परिवर्तनं चेदावश्यकं तदर्थं समानविचारयुक्तानां देशसमयसमाचारज्ञानां पूर्वाचार्यबद्धादराणां तदपरतन्त्रमतीनां च विदुषामेकत्र परिषद्रूपेण वा मण्डलरूपेण वा विचारसंघर्ष आवश्यकः । विषये चास्मिन् पण्डितप्रकाण्डा अपि रूढिपरतन्त्राः पाश्चात्यैकबद्धादरा वा भारतीयोज्ज्वलपरंपराभिमानविधुरा न सर्वथा कार्योपयोगिनो भविष्यन्ति । सांप्रतं त्वेतादृशा विद्वांसोतीव दुर्लभाः । ये तु विरलतरा महाराष्ट्रवङ्गद्राविडगुर्जरयुक्तप्रान्तादिषु वर्तन्ते तेषामेकत्र मेलनं न भवति । अत एव धर्मोद्धारेच्छूनामप्येतेषां प्रत्यत्नो धर्मोद्धारायोपयोगो न भवति । यद्येतादृशानां विदुषां संघो भविष्यति तदा सांप्रतिकानां जनानामतीव तदुपकाराय स्यात् । यदि समयज्ञाः पण्डिताः समेत्य तेषां धर्ममार्गप्रदर्शनं कुर्युस्तदातीव तेषामुपकारः स्यात् । तस्माद्धर्म-

श्रमस्वराध्ययसंधीयानां विदुषामपि समयज्ञताविधुराणां विफलं धर्मसंरक्षणक्रमं समवलोक्य बहूनां चेखिद्यते चेतः । वाञ्छन्ति च ते मार्गदर्शनं समयज्ञैः परंपराभिमानगम्भीरैः पण्डितैः । युक्तं चैतत् । बौधायनेनापि (१.१)

"बहुद्वारस्य धर्मस्य सूक्ष्मा दुरनुगा गतिः ।
तस्मान्न वाच्यो ह्येकेन बहुज्ञेनापि संशये ॥"

इति वदता बहूनामेकत्रावस्थानमपेक्षितम् । कलिवर्ज्येष्वत एव

"एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निर्वर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ॥"

इति महात्मकृता व्यवस्था धर्मपरिवर्तननिर्णायकत्वेनाङ्गीकृता । परंपरामेतामनुसृत्य भारतीया यदि धर्मनिर्णयाय धर्मपरिवर्तनाय धर्माचारसंकोचाय संमीलिताः स्युस्तदावश्यमेव धर्मोन्नतिर्भविष्यति । ग्रन्थवचनरूढिपरतन्त्राणां तु विदुषां न तत्रोपयोग इति स्पष्टमेव । तत्त्वनिष्ठानां तु धर्मतत्त्वज्ञानां सामाजिकवैयक्तिकोत्कर्ष एव धर्मफलमित्यर्थेऽसंदिग्धानां चेदेकत्र मेलनं भविष्यति तदा ध्रुवमेव धर्मोत्कर्षः स्यात् । तदर्थं प्रथमतो धर्मस्यैतादृशं बुद्धिग्राह्यं स्वरूपं निर्णयपद्धतिश्चैतादृशी सविस्तरं यथा प्रकाशिता स्यादेतादृशो विस्तृतो ग्रन्थोऽपेक्षितः । तस्मिन् ग्रन्थे धर्मस्य यदि ऐहिकं फलमभ्यासपूर्वकं विविच्यते तदा संमीलितानां सह विचारसौकर्याय तदावश्यकं भविष्यति । सहविचारपूर्वकं प्रदर्शितो निर्णयश्चिकित्साशालिनामुपकाराय भविष्यति । ततश्च यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठ इति न्यायेनेतरा अपि धर्ममार्गे बद्धादरा भवेयुः ।

कार्यारम्भः

एतादृशविचारपरैर्विद्वद्भिर्महाराष्ट्रदेशीयैर्धर्मनिर्णयमण्डलं स्थापयित्वा तदाश्रयेण महाराष्ट्रदेशे धर्मप्रसारकार्यमपि प्रारम्भितं वर्तते । तैस्तु हिन्दुधर्मस्य वास्तविकोज्ज्वलस्वरूपप्रकाशकाः केचन ग्रन्था महाराष्ट्रभाषायां प्रकाशिताः । किंच सांप्रतिकानां जनानां प्रतीर्याचारादावश्यकि पर्यालोच्य 'समकोचयद्वाचारं प्रायश्चित्तं व्रतानि चेति' परंपरां ज्ञात्वा अतीव सुलभा उपनयन-विवाह-अन्त्येष्टि-श्राद्ध-प्रयोगा अपि प्रवर्तिता वर्तन्ते । सांप्रतिकानामैक्यभावनामभिलक्ष्य प्रयोगाश्चैते सर्वे सकलहिन्दुसाधारणतया घोषिताः । धर्मनिर्णयमण्डलपुरस्कारेण वा अन्यसभापुरस्कारेण वा भवतु यथाधुनिका हिन्दुधर्मपरिपोषकं स्वयं तादृशाचाराणां समादरं कृत्वा तथैवैहिकोन्नतौ तेषामतिनिकटं संबन्धं प्रदृश्य संप्रशस्ताचाराप्रचारं कुर्युस्तदैव हिन्दुधर्मस्यानुयायिनां प्रथमतो बुद्धिसमाधानं भवेदनन्तरं च यद्यदाचरति श्रेष्ठ इति न्यायेन नवीकृताचारप्रवर्तनमपि भवेदेव । तथा सत्यादरोऽपि धर्मे वृद्धिमेष्यत्यन्ते चोत्कर्षः । अतो विद्वद्भिः प्रथमतस्तादृशमेव विवेचनं समादरणीयं येन श्रोतॄणां धर्मे विचिकित्सा समादरश्च वृद्धिमेष्यति । नान्यः पन्था विद्यतेऽयनाय इति शम् ।

हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरासे कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते ।

श्री अनन्तनारायण शास्त्री, भाण्डारकर इन्स्टीट्यूट, पुण्यपत्तनम् ।

मानवं शास्त्रं धर्मधर्मवित्स्वरूपमभिधाय सनातनधर्मसंरक्षणे त्रैविद्यहेतुकादिबहुरूपसुधीसंवलितां दशावरां त्र्यवरामेकवेदविद्द्विजभूषितां वा परिषदं संपाद्य धर्मनिर्णयपरिवर्तनानि सुधीभिः कार्याणीत्याशेते । श्रुत्यादिमानगम्यधर्मरतास्तिकवरान्ब्राह्मणानन्तरा सदुपदिष्टा अपि सङ्गदोषदूषितान्ता यत्किमपि लपन्तस्तात्कालिकमानससुखाभासरताः स्वीकृतपरकीयवेषभाषाचारा अनुरुद्धहौणपठनबोधाचारास्तद्विद्याभ्यासगृहीतापूर्ववासनाविस्मृतस्वजात्याचाराः सनातने पथि प्रवृत्तांश्च सद्धर्मांस्तिरस्कृत्यापूर्वशिक्षणवशात्प्राच्यविद्याशोधने प्रवृत्य वेदशास्त्राण्यमर्यादं नूत्नेन पथा प्रवर्तयन्तो मनुंमन्या धर्मनिर्णयपरिवर्तनादिषु सर्वथा न प्रभवेयुः ॥

अतस्तादृशाः पूर्वोक्ता ब्राह्मणाः प्रयत्यापि स्वतपोनियमविशेषैरुपदर्शितस्वमहिमवरा विमृष्टशिष्टाचारा अवधूतसद्धर्मा लोकक्षेमावहानवद्यश्रौतपद्यावदातहृदयास्तादृविकीरतत्र तत्र परिषदः प्रकल्प्य तत्र निर्णीतधर्मांश्च ब्राह्मणमुखेनैव सर्वास्वाशासु यथास्वं सद्धर्मान्सर्वे समाचरेयुस्तथा प्रयतेरन् ॥

ब्राह्मण्यसंरक्षणम् ।

स्नानसंध्यादिभिर्यजनयाजनादिषु बद्धादरा अवगीतशिष्टाचारधुरन्धराः शमादिधना निरन्तरस्वाध्यायतत्परा ये त एव ब्राह्मणाः । अनेवंविधाश्च परकीयवासनाक्रान्ता आगमादिषु विश्वासरहिता भुक्त्या तृप्तिमिवादृष्टसद्यःफला अश्रद्धया च धर्मास्तित्वक्षन्तः स्वोत्कर्षाविमर्शाच्छाठ्याद्वान्यसमक्षमेवोदाहृतविविधहेत्वाभासा वर्णाश्रमान्न मानयन्ति । परं तु स्वाध्यायिनोऽपि स्वयमनर्थज्ञाः सन्तः प्रतिग्रहैकरता दृश्यन्ते । शूद्रवत्परानपि सेवन्ते । कर्मणापि शूद्रकल्पा भवन्ति । वर्णिनश्च नाधीयते । न शुश्रूषन्ते गुरूनभ्यस्यन्ति परं हौणीं वाणीं त्यजन्ति च शिखाम् । गृहिणोऽप्युल्लङ्घितब्राह्मादिविवाहविधयः स्वैरिणो दृश्यन्ते । जितारिवर्गा विशिष्टा यतिनोऽपि प्रायः स्वोत्कर्षैकस्पृहाः स्वार्थबुद्ध्या न्यायालयमुपधावन्ति । द्वैताद्वैतमतेषु स्वमतैकप्रतिष्ठासवः परमतखण्डनेऽप्यार्थं प्रवर्तन्त इति दिक् ॥

नैतेषां ब्राह्मण्यं श्रुतिस्मृत्याद्यनुगृहीतमस्ति । प्राञ्चस्तु ब्राह्मणाः कपिलागस्त्यभृगुवसिष्ठाद्याः ब्रह्मिष्ठाः सागरभस्मीकरणादिभिरद्भुतकर्मभिरर्चनीयतमा आसन् । धर्मशास्त्ररीत्या न्यायाधीशाः पुरा न ब्राह्मणविरोधे न्यायं निरणयन् । ब्राह्मणवधदण्डश्च नाभूत् । इत्याद्यस्ति बहु वेदनीयम् । अतो ब्राह्मण्यसंरक्षणेन सर्वथा लोकक्षेमनिर्वाहो धर्मेष्वादरश्च नियतमुत्पद्यत इति सर्वैर्ब्राह्मण्यसंरक्षणे श्रद्धेयम् ।

परस्परसाहाय्यम् ।

एवं हि भगवतीच्छा यत्सर्वेऽपि प्राणिनो विविधधर्मा अपि स्वस्व-

धर्मानुष्ठानद्वारा परस्परं साह्येन सुखिनः स्युरिति । श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिषु सूक्ष्मार्थदर्शिनो यथार्थधिया विवेकाधानेन, विगलितदुष्टभावेन ध्येयवस्तुमात्राभिमानेन सत्कार्यप्रथनेन, स्वानुभवविदितोचितशास्त्रीयविषयाणां संवदनेन परोपकारायोपदेशवरैः, परोत्कर्षावहाः स्वपरेभ्यः क्षेमाधानेन च स्वधर्मानुपबृंहयेयुः । अस्मदाचार्यास्त्वालस्यस्वाभिमानवित्ताभावैरपि धर्मानादरो भवेदिति यथा लोकमर्यादं व्याचख्युः । अतएव वित्तार्जनेनापि धर्मरक्षणं सुसंपादमिति नवीना मन्यन्ते ॥

इह च भरतखण्डे तत्तन्मठाधीशाः सर्वजनसाधारण्येन धर्मानुपदिशन्तो निराशा अपि सदाशाप्रपूरणनिरन्तरोत्सुकाः सार्वदिकतत्त्वद्विद्वज्जनतापेक्षितवित्ताद्युपकाराविष्कृतविततनिजौदार्याः श्रीभवानीजानिरिव शिष्यादिभिरुपदेशनैश्चिरं क्षेममावहन्तो निवृत्तैषणा अपि प्राप्तचतुरङ्गा राजन्या इव श्रीनिकेतना विराजन्ते । एतेऽपि श्रीभगवत्पादा इव सततशिष्योपदिष्टश्रौतमार्गाः शाश्वतिकसुखहेतवोऽद्यापि प्रथेरंश्चेत्तर्हि वैदिको धर्मः प्रतिष्ठिततरो भवेदिति निश्चिन्मः । मठसंपादितं च द्रव्यं शिष्यप्रशिष्यद्वारा वर्णाश्रमपरिपालनमन्तरेण न स्वार्थे नापि न्यायालयस्थलार्थे चान्यत्रानुचिते पथ्युपयुञ्जीरन् । एतदर्थे च भगवान्भवानीजानिरपि सदयमनुगृह्णीयादिति तमेव शरणीकुर्वाणाः प्रार्थयामहे । एवं च त्रिभिरप्येतैर्हेतुभिरुदिते धर्मानादरे तन्निरासायास्माभिः परस्परसहायेन धर्मैकपरायणैः स्वानूचानधर्मनिषेवणतत्परैश्च भाव्यम् । ईशानश्च 'न वित्तार्जनेन स्वोदरपोषणं, किन्तु स्वधर्मार्जनेन सुखप्राप्तिरेवैष्टव्या' इत्याह । गीताचार्या अपि 'स्वधर्मेण मामेवैष्यतीति' स्वधर्मानुष्ठानेन परमनिःश्रेयसमाविष्कुर्वते । तस्मात्परिषद्विधानब्राह्मण्यसंरक्षणपरस्परसहायरूपैरुपायैस्त्रिभिरपि धर्मानादरो लोके निरसनीय इत्येकान्तेन वयमभिप्रेमः ।



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हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते ।

पं० सूर्यनारायणशर्माचार्यः भूतपूर्वसंस्कृतप्रधानमहाध्यापकः, जयपुर ।

यदाऽस्माकमस्मिन् भारते गौराङ्गशासनं कृतपदमभवत् क्रमेण च सुस्थिरीभूतं तदा शासनाधिकारिभिः स्वसौकर्यायात्र स्वमातृभाषाया आङ्ग्ल्याः पठनपाठने प्रारब्धे । तस्यां च भाषायां न केवलं भारतीयधर्मतत्त्वानां वर्णनं, विवेचनं, प्रबोधनं, समर्थनं च नास्तीत्येव, किन्तु तेषां निस्सारतायाः, अनुपयुक्ततायाः, असामयिकतायाः, कल्पनामात्रप्रसूततायाः अन्धपरम्परारूपतायाश्चापि बहुत्र संकेतमात्ररूपेण क्वचित् क्वचिच्च सुस्पष्टरूपेणापि प्रतिपादनं लभ्यते । तथा च यावत्कालपर्यन्तं तस्या भाषाया प्रचारो न्यून आसीत् सहैव च गौणरूपेणापि संस्कृतभाषाया अध्ययनमपि प्रवृत्तमासीत् तावत्तु संस्कृतभाषाया अध्ययनार्थं नियतेषु ग्रन्थेषु तत्र तत्र धर्मगौरवस्य, सदाचारमहत्त्वस्य, नीतिगाम्भीर्यस्य, शास्त्रसौष्ठवस्य च पठनावकाशस्य लभ्यमानत्वादध्येतॄणां बुद्धिर्धर्मे महत्त्वं परिचिन्वती धर्मे विषये श्रद्दधाना धर्मपथाद्विचलिता नाऽभूत् । न च लोका धर्मानादरमकुर्वन् । परं यदा तु संस्कृताध्ययनं विज्ञानादिशिक्षाप्रचारस्य बाहुल्येन प्रतिरुद्धप्रायमभूत्, तदा धर्मज्ञानमनाश्रितं सत् स्वयमेव ह्रासोन्मुखमभूत् । किं च सुचिरादस्माकं देशे पुराणवाचनस्यापि देवालयादिषु प्रथा प्रचलिताऽभूत् सापीदानीं स्मृतिमात्रशेषतां प्राप्ता तथा च भागवतादिकश्रवणेनापि यावज्ज्ञानं लोकानामनायासेन जायमानमभूत् तावन्मात्रस्यापि धर्मज्ञानसाधनस्य विनष्टत्वात् कथङ्कारं लोकानां धर्मज्ञानं संभवेत्, कथं च तन्महत्त्वपूर्णरहस्यज्ञानाभावात् तस्मिन् धर्मे श्रद्धा संपद्येत, कथं च तस्याः स्थिरत्वं जायेत । तथा च धर्मज्ञानविहीना नरा धर्मं केवलं क्रीडनकमिव मन्यमानास्तस्योपहासमनादरं च कुर्वन्ति । न शास्त्रेषु विश्वसन्ति न धार्मिकविधिषु कर्तव्यताबुद्धिं धारयन्ति, न संस्कृताध्ययनं कर्तुं समीहन्ते, न पुराणमहाभारतादिपठने प्रयतन्ते, न सदाचारं श्रेष्ठं मन्यन्ते, न च कुत्रापि तेषां कुतर्कोपहता बुद्धिः स्थिरतां गच्छति ।

ते अधीयतां नाम विज्ञानादिकान् नवनवान् लौकिकोन्नतिसाधकान् विषयान् परं तैरस्य देशस्य धर्मप्राणतामालोच्य, धर्मानुष्ठानस्य महत्त्वमवधार्य, शास्त्रस्य गाम्भीर्यमैहिकामुष्मिकश्रेयःसाधनत्वं च विचार्य समस्तधार्मिकज्ञानसाधनमूलभूतायाः संस्कृतभाषाया अपि पठनार्थं स्वल्पसमयो देयः । यदि तथा न संभवति तर्हि संस्कृतज्ञसदाचारसंपन्नपण्डितानां सेवायां समुपस्थाय तैः प्रतिपादितो धर्मविषयः श्रोतव्यो, मन्तव्यो, निदिध्यासितव्यश्च । तैरपि पण्डितप्रवरैस्तत्र तत्र सभासु पदार्पणं कृत्वा याथार्थ्येन धर्मतत्त्वानां, धार्मिकेतिकर्त-

व्यानां, सदाचारशिक्षकपुराणादिकथानां च व्याख्या कर्तव्या, न केवलं स्वोपस्थापितप्रस्तावस्वीकृतिमात्रेण संतोष्टव्यम् ।

तथा च धर्मानुष्ठानपरायणानां, सदाचारसंपन्नानां, स्वाध्यायशीलानां, व्याख्यानशैलीपरिचितानां विदुषां यथा देशे बाहुल्यं संपद्येत, यथा च ते धर्मप्रचाराय सोत्साहं प्रवर्तेरन् तथा तेषां वृत्त्यादिसौकर्यं विधाय सुखजीवनाय प्रयत्नो विधेयः ।

प्रतिनगरं धर्मसभानां योजना कार्या, तासु च समये समये सुविज्ञान् पण्डितान् आमन्त्र्य तद्द्वारा धर्मप्रचारः कर्तव्यः। कथाप्रवचनव्यवस्था विधेया । नवसंस्कृतग्रन्थनिर्मातॄणां प्रोत्साहनाय समुचितपुरस्कारादिव्यवस्थापनं विधेयम् ।

शिक्षणालयेषु धार्मिकशिक्षायाः कृतेऽपि समुचितः प्रबन्धो विधेयः। प्राचीनसंस्कृतसाहित्ये विद्यमानानामुपदेशपूर्णानां काव्येतिहासनाटकादीनां पठनपाठनादिव्यवस्था कर्तव्या ।

धार्मिकसंस्काराणां महत्त्वमवश्यकर्तव्यतां चानुबोध्य यथा तेषामनुष्ठाने लोकानां रुचिर्वर्धेत तथा तत्प्रतिपादकानां ग्रन्थानां व्याख्या कारयितव्या ।

येषु राज्येषु धर्मार्थं कूपक्षेत्रभूमिग्रामादीनामुत्सर्गः पुरातनै राजभिः कृतोऽस्ति तेषामधिकारिणो यथा विद्वांसो धर्मशीलाश्च भवेयुस्तथा तेषां शिक्षायाः प्रबन्धेऽवधानं देयम् । साम्प्रतिकनृपतयश्च यथा धर्मप्रचारार्थं द्रव्यविनियोगं कुर्युस्तथा ते प्रोत्साहनीयाः ।

इत्येवमादिषु उपायेष्वनुष्ठितेषु धर्मतत्त्वमहत्वज्ञानद्वारा धर्मानादरस्य ह्रासो धर्मश्रद्धायाश्च वृद्धिः स्यात् । इतिशम् ।



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'हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानादरस्य निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यते ।

(लेखक—बद्रीनाथ शास्त्री, एम० ए०, जयपुर)

श्रीमन्तः सभापतिमहोदया विविधविद्यापारङ्गताः समुपस्थिता विद्वांसश्च ।

पुरा यत्र यत्रेतिहासपुराणादिषु श्रूयते तत्र सर्वत्र भारतवर्षीयाणां सकलजगदपेक्षया धार्मिकतरत्वं विशेषतश्च ब्राह्मणानामाचारशिक्षणेऽधिकार उपलभ्यते । यथा—

'एतद्देशप्रसूतस्य सकाशादग्रजन्मनः ।
स्वं स्वं चरित्रं शिक्षेरन् पृथिव्यां सर्वमानवाः ॥'

इदानीं तु तद्विपरीता दशा दृश्यते । अत्र भारतवर्षे प्रायः सर्वेषामपि हिन्दुसमाजीयानां संस्कृतवाङ्मयाध्ययने पराङ्मुखानामितरभाषासु च बाहुल्येन शिक्षितानां जन्मत आरभ्यैव विधिवदसंस्कृतानां निजधर्मं वस्तुतः स्वरूपतश्चाजानतां पाश्चात्यसभ्यतामेवाद्रियमाणानां प्रतिदिनं धर्मेऽनादर उत्तरोत्तरं वर्धते । एतन्निरसनाय कीदृशः प्रयासोऽपेक्ष्यत इति जिज्ञासायां निवेद्यन्ते मया यथामति केऽप्युपाया येषु यथावत्कृतेषु पुनरपि संभवति कदाचिद् हिन्दुसमाजे धर्मादरः ।

१. आधुनिकपठनपाठनप्रणाल्यां धार्मिकशिक्षायाः संनिवेशोऽवश्यं विधेयः । सा च धार्मिकग्रन्थानामध्यापनेन व्याख्यानादिना कथावाचनादिना नित्यनैमित्तिककाम्यकर्मणामाचारप्रचारादिभिश्चाध्येतॄणामन्येषां च जनानामात्मनि धार्मिकश्रद्धोत्पादनेन भविष्यति ।

२. वैज्ञानिकेऽस्मिन् युगे हिन्दुजनतायाः श्रद्धा विश्वासश्चेतरधर्मावलम्बिविलासिजनैः सह संसर्गाल्लुप्तप्रायौ संजातौ । सर्वेऽपि नास्तिकप्रायाः प्रत्यक्षमेव प्रमाणं मन्यन्ते । न त्वनुमानादिकम् । अस्माकं सकलोऽपि धर्मः पुस्तकेषु निबद्धः, शब्दमात्रप्रमाणैकगम्यः केवलमाप्तगुरुजनोपदेशादिना ज्ञातुं शक्यते । 'स्वर्गकामो यजेत' 'अहरहः संध्यामुपासीत' 'गुरुजनशुश्रूषा कार्या' इत्यादिवाक्येषु श्रद्धाया अभावात् केचिज्जनाः पृच्छन्ति स्वर्गस्य सत्त्वे किं मानमिति । नहि स्वर्गः प्रत्यक्षेण कस्यापि दृष्टिगोचरः । नहि स्वर्गसुखमनुभूय कोऽपि प्रतिनिवृत्त्य देशान्तरयात्रादिवद् वृत्तान्तं वर्णितवान् । प्रायः शतेऽशीतिसंख्याका मनुष्या आत्मन्यश्रद्दधाना गौरोऽहं स्थूलोऽहमित्यादिप्रतीत्या देहमेवात्मानं मन्यमाना ब्रुवन्ति—

"न स्वर्गो नापवर्गो वा नैवात्मा पारलौकिकः ।" इति ।
अन्ये च कथयन्ति प्रत्यहं संध्योपासनेन किं भवति ॥

इतरे वदन्ति निखिलकार्येषु निर्विघ्नतासिद्ध्यर्थं प्रथमं गणेशोऽभ्यर्च्यते। तस्य चातिस्थूलकायस्याल्पप्राणो मूषिको वाहनमिति कथं संगच्छत इत्यादिनानाविधशङ्कानिरासार्थं युक्तिसंगतं वैज्ञानिकं समाधानमपेक्ष्यते धर्मे श्रद्धोत्पादनायास्मिन् युगे वैज्ञानिके।

तस्मिन् समये गुरुभिरेतादृशैर्भाव्यं ये धार्मिकं विषयं वैज्ञानिकशैल्या शिष्यान् बोधयेयुः। स्वसंर्गेण च तेषां मनसि विश्वासमुत्पादयेयुः। येन तान् दृष्ट्वा शिष्याः प्रभाविताः स्युः। परंतु गुरव ईदृशा वर्तमानसमयेऽतीव विरलाः। यथोक्तम्—

'परोपदेशे पाण्डित्यं सर्वेषां सुकरं नृणाम्।
धर्मे स्वीयमनुष्ठानं कस्यचित्तु महात्मनः॥' इति

यदीदृशाः श्रुतिशास्त्रसंपन्ना विद्वांसः समुपलभ्येरंस्तर्हि कृतोपनयनसंस्कारा द्विजा हिन्दुविश्वविद्यालयादितुल्ये स्थाने तेषामध्यापकानां सविधेऽध्ययनार्थं प्रेषणीयाः। यत्र ते व्रतं पालयन्तो यावत्समावर्तनं विद्याभ्यासं कुर्युः निजं कर्तव्यं च निश्चिनुयुः। ततश्च कृतविवाहादिसंस्काराः स्वजीवनयात्रां निर्वहन्तो चतुरोऽपि पुरुषार्थान् साधयेयुः। उक्तं च—

आद्ये वयसि तत् कुर्याद् येन वृद्धः सुखं वसेत्।
यावज्जीवेन तत् कुर्याद् येन प्रेत्य सुखं वसेत्॥ इति

३. भारते वर्षे बहूनि मन्दिराणि वर्तन्ते तत्र सर्वत्र कथावाचनप्रबन्धो विधेयः। वाचकाश्च वीतरागद्वेषा धर्माचाररता अनुभविनो वृद्धाः स्युः।

ये निज पुत्रपौत्रादीन् धार्मिकांश्चिकीर्षन्ति तैः स्वयं धर्मपरायणैर्भाव्यम्, ये जन्मतः प्रभृत्येव धार्मिकसंसर्गे निवसन्ति सदाचारं च विलोकयन्ति तेषामात्मनि तथैव संस्कार उत्पद्यते स च यावज्जीवं तिष्ठति न कदापि परिवर्तते। यथोक्तम्।

'यन्नवे भाजने लग्नः संस्कारो नान्यथा भवेत्॥' इति

४. उत्सवेषु मेलकेषु च यत्र जनाः सहस्रश एकत्रिता भवन्ति तत्र महत्वां मठाधीशानां विदुषां च रोचकव्याख्यानार्थं योजना कार्या। यदि तानि व्याख्यानानि न केवलं धर्मिष्ठान्येव किन्तु श्रोतॄणां रुचिकराण्यपि स्युस्तर्हि नरास्तत्रेतराणि दृश्यानि विहाय तत्रैव चित्तविनोदार्थं समागमिष्यन्ति। इतरथातु—

'किं करिष्यन्ति वक्तारः श्रोता यत्र न विद्यते।'

५. इत्युक्तिश्चरितार्था संपत्स्यते॥ प्रचलितदेशभाषायामाङ्ग्लभाषायां च नूतनधार्मिकग्रन्थानां विज्ञान सरणिमनुसृत्य रचनाऽऽवश्यकी। यत्र धा-

मिककृत्यानां नित्यानां नैमित्तिकानां काम्यानां च कर्मणां सोपपत्ति सुगमं संक्षिप्तं व्यवस्थितं वर्णनं भवेत्। येन प्राकृता अपि जना धर्मे श्रद्धालवो भवेयुः।

आधुनिकनूतनाविष्कृतसिनेमाद्यभिनेयानां रेडियोद्वारा श्राव्याणां च धर्मोपदेशपूर्णानां नूतननाटकदृश्यश्रव्यकाव्यानां निर्माणार्थं यावच्छक्यं यतितव्यम्। एतेन साधारणहिन्दुजनसमुदायोऽपि चरित्रविधानकेभ्यो-ऽश्लीलादिदोषदुष्टेभ्योऽभिनयेभ्यश्चित्तमाकृष्याभ्युदयकारकेषु धार्मिकेष्व-भिनयेषु प्रेरयिष्यति। एवं च हिन्दुसमाजे प्रतिदिनं वर्धमानस्य धर्मानाद-रस्य निरसनमेभिरन्यैश्चैतादृशैः प्रयासैर्भविष्यतीत्यलमतिपल्लवितेन।



हिन्दी विभाग

मुगलकालीन कवि रामानन्द ।

(लेखक—पंडित करुणापति त्रिपाठी, एम० ए०, व्याकरणाचार्य, बनारस हिन्दू यूनिवर्सिटी)

हिंन्दी साहित्य के कुछ इतिहास लेखकों ने काल-विभाजन तथा उनका नाम-करण करते हुये उत्तर-मध्य-काल को रीतिकाल का नाम दिया है। यह नाम कुछ विचित्र सा जान पड़ता है। क्योंकि विभक्त कालों के नाम उक्त कालकी मुख्य रचना-प्रवृत्ति के आधार पर रखे गए हैं। अतः 'रीतिकाल' का साधारण अर्थ रीतियों का काल ही होता है। पर इस सम्बन्ध में 'रीति' शब्द का जिस अर्थ में इन इतिहासज्ञों ने प्रयोग किया है, वह संस्कृत में प्रचलित पारिभाषिक शब्द से कुछ भिन्न सा है।

संस्कृत-साहित्य-शास्त्र में 'रीति' को काव्य में सर्वप्रधान स्थान देने वाले आचार्यों में 'काव्यालङ्कार सूत्र' के निर्माता, वामन का एक विशिष्ट स्थान है। वे ही रीति सम्प्रदाय के सर्वप्रमुख आचार्य तथा सर्वश्रेष्ठ संस्थापक माने जाते हैं। उन्होंने रीति का परिचय देते हुए कहा है—'विशिष्टा पदरचना रीतिः' अर्थात् विशेषता युक्त पदों की एक विशेष-प्रकार की योजना ही रीति है और यही रीति काव्य की आत्मा है। आगे चल कर वैदर्भी, गौड़ी और पाञ्चाली रीति के इन तीन भेदों का परिचय बताते हुए उन्होंने उनके आधार ओज प्रसाद आदि दस शब्दगुण और वेहीं दस अर्थगुण बताए हैं। इस भाँति हम देखते हैं कि रीतिवादियों के मत से काव्य में गुणों को सर्वप्रमुख स्थान दिया गया है तथा अलंकार केवल काव्य शोभा के वर्धक माने गए हैं।

पर हिन्दी में हम जिस काल को रीतिकाल नाम से समझते हैं उसके प्रवर्तकों में सर्व-प्रधान आचार्य केशव यद्यपि शब्द चमत्कारवादी ही थे, एवं स्वर्गीय पं० रामचन्द्र जी के शब्दों में संस्कृत-साहित्य शास्त्र के विकासक्रमकी उनके द्वारा उद्धरणी हो गई, अर्थात् ध्वनि, रस और भाव आदि-का आधार लेकर जिस सूक्ष्म और प्रौढ़ आलोचना की संस्कृत साहित्य शास्त्र संस्थापना हो चुकी थी, उसका उनके काव्यालोचन में विकास नहीं दिखाई पड़ता, तथापि रीतिकाल के आचार्य-कवि शब्दार्थ चमत्कारप्रिय एवं चित्रकाव्य के निर्माता होते हुए भी काव्य में ज्ञात अथवा अज्ञात रूप से रस की विशेषता मानते ही थे। अतएव उक्तकाल में सबसे अधिक रचना शृङ्गार-रस के आलम्बन नायक-नायिका भेद को लेकर हुई। इस काल में उनके नख-शिख का उद्दीपन विभाव का वर्णन भी प्रचुर मात्रा में हुआ। साथ ही ऋतु आदि का वर्णन भी रस-निष्पादक अथवा भावोद्दीपक रूप में ही हुआ। फल यह हुआ कि अलंकार-शास्त्र के ग्रन्थों में जिस उत्साह और विस्तार के साथ शृङ्गार-रसका निरूपण हुआ तथा उनके उदाहरण रूप में कविताओं का निर्माण हुआ, उस मात्रा में

साहित्य-शास्त्र के अन्य अङ्गों की ओर, गुण, शब्द-शक्ति, ध्वनि आदि विवेचन की ओर इन आचार्यों का ध्यान कम रहा। हाँ, अलंकारों का विवेचन बड़े विस्तार से अवश्य हुआ। परिणाम यह हुआ कि इस काल के कवि भी, जिन्होंने आचार्यत्व और कवित्व दोनों के प्रदर्शन का साहस न करके केवल अपने भावमय उद्गारों को कविता के रूप में ही प्रकट किया, उनकी रचना में भी रसके आलम्बनों का उद्दीपनों का, अनुभावों का तथा संचारीभावों का प्रदर्शन अधिक हुआ।

इस सम्बन्ध में यहाँ अधिक विचार करना अप्रासंगिक होगा। अतः प्रस्तुत विषय आरम्भ करने के पूर्व इतना कह देना ही पर्याप्त है कि इस काल का नाम 'रीतिकाल' उतना अधिक उपयुक्त नहीं जान पड़ता जितना कि 'लक्ष्य-लक्षण-ग्रन्थ-रचना काल'। यहाँ काल-नामकरण के विषय में प्रसङ्गारम्भ के पूर्व कहने का प्रयोजन यह है कि आगे जिस कवि के विषय में चर्चा की जायगी, उनके सम्बन्ध में इस काल की प्रवृत्तियों का निर्देश भी स्थान-स्थान पर सम्भवतः करना पड़े।

रीतिकाल के आचार्य और कवियों में अनेक ऐसे भी थे जो कि हिन्दी के ही नहीं संस्कृत के भी उत्कट विद्वान् और कवि थे। वस्तुतः उस समय तक हिन्दी और संस्कृत में वह भेद-भाव न था जो आज दिखाई पड़ता है। उस समय के विद्वान् अपनी सांस्कृतिक भाषा संस्कृत और लोकभाषा हिन्दी, दोनों का अध्ययन और दोनों में ग्रन्थ-निर्माण किया करते थे। आचार्य केशवदास भी स्वयं संस्कृतके एक बड़े विद्वान् पंडित थे। और प्रस्तुत निबन्ध के मुख्य पुरुष कवि रामानन्द भी उसी वर्गके एक विशिष्ट विद्वान् और कवि हैं।

यद्यपि श्री रामानन्दजी की रचनाएँ अधिकतः संस्कृत में ही मिलती हैं तथापि हिन्दी में उनके कुछ कवित्त, कुछ पद एवं कतिपय दोहे मिले हैं जिनके आधार पर यह कहने में तनिक भी संकोच करने का स्थान नहीं है कि वे हिन्दी के भी एक अच्छे कवि थे।

जीवन वृत्त।

श्री रामानन्द के पूर्वज सरयूपार से विद्याध्ययन के लिये आकर संभवतः विक्रम की सोलहवीं शताब्दी के अन्त में अथवा सत्रहवीं शताब्दी के आरम्भ में काशी में ही बस गए। उसी वंश में पं० मधुकर त्रिपाठी थे जो प्रस्तुत रामानन्द के पिता थे। मधुकर त्रिपाठी के सम्बन्ध में विशेष कुछ तो नही पता चलता, पर पितृ-भक्त रामानन्द की रचनाओं में स्थान-स्थान पर उनके नाम के साथ-साथ सरयूपारीण पण्डितधुरीण आदि विशेषण देने से यह ज्ञात होता है कि वे भी अपने पुत्र रामानन्द की भाँति अपने समय, काशी की विद्वन्मण्डली में एक आदरणीय विद्वान् थे। और रामानन्द जी ने अपने नामों के साथ जो विशेषण दिए हैं उनसे तो यह पता चलता है कि वे अपने समय में विद्वन्मण्डली से सर्व पूज्य थे।

उनके जन्मकाल के सम्बन्ध में अभी तक कुछ निश्चित रूप से ज्ञात नहीं हो सका है पर इतना अवश्य निश्चित है कि उनका जन्म विक्रम की सत्रहवीं शताब्दी के चतुर्थ चरण में हुआ रहा होगा। क्योंकि उन्होंने प्रायः अपने सभी ग्रन्थों में समय का निर्देश किया है और उनका सर्व प्राचीन उपलब्ध ग्रन्थ 'विराड् विवरणम्' जान पड़ता है। इस ग्रन्थ के अन्त में उक्त विद्वान् ने लिखा है—

"इति श्रीनित्यातिशयषडैश्वर्यसम्पन्नश्रीसाहविलंद्इकवालमुहम्मददाराशकोहसर्वप्राणिपुञ्जप्रकर्षप्रोद्भूतसत्सन्तानांखण्डमण्डलधरणिधरनियुक्तश्रीरामानन्दसूरिणा विरचितं विराड्विवरणं सम्पूर्णम्। संवत् १७१३ वैशाखे मासि शुक्लपक्षत्रयोदश्यां शनौ। शुभम्।"

उक्त उद्धरणों में दिए हुए समय के साथ कोई ऐतिहासिक व्यतिक्रम भी नहीं जान पड़ता। क्योंकि शाहजहाँ के पुत्रों में उत्तराधिकार का युद्ध सन् १६५७ अथवा संवत् १७१४ से प्रारम्भ होता है। अतः उसके पूर्वतक अर्थात् संवत् १७१३ तक जब कि उक्त ग्रन्थ समाप्त हुआ, दारा शिकोह ही मुगल साम्राज्यका संचालन कर रहा था।

उनका दारा शिकोहके साथ सम्बन्ध

उक्त उद्धरण में एक बात और भी ध्यान देनेकी है। उसमें दाराशकोह'''धरणिधर नियुक्त''''''भी लिखा है, जो इस बातका सूचक है कि उपर्युक्त ग्रन्थ दाराशिकोहकी प्रेरणासे लिखा गया है। दाराशिकोह संस्कृतका प्रेमी और स्वयं भारतीय दर्शनका जिज्ञासु था, यह सभी ऐतिहासिक मानते हैं। पण्डितराज जगन्नाथ जैसे प्रकाण्ड विद्वान् उसीके कारण शाहजहाँकी सभामें एक 'रत्न' थे।

उक्त पं० रामानन्दजीकी वंशपरम्परामें यह किंवदन्ती प्रचलित है जब दाराशिकोह काशी आया था, उस समय वेदान्त शास्त्रका परिचय प्राप्त करनेके लिए उसने काशीके अनेक प्रमुख विद्वानोंको अपने यहाँ बुलाया था और उन्हींमें एक प्रमुख विद्वान्, काशीकी विद्वन्मण्डलीके अग्रपूज्य रामानन्द भी थे। उनसे मिलकर दारा बड़ा प्रसन्न और संतुष्ट हुआ। दाराकी इच्छासे उन्होंने साकार ईश्वरका वर्णन करते हुए 'विराड्विवरण'की रचना की। पर यह अब तक ज्ञात नहीं हो सका है कि उक्त ग्रन्थकी प्रतिलिपि, जिसकी मूल प्रति अबतक उनके वंशजोंके पास सुरक्षित है, दाराके यहाँ पहुँची या नहीं। दाराने भी उनकी विद्वत्तापर मुग्ध होकर उन्हें 'विविधविद्याचमत्कारपारंगत'-की उपाधि से विभूषित किया, जो कि विशेषण रूपमें उनके स्तोत्रोंमें उनके नामके साथ मिलती है।

दाराशिकोहके साथ उनका क्या सम्बन्ध था, यह ठीक-ठीक कहा नहीं जा सकता। चाहे वह सम्बन्ध गुरु-शिष्यका रहा हो अथवा किसी अन्य का

ही, पर उक्त उद्धरण और कुल किंवदन्तीकी सामञ्जस्य-स्थापनाके आधारपर उसका रहना निश्चित हो है। इसके अतिरिक्त भी एक स्थानपर उन्होंने दारा शिकोहकी दुर्दशापर अत्यन्त खिन्न होकर कुछ संस्कृत पद्योंमें अपना उद्गार प्रकट किया है।

उन्होंने लिखा है—

नो सैन्यं चतुरङ्गमीश्वरकृपानाशे प्रभूतं धनं
नो वा पौरुषमात्मनो न च नृपान्मन्ये समर्थान्यतः।
दाराशाहमहीपतिर्दशहयैर्वीरार्गलाग्रामतो,
यातस्तां मधुरां कथञ्चिदकरोद्विश्रान्तिमेकक्षणम्॥
येनेयं धरणी समुद्रवलया प्रत्यर्थिभूपालया-
प्येकीकृत्य वशीकृता हि नितरां दिल्लीनृपेण स्वयम्॥
रङ्कान्तक्षितिपेन सोपि बत यत् कारागृहं प्रापितः
तस्मादेव शणाम्बुजाक्षरमयीं मन्ये समर्थां लिपिम्॥
येनेयं श्रीदकाशीसकलकविजनोद्दामदानप्रकाशै-
राकीर्णा धर्मवर्णामृतयुतसलिलैः संस्कृता स्वर्णदी च।
आकूपारं क्षितीशो नतिविनयमतिर्यश्च कर्त्रेश्वरस्तद्,
दाराशाहेन्द्रमौलेर्विपदि कथमहो जीवनीयं हि विश्वम्॥
धर्मस्तुर्ययुगे न तेन जयति त्वेकांघ्रितां श्रावितो-
धावत्तावदपुण्यपण्यनिरतं निर्जित्य दानैः कलिम्।
यः पुण्यामृतवाहिनीं सुकृतिवान् विश्वंभरां श्रीदतद्-
दाराशाहविपत्सु हा ! कथमहो प्राणा न गच्छन्त्यमी।

इन उद्गारों के अतिरिक्त उक्त विद्वान्ने 'हास्यसागर' नामक प्रहसन लिखते हुए औरंगजेबके सैनिकों तथा कर्मचारियों द्वारा होने वाले अत्याचारोंका निर्देश करते हुए लिखा है—

"हन्यन्ते निर्निमित्तं सकलसुरभयो निर्दयैर्म्लेच्छजातै—
र्दार्यन्तेऽमी सदेवाः सकलसुमनसामालयाश्चातिवीर्याः।
पीड्यन्ते साधुलोकाः कठिनतरकरग्राहिभिः कामचारैः।
प्रत्यूहैस्तैः क्रतूनां समयमिव जगत्पामराणां कुमारैः।"

इस उद्धरण से उस समय होनेवाले अत्याचारोंपर पर्याप्त प्रकाश पड़ता है। उस समय गोवध हो रहा था, देवमन्दिरों की प्रतिमाएँ तोड़ी जा रही थीं और औरंगजेबके निरङ्कुश एवं स्वच्छन्द कर्मचारियोंके उत्पीड़न, अत्याचार और अत्यधिक करग्रहणसे सभी त्रस्त और आतङ्कित हो रहे थे।

अतः रामानन्दके साथ दाराका परिचय अवश्य रहा होगा और वे दाराकी उदारता, दानशीलता तथा संस्कृत-प्रेम आदि देखकर उसपर अवश्य मुग्ध थे। अतः उसके मरनेपर उनका हृदय शोकक्षुब्ध था और औरंगजेबके हिन्दूविरोधी धर्मोन्मादसे उनका मानस आकुल हो गया था। इसके अतिरिक्त

उक्त कविकी बनाई हुई खुरमकी एक खण्ड-कुण्डली भी उपलब्ध है, जो नीचे अविकल उद्धृत की जा रही है—

"अथातः सृष्टिगताहर्गणः ७१४४०४०१०७०१ कलिगताब्दाः ४६९२ कलिगताहर्गणश्च १७१४०७५ अथस्वस्तिश्रीमन्नृपति विक्रमार्कराजगत संवत् १६४८ वर्षे शालिवाहनशके १५१३ प्रवर्तमाने शर्वरीनाम्नि संवत्सरे उत्तरायणे भास्करे शिशिरर्तौ माघे मासि शुक्लपक्षे प्रतिपदि बुधवारे घटी ३७ प्रमितायामुपरि द्वितीयायां श्रवणनक्षत्रे घटी ५४ पल २७ दिने घटी २५ पल २२ गते रात्रिगतघटी १२।३१ समये कन्यालग्ने बुधक्षेत्रे चन्द्रहोरायां शनिद्रेष्काणे शुक्रसप्तमांशे भौमनवांशे शनिद्वादशांशे बुधत्रिंशांशे एवं विधे शुभाधिकवर्गे अस्यां कल्याणवतीवेलायाम् ।। समस्तसामंतसीमंतिनीसिंदूरपूरदूरीकरणकारणं मदमत्तरिपुवारणवारणः सकलजलधिवेलावलयितेलावलयतिलकायमाननिखिलभूपालमौलिमालामिलन्मुकुटतटनटन्मरीचिमंजरीपुंजपंजरितमंजुपादारविन्दः सकलभुवनानंदकंदप्रचंडभुजदंडचंडिमाकर्णकुंडलितकोदंडहिंडमानकांडप्रकांडवाडवाडंबरोद्दंडखंडितारिमुंडपुंडरीकखंडमंडिताखंडभूमंडलो खर्वगर्वपर्वतगरुत्मत्खंडनाखंडलो लोकातिवर्त्तिपथःपाथप्रौढ़प्रतापमार्त्तंडधुरंधरः सकलाशिष्टोपजुष्टपादपीठः समार्धिष्टोपायः षाड्गुण्यप्रवीणः सकलकलाकलापकोशलातिपेशलो निखिललिपिशिल्पदेशभाषाविशारदः शारदोपदिश्यमानसर्वानवद्यहृद्यविद्याविनोदमोदमानमानसः प्रभूतप्रेक्षावद्गुणपरीक्षानिकषः सकलपंडितमण्डलीसमाश्रयविश्रान्तिकल्पपादपःक्षपाकरत्रपाकरवदनारविन्दः श्रीमज्जहाँगीरसार्वभौमस्तस्मात्तत्तुल्यगुणःश्रीमत्खुरमसुलतानाभिधः कुमारः समजनि प्रदीपादिव दीपः शक्रादिव जयन्तः समुद्रादिव चन्द्रः। अस्याभिधानं होड़ाचक्रानुसारेण श्रवणतृतीयचरणानुसारेण खेकारपूर्वकं नाम प्रतिष्ठितम्। असौ देवद्विजप्रसादाद्दीर्घायुर्भूयात्। अथ पंचाग" इसके बादका अंश अभी तक नहीं मिल सका।

उक्त विस्तृत अंशको ऐतिहासिक महत्त्वके कारण यहाँ उद्धृत करना पड़ा। अतः श्रोताओं और पाठकोंसे उनका अमूल्य समय लेनेके लिये क्षमाप्रार्थी हूं। केवल कहना इतना ही है कि उक्त रामानन्दका सम्बन्ध मोगल शासकोंसे अवश्य था।

इसके अतिरिक्त जीवनवृत्तके विषयमें कुछ कहा नहीं जा सकता। यद्यपि उनके सम्बन्धमें कुलपरम्परामें अनेक कथाएँ प्रचलित हैं, पर उनका निर्देश करना तबतक आवश्यक नहीं है, जबतक कि उनके सम्बन्धमें प्रबल आधार उपलब्ध न हों। केवल इतना ही कहा जा सकता है कि वे अपने समयमें काशीके एक उत्कट शैव विद्वान् थे। पर देवीकी उपासनामें उनका चित्त बहुत रमता था और सम्भवतः तान्त्रिक भी थे। क्योंकि तन्त्रपर भी उनके पूर्ण-अपूर्ण स्तोत्र और ग्रन्थ उपलब्ध हैं तथा अन्तमें उन्होंने संन्यास लेलिया था और लक्ष्मीकुंड, काशीके कालीमठके शिष्य होकर वहीं रहने लगे थे। उस

समय उन्होंने अपना नाम ज्ञानानन्द रख लिया था। उस नाम की कुछ रचनाएँ कालीमठ में अब तक उपलब्ध हैं।

उनकी विद्या और रचना

वे एक प्रतिभाशाली तथा कल्पनाशील भावुक कवि थे। यद्यपि उनकी सर्वतोमुखी कवि-प्रतिभाका पूर्ण-विकास उनकी हिन्दी रचना में देखने को नहीं मिलता अपितु संस्कृत के स्तोत्रों में—जिनकी संख्या पूर्णापूर्णोंको लेते हुए ५० के लगभग है—तथा अन्य शृंगाररस आदि के ग्रन्थों में दिखाई पड़ता है, तथापि हिन्दीके उनके जो कुछ स्फुट कवित्त, पद तथा दोहे आदि मिले हैं उनसे हिन्दीमें भी उनकी साधिकार अभिव्यंजन-शक्तिका आभास मिलता है। इन हिन्दी रचनाओं के कुछ अंश आगे उद्धृत किए जायँगे। इसके अतिरिक्त भी उनके हिन्दी-प्रेमके अन्य प्रमाण मिलते हैं। उनकी पाण्डुलिपियों में अनेक हिन्दी कविताओंके साथ केशवकी 'कविप्रिया' आदि के अनेक छन्द लिखे हुए मिलते हैं। जो अंश उपलब्ध हुआ है उसमें कुछ अंश अलंकार वर्णनका, कुछ चित्रकाव्योंका, कुछ नायिकाओंके वर्णनका तथा कुछ वर्ण्य-विषय सम्बन्धी भी हैं। इसके अतिरिक्त किसी रामकविके कुछ कवित्त और कुण्डलिया हैं। सम्भवतः ये 'राम. कवि' श्री शुक्लजीके इतिहासमें वर्णित 'शृंगार सौरभ' कार ही हैं, जिनका समय अट्ठारहवीं शताब्दीका आरम्भ है। इसी भाँति कुछ अन्य कवियोंके हिन्दी पद्य उनकी पाण्डुलिपियों में मिलते हैं, जिनके अन्तमें प्रायः लिखा मिलता है—"इति कविप्रियायां नखशिखवर्णनम्' 'रामकविकी' आदि। जिससे यह ज्ञात होता है अपनी रचनाओंका किसी को भ्रम न हो इस लिए उन्होंने प्रायः रचयिताओं का नाम दे दिया है। केवल कोकशास्त्रकी हिन्दीकी एक खण्डित रचना ऐसी मिलती है, जिसमें कि न तो पद्योंमें ही कविका नाम मिलता है और न खण्डित ग्रन्थसे ही उसका कुछ पता चल पाता है। पर जानपड़ता है कि हिन्दी लीथोमें नन्दके नामसे प्रकाशित जो एक छोटा कोकशास्त्र प्रचलित था, वह इन्हीं कविकी रचना थी, क्योंकि कुछ दोहोंमें इन्होंने अपना नाम 'नन्द' भी लिखा है।

ये अनेक विद्याओंमें प्रवीण थे, जैसा कि आगे दी हुई इनकी ग्रन्थतालिकासे ज्ञात हो जायगा—अतएव दाराने इन्हें 'विविधविद्याचमत्कारपारङ्गत' की उपाधि से अलंकृत किया था। संस्कृतसाहित्यके अनेक विषयों के केवल ये ज्ञाता ही न थे वरन् उनमें मौलिक या टीका ग्रन्थोंके निर्माता भी थे। साहित्य, व्याकरण, न्याय, वेदान्त, ज्योतिष, कर्मकाण्ड, कुछ कुछ वैद्यक, छन्दःशास्त्र आदिकी रचनाओंके साथ-साथ इन्होंने अनेक स्तोत्रों, नायिका-भेद ग्रन्थ, प्रहसन आदिका भी संस्कृतमें निर्माण किया था।

स्थान-संकीर्णताके कारण उन ग्रन्थोंका तथा कृतियोंका परिचय यहाँ न देकर उनमेंसे सभी प्रधान रचनाओं की सूचिका नीचे दी जा रही है।

स्तोत्र—स्तोत्रों में कुछ तो खण्डित हैं, उनके कुछ पत्र नष्ट भ्रष्ट हो गए हैं पर कुछ पूर्ण हैं।

नाम स्तोत्र	पूर्णापूर्ण	श्लोकसंख्या	समय संवत्	छन्द
१. रुद्रताण्डव	पूर्ण	८	×	पंचचामर
२. सदाशिवस्वरूप स्तुति	अपूर्ण	८	१७५९	दंडक
३. महाकाल स्तोत्र	,,	२	×	,,
४. शंकर स्तोत्र	,,	२	×	त्रिभङ्गी
५. भास्कर स्तोत्र	पूर्ण	८	१७५५	दंडक
६. मार्तंड स्तोत्र	अपूर्ण	६	×	स्रग्धरा
७. चतुर्भुजाष्टक	पूर्ण	८	१७२३	पंचचामर
८. कृष्णाष्टक	पूर्ण	८	१७२४	उपजाति
९. रामाष्टक	पूर्ण	८	×	अनेक छन्द
१०. रामकीर्तिस्तोत्र	,,	५	×	शार्दूलविक्रीडितादि
११. श्यामास्तवराज	,,	१६	×	अनेक
१२. आद्यास्तवराज	,,	१४	×	अनेक
१३. बगलामुखी स्तवराज	,,	१५	×	अनेक
१४. देवीस्तवराज	,,	१०	×	अनेक
१५. विन्ध्येश्वरी स्तोत्र	अपूर्ण	५	×	शार्दूल०
१६. विन्ध्यवासिनीकल्पद्रुम	पूर्ण	८	१७४२	स्रग्धरा
१७. महिषमर्दिनीस्तव	,,	१०	१७४४	पृथ्वीआदि
१८. दुर्गाष्टपदी	,,	६	×	आर्या
१९. गङ्गाष्टपदी	,,	६	×	,,
२०. जाह्नवी स्तुति	,,	८	×	अनेक
२१. गङ्गालहरी	,,	८	×	त्रिभङ्गी
२२. गङ्गास्तव	,,	१६	१७३९	पाज्झटिका
२३. गङ्गामृताष्टक	अपूर्ण	६	×	स्रग्धरा
२४. गङ्गाष्टक	पूर्ण	८	×	अनेक
२५. मणिकर्णीकुसुम	,,	८	१७४२	त्रिभंगी
२६. कलिकौतुकाष्टक	,,	८	×	मन्दाक्रान्ता
२७. कामाष्टक	,,	८	×	,,
२८. क्रोधाष्टक	अपूर्ण	४	×	,,
३१. मोहनाशन	,,	२	×	
३२. आत्मस्तोत्र	,,	३		स्रग्धरा
३३. विष्णूत्थापन	,,	१॥	×	,,
३४. तारापति (चन्द्र)स्तोत्र	,,	३	×	शार्दूल०

इनके अतिरिक्त भी अनेक स्तोत्रोंके श्लोक उपलब्ध हैं, पर आदि-अन्तके नष्ट होजानेसे उनका प्रसङ्ग ठीक-ठीक पता नहीं चलता । इनमेंसे अधिक तो

यहाँ पर दो तीन श्लोक उद्धृत करनेकी धृष्टताकी मैं पाठकों तथा श्रोताओंसे क्षमा चाहता हूँ।

परिधावति सभयं सन्ततमदयं हरहर ! हृदयं कुपथरथे,
दावानलकल्पं दुरितमनल्पं वहति विकल्पं सुकृतपथे।
बहुधाशापाशैरखिलायासैरापतितस्य च दुःखभरे
तापत्रयमपनय मम मातर्भागीरथि ! भवभीतिहरे।

(गङ्गालहरी-५ श्लो०)

यस्याः कारुण्यपूर्णो दिनकरकिरणोत्फुल्लकह्लारदीर्घां,
दृष्टिं सम्प्रार्थयन्ते सकलसुरगणा ब्रह्मविष्णुप्रधानाः।
सेयं सर्वासुरेन्द्रप्रकरविदलनोद्दामगर्वोदखर्वा,
सर्वाभीष्टप्रदात्री त्रिभुवनजननी विन्ध्यवासा शिवास्तात्।

('विन्ध्यवासिनीकल्पद्रुम'-से)

विदग्धभावकिन्नरी, सुरेशसद्मसुन्दरी
नदन्मृदङ्गझल्लरी सुशंखगोमुखादिभिः।
धईयतत्ततद्धईयतत्ततद्धईधई
धईति चण्डताण्डवे मुदे ममास्तु शाम्भवम्।

(शिवताण्डव से)

अन्य ग्रन्थ—(१) वेदार्थमन्त्र संग्रह (२) तत्त्वदीपिका, (सिद्धान्त-कौमुदीकी टीका-हलन्त स्त्रीलिङ्ग तक मिलती है, आगे छिन्न-भिन्न है।) (३) तर्कगुम्फणा, (तर्क संग्रहके समान—पर पद्यमें) (४) औषधसंग्रह, (संस्कृत-और हिन्दीमें)(५) कुण्डली संग्रह, (६) निर्णयार्णव (तिथि-पर्वोंका निर्णायक-है, पूर्ण नहीं है) (७) षोडशक्रियानुक्रम, (८) विवाहपद्धति, (९) आरामोत्सर्ग, (१०) जलाशयोत्सर्ग (११) वनोत्सर्ग, [आठवें से ग्यारहवें तकके ग्रंथ अपूर्ण हैं], (१२) लिङ्गानुशासन—सटीक पर अपूर्ण, (१३) छंदोरत्नाकर तन्त्रशास्त्रके कुछ स्तोत्रके अतिरिक्त कुछ ग्रन्थ भी हैं—(१४) पञ्चतत्त्वसपर्या—एक छोटासा पर ४० श्लोकमें पूर्ण ग्रन्थ है। (१५) आकाश-वासिनी सपर्या-(आदिका कुछ अंश खण्डित है) । (१६) असितादिविद्या-विधि (सम्पूर्ण है।)। (१७) कालरात्रिविधानम्-(१०३ श्लोकों में पूरा है।) (१८) गुह्यषोढाविवरणम्। (इसमें गद्य-पद्य में मन्त्रन्यास आदिका विवरण है।) इनके अतिरिक्त स्फुट पत्रों पर भी अनेक तान्त्रिक यन्त्रादि हैं।

साहित्य—(१) रसिक जीवनम्। यह नायिका भेद का ग्रन्थ है। इसमें उस कालकी हिन्दी में प्रचलित तथोक्त रीतिपरम्परा के अनुसार नायक-नायिकाओं का अत्यन्त मनोहर एवं सरस साङ्गोपाङ्ग वर्णन है। इस रचना में लेखक ने पहले नायिकादि के भेदों का पद्य में लक्षण दिया है, तत्पश्चात् रमणीय पद्यों में उनके उदाहरण। यह ग्रन्थ सात तरङ्गों में समाप्त हुआ है और पूर्ण भी है।—इसमें

अलौकिक प्रतिभा के प्रदर्शक हैं। कोरे शब्दाडम्बर या चित्रकाव्य के पीछे न पड़े हुए कवि की भावुक वृत्ति का इसमें पूर्ण विकास हुआ है, यों तो इनकी कविता में चित्रकाव्य पर कहीं भी विशेष यत्न नहीं है। केवल मङ्गलाचरण उपस्थित करता हूँ—

गङ्गाम्भोबिन्दुरिङ्गत्पटुतरलहरीलास्यलीलाभिरिन्दोः
सन्दोहैश्चन्द्रिकाणां किमपि सपुलकं सान्द्रमुद्दीपितस्य।
कान्तायाः कान्तकण्ठस्थलबहलभुजाश्लेषमुग्धाविलासाः
कल्याणं वर्द्धयन्तां प्रियसुखवसतेरर्द्धनारीश्वरस्य॥

(२) पद्यपीयूष—इसके आदि के कुछ पत्र अलब्ध हैं, पर अन्त के १७–१८ पृष्ठों में वृक्षों पर बड़ी सुन्दर अन्योक्तियां हैं। वृक्षों का वर्णन है, स्तुति है और कुछ प्रस्ताव जैसे कीर्तिप्रस्ताव, दानप्रस्ताव आदि हैं।

इनके अतिरिक्त कटाक्षशतक, शशाङ्कशतक तथा धन्यशतक नाम तीन शतक भी अपूर्ण रूप में मिले हैं—इनके आदि के क्रमशः १८, १५ और १३ श्लोक उपलब्ध हैं। इन श्लोकों की भावप्रचुरता तथा पदमाधुरी का आस्वादन बिना पढ़े नहीं मिल सकता।

(३) हास्यसागर—नामक एक दृश्यकाव्य भी मिला है जो पूर्ण है। इसमें भी सुमधुर एवं भावमय पद्यों की भरमार है। साथ ही यह शिक्षा-प्रद भी है।

(४) काशीकुतूहल—इस नाम का भी एक बड़ा ग्रन्थ मिलता है। बड़ा होने पर भी इसके आदि-अन्त नष्ट होगये हैं। इसमें पञ्चक्रोशकुतूहल, दानकुतू० कालकुतू० आदि नामक १८–१९ कुतूहल हैं। यह ग्रन्थ तात्कालिक ऐतिहासिक वृत्तोंपर अच्छा प्रकाश डालने वाला है। इसमें हिन्दी के दोहों से मिलते जुलते छन्दों में संस्कृत की रचना मिलती है।

जैसे—'इदमेव खलु भव सागरे, करणीयमस्ति चिरेण।
पिबभुंक्ष्व देहि गृहाण भोः, किमुकर्मणेह परेण॥

इसी प्रकार हिन्दी के अनेक छन्द प्रयुक्त हैं।

(५) रामचरित्रम्—रामायण की उत्तरकांड-कथा हिन्दी के ललित छन्दों में मिलती है पर यह ग्रन्थ केवल सीता वनवास तक ही मिल पाया है। सुन्दरकाण्ड के कुछ अंश स्फुट पत्रों पर मिलते हैं। सम्भवतः गोस्वामी जी के रामायण से इसके लिखने की उत्प्रेरणा मिली थी।

कुछ उदाहरण लीजिए—

दो०—जलबुद्बुदमखिलं जगत्, गच्छत्यायुरिदं हि।
'रामानन्द' विवेकतो, रामनाम सुखदं हि॥
भीषणदशवदनं भीषणरदनं भीषणविंशतिलोचनकं,
भीषणभुजदण्डं रणभुविचण्डं रिपुखण्डनमदिमयजनकम्।

रक्षःकुलपालं प्रकृतिकरालं भूपालं क्रव्यादकुले,
रावणमतिगर्वं सततमखर्वं सा सुमालितनया सुषुवे।

प्रत्येक सर्गान्त में कथा निम्नलिखित रूप से समाप्त की गई है—

"इत्युरगतरामचरित्रं—वैदेहीवनगमनपवित्रम्॥

उत्तरकाण्डवाला अंश भी थोड़ा सा उद्धृत किया जा रहा है—

"यस्यां सीतार्थमुद्योगस्तरणं वारिधेरपि।
लङ्कादाहादिकं चैव सुन्दरी सोच्यते कथा॥

(दो०) नश्वरमिदं तत्त्वतः संसारं कलयन्ति।
तदपि न हरिमिह तत्त्वतो, 'रामानन्द'! भजन्ति।......
अथ विलङ्घ्य योजनशतमब्धिम् पुनरपि कपिरभजत्तनुवृद्धिम्।
तदनु लघुः शिथलीकृतखेदे, दशकन्धरनगरीमभिपेदे।
विविधविविधवनराजिविचित्रा, नन्दनवनरचनेव पवित्रा।
सरलासनकरवीरकदम्बा, कुटजकेतकी चम्पकवृन्दा।
सप्तच्छदखर्जूरसमृद्धा, सहसहकारपनसतरुविद्धा। इत्यादि

टीकाग्रन्थोंमें किरातकी भावार्थदीपिका और काव्यप्रकाशके प्राकृत अंशोंकी व्याख्या भी है।

रामानन्दकी संस्कृत रचनाकी चर्चा बहुत कुछ हो चुकी। अब उनकी हिन्दीकृतियोंका भी थोड़ासा विचार कर लेना चाहिए। यद्यपि संस्कृत रचनाकी तुलनामें उन्होंने हिन्दी में कुछभी नहीं किया है, तथापि जो कुछ हिन्दी में उनके स्फुट अंश, कवित्त पद्यादि मिलते हैं, तथा पूर्वोक्त हिन्दीके कवित्त आदिका उन्होंने संग्रह किया है उसे देखते हुए यह कहना अनुचित न होगा कि वे हिन्दी-साहित्यके प्रेमी थे एवं संस्कृतके समान काव्यरचना-विशारद न होते हुए भी हिन्दीकी उनकी कविताएँ उनकी विद्वत्ताका प्रदर्शन करती हैं। उनके कुछ कवित्त, जो कि ऋतुवर्णन सम्बन्धी हैं—नीचे दिए जा रहे हैं—

'रामानन्द' पीको एक कुहुक सतावै, पिको सतावै पिको कुहुक निकेत है,
कानन भनक भोर कानन भनक भोर कानन भनक भोरहू न कोउ देत है।
कंज विकसे री, हिय कंज कैसे विकसै री विकसै विपिन, क्यो विपिनको निकेत है।
चित्तमें न चेत भई, ऐसी हों अचेत आली, हरि चले चेत, मेरो हरि, चले चेत है।
गरद मिलायो दई, गरद मिलायो दई गरद मिलायो तऊ चन्द न छपत है।
पञ्चबान हीको लागे पञ्चबान हीको दूजे पञ्चबान हीको पिक पञ्चम जपत है।
नलिनी सलिल बिन जैसी मुरझानी सखि तैसी मुरझानी मन मीनसो चपत है।
'रामानन्द' कवि जैसे ग्रीष्म तपत है तैसे पीय बिन आली विरहानल तपत है।
'रामानन्द' आइवे की गरज नहीं धों, उत गरज नहीं धों, इत गरज जनाए हैं।
चंचल चलाए पै, न चंचल चलाए पिय, चंचल चलाए चित, चंचल चलाए हैं।
चातक कसाई बैन, पियके सुनाए, पै न पियके सुनाए बैन, पियके सुनाए हैं।
मोर मतवारे, पै न पिय मतवारे, आए घनश्याम पै, न घनश्याम आए हैं।

विरह झकोरी मन नेकऊ न उझकौरी औचकचकोरी वैन विषली सुनाई है ।
बाज आयो, जिय कैसे करि जीतिए री, जिय 'रामानन्द' चंद जिय जारत जुन्हाई है।
चंचरीक चंचल री, देखि, चित चंचल री कियो, चित चंचलरी, तेहूँ चंचलाई है।

विरह सरद हीमें विरह सरदहीमें विरह दरदको सरद देन आई है।
भावै न तुसार जामे, प्रहुमी तुसार जामे, पौनऊ तुसार बहै, हिमको मजूस हैं।
विरह दहनको न बुसार बुझावै सखि, विरह दहन जीय भयो आबनूस है ।
'रामानन्द' कवि, पिय दीपक पनूस है मेरी मूरति पनूस, मेरो पियको पनूस है।
सुखी दुखी लोगनिको सुखदुख जानिबेको आली, यह पूस हिम रितुको जसूस है॥
बिकसे सरोज, पै न बिकसैरी ही सरोज, ही सरोज करै चित्त चन्दसो चकोरीके।
सुदिन मनाए ओधिके, सुदिन मन आए, सुदिन सुनाए पिक पंचम ठगोरीके ॥
विविध गंधचीर 'रामानन्द' दंपती सरीर मंडन करत मूखलै अबीर झोरी के।
प्रीतम न मेरे आइबे की, प्रीतमकी मेरे प्रीत मन आए, सखि आए दिन होरीके ॥
और अन्त में उन्होंने लिखा है—'रामानन्द' कीन्ही रितु रचना जमककी ।

इन उद्धरणों से यह हम देखते हैं कि उनमें शब्दक्रीड़ाकी प्रवृत्ति, श्लेषका अनुराग, अभिव्यंजन शैली तथा वर्ण्यवस्तु, सभी रीतिकालके कवियों से दिखाई पड़ते हैं। इस प्रकारका सामयिक प्रभाव संस्कृतकी रचनाओं में बहुत कम है। संकृतमें नायिकाभेद आदि वर्ण्यवस्तु तथा लक्ष्य-लक्षण-ग्रन्थ-रचनामें प्रवृत्ति होनेपर भी उनमें चित्रकाव्यका प्रभाव नहीं है, पदमाधुर्य और ध्वनिकोमलताके साथ साथ भावुकताका बड़ा ही सुन्दर समन्वय है। हां छन्द आदिकी योजना तथा रामचरित्र आदिकी रचनाकी प्रेरणा अवश्यमेव तात्कालिक साहित्यमे मिली है। हिन्दीमें भी कहीं-कहीं सुन्दर भव्य चित्रात्मक वर्णन मिल जाते हैं जैसे :—

कारी भयकारी घटा सोहै नव नीरदकी, दामिनीकी छटा विलसत अवदात है।
'रामानन्द' चहूँ ओर धरनी हरित भई, उमड़ी सरित सोभा वरनी न जात है।
झील्लिनकी झाँई तैसी दादुरकी मुखरताई, चातक सुनाई गिर, सुनि जिय अकुलात है।
विरह जगावन लगे हैं मोर गावन, सो बिना मनभावन न सावन सुहात है ॥

उपर्युक्त छन्द में कैसी सुन्दर चित्रोत्थापक संश्लिष्ट योजना है। इसे पढ़ते-पढ़ते रूप और स्वर सामने खड़े से हो जाते हैं।

एक श्रृंगारकी कविता भी दी जा रही है:—

अजहूं लौं जो विलोकिए कमलनैनी, पीनकुचभारनसो चलत अलसाइ के।
'रामानन्द' निज भुज जुग परिरंभ दीजै, विविध विलास कीजे अकलाइ के ।
रसहीको चोर कवि कविचोरसो न ओर कोऊ, कहत रसिक जनहूँसो समझाई के।
कामिनी वदन मधु ऐसी भाँति पीजिये ज्यों मत्तचंचरीक मकरंद विन्दु पाइके ।

इस भाँति अनेक कवित्त यत्रतम पत्रों में स्फुट रूपसे विखरे हैं। पर प्रबन्ध काव्य हिन्दीमें उक्त कविका एक भी नहीं है।

कबीरदास के पदोंकी भाँति उन्होंने कुछ आध्यात्मिक तथा अन्योक्ति पदोंकी भी रचना की थी। कुछ उदाहरण लीजिए—

"साधो यह जग भरम भुलानो।
मातु पिता बनिता सुत सम्पति विषय विषय लपटानो।
मैं मेरो अभिमान मोहबस मायारस बौरानो।
नहिं सूझै परमारथको पथ निज सारथ अरुझानो।
'रामानंद' नन्दनन्दन तजि सेवत चरन बिरानो" ॥ १ ॥
"हंसा काहू जात न जानो।
यह तन मानत ललित केलि तजि औचक कियो पयानो।
देखत मातु पिता परिजन सब तिनको कछु न बसानो।
आइ नगरबासी भाई सब पलक एक पछितानो।
कह धों रह्यो कहाँ लो आयो, फिर धों कहाँ समानो।
रामानन्द अमर यह खेचर छनमें भयो बिरानो ॥ २ ॥

'हरिको काहू तत्व न पायो' इत्यादि। इस प्रकार हम देखते हैं कि रामानन्द में विविध-विद्यापांडित्य के साथ-साथ काव्यकी भी बहुमुखी प्रतिभा थी; वे संस्कृत के एक उच्चकोटि के कवि थे। हिन्दीमें भी इनकी कविता अच्छी होती थी, यद्यपि समसामयिक प्रभाव था।

आशा है उक्त मोगलकालीन कवि से अपरिचित संस्कृत—हिन्दी जगत्का उनके काव्यों से परिचय होगा और उनको समुचित स्थान मिलेगा। इति शम्।



बालमुकुंद गुप्त की-आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक कविता।

डॉ० केशरी नारायण शुक्ल, लखनऊ यूनिवर्सिटी।

स्वर्गीय बालमुकुंद गुप्त गद्य लेखक के रूप में अधिक विख्यात हैं। "हिंदी बंगवासी" और "भारत-मित्र" के सम्पादक बनकर हिंदी गद्य की उन्नति में इन्होंने जो योग दिया है वह अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है, इतना ही महत्व पूर्ण इनका कवि रूप है जिसका पाठकों को अपेक्षा कृत कुछ कम परिचय है। बंगवासी और "भारतमित्र" में समय समय पर इनकी कविताएं भी छपती रही हैं जिनसे तत्कालीन, धार्मिक, राजनीतिक, और आर्थिक परिस्थिति का अच्छा परिचय हो जाता है।

हिंदी में इनका कविता-काल सन् १८८९ से १९०७ ई० है। स्थूलरूप १९०० ई० से भारतेंदु काल का अंत और द्विवेदी युग का आरम्भ माना जा सकता है। इसलिये हम इनको भारतेंदुयुग और द्विवेदीयुग को जोड़ने वाली कड़ी कह सकते हैं। इनकी कविता में इन दोनों युगों की प्रवृत्तियों के दर्शन होते हैं। भारतेंदु युग और द्विवेदी युग का महत्त्व केवल साहित्यिक दृष्टि से ही नहीं है। देश के राजनीतिक और सामाजिक जीवन के पुनरुत्थान का समय भी यही है। इसलिये इनकी कविता का महत्त्व, जीवन और साहित्य के अध्ययनशील विद्यार्थी के लिये और भी बढ़ जाता है।

हिंदी क्षेत्र में आने के पूर्व बालमुकुंद गुप्त उर्दू भाषा के लेखक थे। सन् १८८९ से पहले की रचनाएं उर्दू या फारसी में हैं। ये रचनाएं हास्य रस की हैं और इनमें विनोद तथा व्यंग्य की मात्रा अधिक है। इस हास्योन्मुख प्रवृत्ति का समावेश इनकी हिन्दी की कविताओं में हुआ है। स्वर्गीय प्रताप नारायण मिश्र के सत्संग से इनकी रुचि हिंदी की ओर हुई। मिश्रजी के प्रभाव से इन्होंने हिंदी को अपनाया और उर्दू में लिखना बंद कर दिया, इस समय से यह गम्भीर विषयों की ओर झुके और देश की वास्तविक स्थिति के साथ इन्होंने कविता का संबंध जोड़ा।

जीवन के साथ कविता का संबंध निर्वाह बालमुकुंद गुप्त की सबसे बड़ी विशेषता है। यह देश के सामाजिक, धार्मिक और राजनीतिक जीवन में पूर्ण रूप से प्रवृत्त थे। इनकी इस प्रवृत्ति को कालाकांकर और कलकत्ता निवास से और भी प्रोत्साहन मिला। कालाकांकर से निकलने वाले दैनिक पत्र "हिंदोस्थान" कलकत्ते के "बंगवासी" तथा "भारतमित्र" के संपादक हो जाने से इनको तत्कालीन जीवन-की गतिविधि निरीक्षण करने का और भी सुअवसर मिला। इनकी रचनाओं में समय की भिन्न प्रवृत्तियों और प्रभातों की झलक मिलती है। इनकी सामाजिक, धार्मिक और राजनीतिक रचनाएं उन आंदोलनों के फलस्वरूप हैं जो उस समय बड़े वेग से चल रहे थे। लार्ड कर्ज़न के बंग-भंग से पूरा देश (और विशेषतया) बंगाल क्षुभित था। किचनर और कर्ज़न का झगड़ा सभी को ज़बान पर था। ईश्वरचंद विद्यासागर के

विधवा-विवाह कानून ने जिस वाद विवाद को जन्म दिया था वह अभी तक समाप्त नहीं हुआ था। स्वामी दयानन्द का आर्यसमाज आंदोलन भी उन्नति पर था और चारों ओर शास्त्रार्थ की धूम थी, पाश्चात्य शिक्षा के कुप्रभाव की एक अलग समस्या थी। बालमुकुंद गुप्त की दृष्टि इन सब पर थी और इन्होंने इस सब विषयों पर काव्योपयुक्त ढंग से अपने विचारों को प्रकट किया है।

बालमुकुंद गुप्त की कविता के मुख्य विषय धर्म, समाज और देश हैं। इनमें भी देश विषयक रचनाओं का प्राधान्य है। देशभक्ति ही इनका मुख्य और प्रेरक भाव है। यही देशभक्ति इनकी धार्मिक सामाजिक और राजनीतिक रचनाओं के मूल में है। भारत की पराधीनता से यह बहुत क्षुभित थे। इनका विश्वास था कि दासता के बन्धन में किसी प्रकार की उन्नति नहीं हो सकती। गुलामी में कविता भी असम्भव है। अपनी कविता में इन्होंने जो कहा है उससे कविके आन्तरिक भावों की झलक मिलती है; "भारतमें अब कवि भी नहीं है। कविता भी नहीं है। कारण यह कि कविता देश और जाति की स्वाधीनता से संबंध रखती है। जब यह देश देश था और यहाँ के लोग स्वाधीन थे तब यहाँ कविता भी होती थी। उस समय की बची खुची कविता अबतक मिलती है वह आदर की वस्तु है और उसका आदर होता है कविता के लिये अपने देश की बातें, अपने देश की भाव, और अपने मन की मौज दरकार है। हम पराधीनों में यह बातें कहाँ? फिर हमारी कविता क्या और उसका गुरुत्व क्या?

बालमुकुन्द गुप्त के साहित्य क्षेत्र में आने के समय भारतेंदु युग समाप्त-प्राय था, हरिश्चन्द्र का राज्यभक्ति की गूंज अब बहुत कुछ कम हो गई थी। प्रतापनारायण मिश्र देश की दुरवस्था पर आंसू बहा चुके थे। राज्याधिकारियों के प्रति कवियों के रचे गये स्वागत पत्र, प्रशंसा पत्र, अभिनन्दन पत्र तथा प्रार्थना और आवेदन पत्र असफल सिद्ध हो रहे थे, 'प्रेमघन' की भी प्रशंसा और प्रार्थना में आस्था कम हो चली थी, राज्यभक्ति का स्थान असंतोष ने ले लिया था, बृटिश राज्य की सुविधाओं की चमक और चकाचौंध अब उतनी तीव्र नहीं थी, देश की बढ़ती हुई गरीबी की ज्वाला ने राज्यभक्ति के स्वर को ठंढा कर दिया, कवियों का नशा उतर रहा था और वे देशदशा पर अत्यन्त क्षुभित थे। बालमुकुन्द गुप्त को पूर्ववर्त्ती कवियों से इसी क्षोभ और असन्तोष का उत्तराधिकार मिला। कवि की स्वातन्त्र्य-प्रियता ने इसे और भी उद्दीप्त किया, फलतः इनकी रचनाओं में राज्यभक्ति का नितान्त अभाव है। राज्याधिकारियों की प्रार्थना के स्थान पर उनकी स्पष्ट तथा खरी आलोचना की गई है। कवि का असंतोष काल्पनिक न रह कर युग के असंतोष का प्रतिबिम्ब बन गया है। कवि के असंतोष में देश की उन अतृप्त इच्छाओं की व्यञ्जना हुई है जिनकी ओर से हमारे शासक उदासीन थे। तत्कालीन स्थिति की झलक दिखाने के लिये बृटिश शासन विभाग के एक प्रमुख व्यक्ति की निम्न लिखित पंक्तियों का उद्धरण अनुपयुक्त न होगा।......And the secret of this

feeling of unrest is this, that educated Indian opinion, and sentiment and ambition are struggling against that cast iron form of administration which has not expanded with the times. Indian opinion seeks to be heard and is not heard; Indian feeling seeks to be represented and is not represented.[1]

अधिकार वञ्चित होने के साथ साथ कवि देश की दरिद्रता और (फलतः उसकी) दुर्दशा से दुःखी भी है, सन् १८५७ से १८६७ के बीच देशव्यापी ऐसे भयंकर अकाल पड़े थे जिनमें की जन संख्या कालकवलित हो गई थी और देश का विस्तृत भूभाग नष्ट हो गया था, छोटे मोटे अकाल तो बीच बीच में पड़ ही जाते थे। कवि ने स्वयं देखा था कि वर्षा के न होने से हरी भरी खेती सूखी जा रही थी।[2] किसान तृषित नेत्रों से मेघों की आस लगाये रहते थे। 'शोभा और श्रद्धा'' में मेघों पर लिखी गई कविताओं का इस दृष्टि से विशेष महत्त्व है, इन रचनाओं में किसानों की आशा, निराशा तथा उत्कण्ठा की बड़ी सुन्दर व्यञ्जना हुई है।

अधिकारियों की विमुखता तथा अकाल आदि से देश की पूँजी दिन प्रति दिन घटती चली जा रही है और देशवासियों का कष्ट बढ़ता जा रहा है। भारत ऐसे धन धान्य पूरित देश में न मालूम कितने आधा पेट भोजन भी नहीं पाते। कवि देख रहा हैं कि देशवासी इतने निर्बल और निरीह हो गए हैं कि वे सर्दी और गर्मी से अपनी रक्षा करने में असमर्थ हैं। उनके बच्चों को भी दूध नसीब नहीं है। निम्न लिखित पंक्तियों में इन तथ्यों की बड़ी मार्मिक व्यञ्जना हुई है। दरिद्र भारत का करुण चित्र कवि उपस्थित कर रहा हैः—

"बारेक नयन उघारि देखि जननी निज भारत,
साक अन्न बिन चहुँ दिस डोलैं हाथ पसारत॥
फाटे चिथरन जोरि देह की लाज निवारैं।
जब सोऊ नहिं मिलै विवस ह्वै फिरैं उघारै॥
सूखे कर पद फूले उदर दीन हीन बल मलिन मुख।
अब मात बेगि करुणा करौ मेटहु मेटहु दुसह दुःख॥

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[1] England and India by R. C. Dutt. P. 155.

[2] "आवहु आवहु भारत के जीवन धन प्रान। ताकि रहे टक लाये तेरी ओर किसान॥
या बूढ़े भारत के दुजी और न आस। स्वाति बिना चातक को कौन बुझावै प्यास॥
धूरि उड़त चारि हु दिसि सूखे खेत परे। आवहु आवहु फेरि करो इकवार हरे॥
तव प्रसाद तें भूमि गई ही जो हरिआय। तेरो पंथ निहारत धूरहिं गई बिलाय॥
सूखे बन उपवन परबत झुरि जरि गई घास। डोलत खग मृग जहि निकसे निपट उदास॥
तेरे बल जो दाने निकसे परबत फार। बिन तेरे सो होय गये जरि बरि के छार॥
चमचम करि चमकी नहिं दामिनि एकहु बार। अरु नहिं छाये घोरघोर घन करत अँधार॥
द्रवहुं द्रवहुं भारत पर अबहूँ हे घनश्याम अब न बचावहु तो आवहुगे पुनि केहि काम॥
जदपि भये जीवन सों अब सब छोग हताश। तदपि नाहि छूटत है भगवन तुम्हरी आस॥

हुई है। कवि निराश होकर राम से पूछता है कि--

"केहि कारण पावत नहीं, आधे पेटहु नाज।
कौन पाप सों बसन बिन ढकन न पावत लाज॥
सीत सतावत सीत महँ अरु ग्रीषम महँ घाम।
भीजत ही पावस कटत कौन पाप सों राम॥
के ते बालक दूध के बिना अन्न के कौर।
रोय रोय जी देत हैं कहा सुनावैं और॥

देश की इस दुर्दशा को देख कर कवि को अत्यन्त व्यथित हृदय से कहना पड़ता है कि--

"अब या सुखमय भूमि महँ नाहीं सुख को लेस।
हाड़ चाम पूरित भयो अन्न दूध को देस॥"

देश का व्यापार भी दिन प्रति दिन घटता जा रहा है। पूंजी के अभाव में ऋण बढ़ता जा रहा है और दिवाले निकल रहे हैं। टैक्स और धन हानि के कारण व्यापारी वर्ग नष्ट हो रहा है।

"इसी प्रकार वणिक् लोगों की भी अब पूंजी घटती है।
आये वर्ष पाँच दस का जो तप्पर टाट उलटती है॥
साहूकारों के अब तो प्रतिवर्ष दिवाले कढ़ते हैं।
पूंजी घटी चली जाती है ऋण के तूंद बढ़ते हैं॥
हाहाकार उधर हानी की टिक्कस की ललकार इधर।
आठों पहर घोर आपद है साहूकारों के सिर पर॥

कवि को किसानों की सबसे अधिक चिन्ता है और वही सबसे अधिक विपन्न हैं। कवि बहुत अच्छी तरह से जानता है कि कृषि प्रधान भारत की समृद्धि किसानों पर निर्भर है। किसानों के प्रति कवि के हृदय में अगाध सहानुभूति है, किसानों की आशा निराशा और उनकी चिन्ता तथा उल्लास का चित्रण इनकी रचनाओं में अत्यन्त मार्मिक और प्रभावशाली हुआ है। संसार भर का पेट भरने वाले किसानों के बच्चे भूख से दम तोड़ रहे हैं। उनके अनवरत परिश्रम का फल बढ़ा हुआ लगान हड़प कर जाता है।

"जिनके कारण सब सुख पावें, जिनका बोया सब जन खाँय।
हाय हाय उनके बालक नित भूखों के मारे चिल्लायँ॥
अहा बिचारे दुःख के मारे निस दिन पच पच मरैं किसान।
जब अनाज उत्पन्न होय तब सब उठवा ले जाय लगान॥

किसानों की दुरवस्था का एक चित्र और भी उद्धृत किया जाता है--

"धरती के जी में छाई ऐसी निठुराई।
उपजीविका किसानों की सब भांति घटाई॥

रहा नहीं तृण चार कहीं कृषकों के घर में ।
पड़े ढोर उनके गोभक्षक कुल के कर में ॥
जिन सरसों के पत्तों को डंगर थे खाते ।
उनसे वह अपना जीवन हैं आज बिताते ॥
लवण बिना वह भी हा रह जाता फीका ।
नहीं पूछता भाव आज कोई उनके जी का ॥

इन पंक्तियों में चित्रित किसानों की दुर्दशा कविता की अत्युक्ति या अतिरञ्जना नहीं है। ये पंक्तियां देश की वास्तविक दशा के निरीक्षण के परिणाम स्वरूप हैं, इस विषय में निष्पक्ष देशी तथा विदेशी विद्वानों के उद्गार कवि की वचनावली का समर्थन ही करते हैं। इन निरीक्षकों ने भी सरकार को किसानों की दुरवस्था के लिये उत्तरदायित्व ठहराया है।[1] कवि को भारत का भाग्य दुर्दशाग्रस्त प्रतीत होता है और वह निराशा भरे स्वर में कह उठता है कि--

"हमरे जीवन मांह प्रभु अब सुख को नहिं लेस ।
लेख भाल को बन रहे चिन्ता दुःख कलेस ॥
आज या सुखमय भूमि महँ नाहीं सुख को लेस ।
हाड़ चाम पूरित भयो अन्न दूध को देस ॥"

देवी के स्वागत के लिये इस दरिद्र देश में कवि को कुछ नहीं मिलता। आहों और अश्रुजल को छोड़ कर उसके पास देवी की आवभगत करने के लिये कुछ नहीं है। उसे अत्यन्त व्यथा भरे स्वर में अपने अभाव का रोना रोना पड़ता है—

"भेंट धरैं जी माय कहा हम पास है ।
केवल आंखिन जल, अरु लम्बी सांस है ॥"
का दैं जननी पूजा करैं तुम्हार ।
पेटहु कै निस दिन है हाहाकार ॥

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[1] "It is estimated from official records that one fifth of the Indian rural population or between 40,000,000, or 50,000,000 of people are insufficiently fed even in years of good harvest." R. C. Dutt, *England and India*. "The goverment assesment does not leave enough food to the cultivator to support himself and his family throughout the year. The rayat will remain the most pathetic figure in the British Empire for his masters have ever been unjust to him". H. C. E. Zacharia, *Renascent India*.

कवि इस आर्थिक दुरवस्था के कुप्रभावों से अनभिज्ञ नहीं है। भूख की ज्वाला में सौजन्य, विवेक, धर्म कर्म आदि सभी जले जा रहे हैं—हिन्दू जाति भूख से तिलमिला कर शताब्दियों से सञ्चित सद्‌गुणों को तिलाञ्जलि दे रही है, भारत सन्तान अब "पेट हेत नित मरैं पचैं भर पेट न पावहिं।" जिसी प्रकार अकाल आदि से भारत की सस्यश्यामला भूमि उजड़ गई है उसी प्रकार भारत वासियों का हृदय भी श्मशान बन गया है। उसकी सारी हंसी खुशी जलकर राख हो गई है। अब उस में न अपने पराये का ध्यान है, न देश विदेश का विचार, और न मानापमान की चिन्ता। कवि ऐसे ही 'हिय-मसान, में मां का आह्वान कर रहा है। कतिपय सांकेतिक पंक्तियां उद्धृत की जाती हैं।

"अपनो और परायो देस विदेस, इन सबहीं को या महँ नाहि लेस॥
या हिय महँ नहिं माय न बाप न पूत, या महँ नाहिन राव न रंक न दूत॥
नाहिन यामहँ मान नाहिं अपमान, नाहिन कछु हित अनहित करि पहिचानि॥
या हिय महँ अब फूलत फलत न बाग खिलत न कबहूं फूल न उडत पराग॥
कबहु न कोयल कूजहिं बोलहिं मोर, कबहुं न पंछी कीर मचावहिं रोर॥

कवि को हिन्दू जाति के अधःपतन पर अत्यधिक दुःख है। कवि को सबसे अधिक पीड़ा यह देखकर हो रही है कि पेट की चिन्ता में यह जाति अपना कर्त्तव्य और स्वरुप सच्चे तथा संस्कृति को भूलती जा रही है। आर्थिक चिन्ता में धर्म कर्म लोक लाज सभी लुप्त हो रहे हैं।

"पै हमरे नहिं धर्म कर्म कुल कानि बड़ाई।
हम प्रभु लाज समाज आज सब धोय बहाई॥
मेटे वेद पुरान न्याय निष्ठा सब खोई।
हिंदू कुल मरजाद आज हम सबहि डुबोई॥
"...पेट हेत पायन परत हरि तुम्हरे सन्तान॥"

कवि के लिये दुःख का विषय यही है कि भारतवासियों की खोये हुए गौरव और वैभव को पुनः प्राप्त करने की लालसा लुप्त होती जा रही है। उनमें अब वह स्पर्धा भी नहीं है जिसके बल पर किसी जाति का पुनरुत्थान हो सकता है। अब केवल कपटता और कायरता रह गई है। केवल उदरंभरण का ध्यान और उसी के लिये ईश्वर से प्रार्थना अब केवल हीन दशा पर रोना आज रह गया है—

"गजरथ तुरंग विहीन भये ताको दुर नाहीं।
चँवर छत्र को चाव नाहिं हमरे उर माहीं॥
सिंहासन अरु राज पाट को नाहिं उरेहना।
ना हम चाहत अब वस्त्र सुंदर पट गहनो॥
पै हाथ जोरि हम आज यह रोय रोय बिनती करैं।

या भूखे पापी पेट कहँ मात कहो कैसे भरैं ॥"
"बेशक हम कपटी कपूत कामी अरु कादर ।
दर दर मारे फिरैं हमहिं कोउ देत न आदर ॥

इस प्रकार की हीनता की भावना जाति के आत्मसंम्मान और आत्मविश्वास को नष्ट कर रही है। कवि देख रहा है कि भारतवासी अब इतने गिर गये हैं कि विरोध करने के स्थान पर वे अत्याचार को चुपचाप सहते चले जा रहे हैं। इतना ही नहीं उनके लिये अब वे अत्याचार अत्याचार नहीं रह गये। वे अब अत्याचारी की चाटुकारिता में ही सुख मान रहे हैं;

"पेट भरन हित फिरैं हाय कूकुर से दर दर।
चाटहिं ताके पैर लपकि, मारहिं जो ठोकर ॥

और देशवासी इतने निराश हो गये हैं कि वे अपने को सब प्रकार से निर्बल और शक्तिहीन मान बैठे हैं। अब "अपनो कुछ उद्यम नहीं तकत पराई आस"। उन्हें अपने उत्थान की न कोई आशा है और न अपनी उन्नति का मार्ग ही दिखाई पड़ता है। उनका आत्मविश्वास इतना कुंठित हो गया है कि वे स्वयं अपने को हीन समझने लगे हैं; "सबै कहैं तुम हीन हो, हमहुं कहैं हम हीन"।

ऐसे समय में जब कि देशवासी अपनी प्राचीन गौरव गाथा को भूल चुके थे, और उनका अपना सच्चा स्वरूप-आत्मविस्मृत हो चुका था, पेट की ज्वाला में कर्त्तव्याकर्त्तव्य का ध्यान न रह गया था और लोक लाज जल रही थी, ऐसे समय में जब कि आर्थिक हीनता ने देश को निस्संबल और निर्बल बना दिया था; ऐसे समय में जब कि जातिआत्मसम्मान इतना ठंढा पड़ गया था कि सताने वाले का स्वागत होने लगा था और हीनता की भावना इतना जड़ पकड़ गई थी कि अपनी नजर में स्वयं नीचे गिर गई थी, बालमुकुंद गुप्त ने साहस का संचार किया, और आशासंदेश दिया, और देशभक्ति तथा देशोन्नति की बलवती भावना जगाई। देश के अन्य नेताओं के समान बालमुकुंद गुप्त भी देश की दरिद्रता के कारणों से अवगत थे, और उनका निर्देश भी किया है। कवि ने सरकार की उस शासन नीति की स्पष्ट तथा खरी आलोचना की है जिसके परिणाम स्वरूप देश निर्धन हो गया है। सरकार के कड़े लगान (जिसके कारण किसान भूखे रह जाते हैं) और कड़े टैक्स की चर्चा (जिसके कारण व्यवसाय नष्ट हो रहा है) कवि कई स्थानों पर कर चुका है। भारत की दरिद्रता का मुख्य कारण सरकार का अनियन्त्रित दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ने वाला फौजी खर्च है। वैज्ञानिक सीमा की धुन में सरकार न मूर्ति पूजा का ख्याल करती है और न जन-सम्मति की चिन्ता;[1] बालमुकुंद गुप्तने सरकारी फौजीनीति के विरुद्ध अपनी आवाज उठाई है;

1. "It will be found that imperial policy of England in the East, to secure a scientific frontier, and to maintain an adequate army against Russsa at the cost of India, is exhausting that rich and fertile country......" (England and India, by R. C. Dutt, p. x).

बाबा! उनसे कहदो जो सीमा की रक्षा करते हैं।
लोहे की सीमा कर लेने की चिन्ता में मरते हैं॥
प्रजा तुम्हारी दीन दुःखी है रक्षा किसकी करते हो।
इससे क्या कुछ भी होना है, नाहक पचपच मरते हो॥

इसी प्रकार वे प्रजा की मूक सहनशीलता को अच्छा नहीं समझते। प्रजा का इसी प्रकार पीड़ित रहना शुभ चिन्ह नहीं है। उन्होंने भारत की मूक प्रजा-वर्ग की ओर लोगों का ध्यान आकृष्ट किया है। वे पूछते हैं—

"तुम्हीं बताओ क्या इस घोर विपद का सहना अच्छा है।
इस प्रकार से प्रजावर्ग का पीड़ित रहना अच्छा है॥"
"···प्रजा भूख से मरती है कुछ उसका भी सोचो परिणाम···॥"

बालमुकुन्द गुप्त केवल सरकार की आलोचनामात्र से सन्तुष्ट नहीं हैं। दीनों की दुर्दशा का भार धनवानों पर है। धनिकों का यह कर्तव्य है कि धनहीनों की सहायता करें। गरीबों के प्रति धनिकों के उपेक्षापूर्ण व्यवहार पर कवि उनकी भर्त्सना करता है और उन अमीरों पर कुपित होता है जिनका निजी जीवन विलासमय है, परन्तु जिनके आस-पास के लोग भूखे मरते हैं।

"हे धनियों क्या दीन जनों की नहिं सुनते हो हाहाकार।
जिसका मरे पड़ोसी भूखा उसके भोजन को धिक्कार॥
नंगे भूखे सच है तुमको कभी नहीं रहना पड़ता।
पैदल चलने से पाओं में फूल तलक भी नहिं गड़ता॥
फिर भी क्या नंगे भूखों पर दृष्टि नहीं पड़ती होगी।
सड़क कूटनेवालों से तो आँख कभी लड़ती होगी॥"

कवि की उदारहृदयता, सड़क कूटने वालों और नंगे भूखों को नहीं भुला सकी और उनकी सहानुभूति बरबस उन किसानों की ओर चली जाती है "जिनके कारण सब सुख पावें, जिनका बोया सब जन खायें", इसके साथ ही साथ कवि इतना लोक-रीति का जानने वाला है कि उसे अपने उपदेश के पालन किये जाने में स्वयं संदेह है, कारण यह है कि धनिक स्वभावतया दीनों की वस्तुस्थिति का अनुभव करने में अक्षम हैं।

"लू के मारे पंखेवाले की गति वह क्योंकर जाने।
शीतल खस की टट्टी में जो लेटा हो चादर ताने॥"

और कवि इस बात से असंतुष्ट हैं कि धनिक, दीनों को इस दयनीय दशा में पहुँचाकर भी स्वच्छंद हैं और उनपर कोई नियन्त्रण नहीं है। धनिकों के इन पाप का फल इन दीन हीनों को भोगना पड़ता है।

"हाय हाय दुष्कर्म तुम करो और उसका फल वह पावें।
पापी पाप करें औ' दण्ड दें निर्दोषी पकड़े जावें॥

धनिकों की भर्त्सना तथा कटु आलोचना और दीनों के प्रति पक्षपात और समानुभूति का प्रधान कारण यह है कि कवि दीन-जनों के महत्त्व को अच्छी तरह समझता है। कवि अच्छी तरह से जानता है कि किसी प्रकार की व्यवस्था के लिये इस वर्ग का संतुष्ट रहना आवश्यक है। इनके बिगड़ने पर सब कुछ नष्ट हो जायगा। इसी से कवि धनिकों के भविष्य की अपेक्षा इनके विषय में अधिक चिन्तित हैं।

तुमसे लाख बनें बिगड़ें कुछ हानि लाभ नहिं होना है।
जिनके बिगड़े सब जग बिगड़े उनका हमको रोना है॥

इसीसे कवि धनिकों को बार बार चेतावनी देता है और निर्धनों के प्रति सद्व्यवहार करने की आवश्यकता बताता है। अपने स्वार्थों की रक्षा के लिये भी पूंजीपतियों को अत्यधिक शोषण से विरत होना चाहिये। कवि धनवानों को बार बार यह कह कर सावधान करता है कि दीनों के विनाश में अमीरों के सत्यानाश का संकेत छिपा है। निर्धनों के विनाश के बाद धनिकों के नाश की बारी है—

"हे बाबा जो यह बेचारे भूखों प्राण गवाँवेंगे।
तब कहिये क्या धनी गला कर अशर्फियाँ पी जावेंगे॥
हे धनवानों हा धिक् किसने हरली बुद्धि तुम्हारी है।
निर्धन उजड़ जाँयगे तब फिर कहिये किसकी बारी है॥"

इन उद्गारों से यह न समझना चाहिये कि कवि गरीबों की रक्षा के लिये केवल अपनी स्वार्थ बुद्धि से प्रेरित है अथवा धनिकों या मध्यम वर्ग के सुखमय अस्तित्व के लिये ऐसा कर रहा है। दीन वर्ग से धनिकों का निर्वाह तो होता ही है, साथ ही देशहित के लिये भी उनका अस्तित्व अत्यावश्यक और महत्वपूर्ण है। कवि स्पष्ट शब्दों में यह कह रहा है कि दीन जनों पर अत्याचार करने वाला सारे देश का शत्रु और नाश करने वाला है।

"सच पूछो तो धनिकों का निर्वाह इन्हीं से होता है।
जो उजाड़ता है इनको वह सारा देश डुबोता है॥"

उपर्युक्त संक्षिप्त उद्धरणों से कवि की समानुभूति और उदार भावना का पूर्ण परिचय मिल जाता है। कवि ने देश की आर्थिक दुरवस्था की बड़ी मार्मिक व्यञ्जना की है। आर्थिक दुर्दशा के विशद चित्रण, उसके कुप्रभाव के क्षोभपूर्ण वर्णन और कारणों के विश्लेषण और परिणाम स्वरूप देश के भाग्य विधायकों की स्पष्ट और खरी आलोचना में कवि के निर्भीक और स्वतन्त्र व्यक्तित्व का दर्शन होता है। कवि के हृदय में जिन भावों की अनुभूति जगी उनकी व्यञ्जना में कवि ने किसी प्रकार का संकोचन नहीं किया है वरन् उनके प्रभाव और उत्कर्ष की ओर ही उसका ध्यान रहा है। भावानुभूति की सच्चाई के कारण इस कविता में जो ओज, उत्साह, प्रभाव और प्रवाह है

वह उनके अन्य समकालीन कवियों में दुर्लभ है, देश के आर्थिक जीवन के अत्यन्त विशद और सर्वांगीण चित्रण में कोई पक्ष छूटने नहीं पाया है। इसमें कवि की उदारदृष्टि और विशालहृदय की झलक बराबर मिलती है।

कवि केवल समालोचना मात्र से संतुष्ट नहीं है। देशोन्नति के लिये वह हितकर योजना को कार्यान्वित करने को भी तत्पर है। वह देशवासियों को आवाहन कर उनको आत्मनिर्भर बनने का उपदेश देता है। बालमुकुन्द गुप्त के समय में बंग-भंग का आन्दोलन चल रहा था और बायकाट की धूम थी, कवि ने कांग्रेस के इस आन्दोलन में उत्साह दिखाया और बायकाट या बहिष्कार का समर्थन किया, कवि ने विदेशी माल के बहिष्कार और स्वदेशी के प्रयोग को देश की आर्थिक दुरवस्था को दूर करने का मूल मंत्र माना। कवि ने इन पर विशेष आग्रह दिखाकर आत्मनिर्भरता (Self-dependence) और आत्मपर्याप्ति (Self-sufficiency) के उस आर्थिक सिद्धान्त की राष्ट्रीयता का सूत्रपात किया जिसके लिये आज भी संघर्ष चल रहा है। कवि इस प्रकार देश को आत्मसंपन्न बनने के लिये आमंत्रित कर रहा है—

"अपना बोया आप ही खावे, अपना कपड़ा आप बनावे।
बढ़े सदा अपना व्यापार, चारों दिस हो मौज़ बहार॥
माल बिदेसी दूर भगावे, अपना चरखा आप चलावे।
कभी न हो भारत मोहताज········॥"

बालमुकुन्द गुप्त बहिष्कार और स्वदेशी की सफलता की सीमा को अच्छी तरह जानते थे। वे यह अच्छी तरह जानते थे कि देश की समृद्धि में यह केवल पहिली मंजिल है। इसे महत्त्वपूर्ण जानते हुए भी देशोन्नति के लिये इसको परम साधन नहीं मानते थे। बालमुकुन्द गुप्त कांग्रेस के बड़े भक्त थे। जिस प्रकार कांग्रेस ने बहिष्कार को देश के विरोध प्रदर्शन का वैध अस्त्र स्वीकार किया था[1] उसी प्रकार बालमुकुंद गुप्त भी इसे मानते थे। कांग्रेस या "जातीय आन्दोलन" के समान बालमुकुन्द गुप्त भी धन के अभाव को भारत की दुर्दशा का प्रधान कारण ठहराते थे और कांग्रेस के समान उनका भी यही विश्वास था कि आर्थिक अवस्था में सुधार के लिये राजनीतिक अधिकारों की प्राप्ति आवश्यक है। 'प्रेमघन' के समान बालमुकुंद गुप्त भी राजनीतिक क्षेत्र में इलेक्टिव सिस्टेम या निर्वाचन पद्धति की माँग पेश कर रहे हैं। उनका विश्वास है कि निर्वाचन का अधिकार पाये बिना देशदशा नहीं सुधर सकती। साथ ही साथ कवि नामिनेशन (Nomination) विरोधी है। इसलिये नामिनेशन चाहने वालों से मतभेद है क्योंकि जनता का नामिनेशन से अवरोध होता है—

"यही स्वच्छ उद्देश्य अजी जातीय आन्दोलन का है।
वर्त्तमान अवसर में हमको अभाव भारी धन का है॥"

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१. See quotation on p. 71 ahead.

जारी न हो इलेक्टिव सिस्टेम तब तक यह नहिं होना है।
चुने हुए मेम्बर होते तो ऐसा कब होने पाता।
उसे पुकार कौंसिल में नानी जी का घर बन जाता॥
जाति का अपने नामोनेशन से यह लाभ कराओगे।
सबका एक साथ ही अपने हाथों नाश कराओगे॥

यहाँ पर कदाचित् यह कहना अनुपयुक्त न होगा कि 'प्रेमघन के समान बालमुकुन्द गुप्त की वाणी भी अरण्यरोदन सिद्ध हुई, और 'प्रेमघन' के समान उनको भी दासता का कटु अनुभव उठाना पड़ा। देशरत्न दादाभाई नौरोजी के काले कहे जाने पर 'प्रेमघन' का देश भक्ति पूर्ण हृदय भारत के इस प्रकार अपमानित होने पर व्यथित हो उठा था। वर्णभेद की ऐसी अपमानजनक घटनायें बालमुकुन्द गुप्त को भी मन मार कर देखनी पड़ती थी। कभी उनके हृदय से अत्यन्त क्षोभ भरी वचनावली का उद्रेक होता है जिससे देश की दबी हुई उदासी और असन्तोष की सूचना मिलती है—

"हमने माना गोरा रङ्ग आजकल तुमको प्यारा है।
पर हे श्याम सुना है काला भी तो रङ्ग तुम्हारा है॥
एक काला इसलिये गया पिण्डी में गोली से मारा।
पंखा करते एक गोरे को ऊँघ गया था बेचारा॥

काले गोरे की भेदभावभरी ऐसी अपमानजनक घटनाओं से शासक और शासितों के बीच दिन प्रतिदिन गहरी होने वाली खाई की व्यञ्जना होती है जिससे देश के सभी हितैषी चिन्तित थे। शासकों के विरुद्ध भावना जड़ पकड़ती जा रही थी जिसका कारण कुछ लोग पाश्चात्य शिक्षा को मानते थे और कुछ लोग पाश्चात्य शिक्षा से जनित देश की उच्चाभिलाषाओं की (संकीर्ण हृदय शासन द्वारा) अस्वीकृति और अप्राप्ति को ठहराते थे।* शासकविरोधी भावना को कर्जन की नीति ने और भी उद्दीप्त किया। कर्जन ने कलकत्ता विश्व-विद्यालय के दीक्षान्त भाषण के बीच भारतवासियों की ईमानदारी पर और सच्चाईपर आक्षेप किया था जिसका समग्र देश ने विरोध किया। बालमुकुन्द गुप्त ने भी इस विषय को लेकर व्यङ्ग वचनावली का प्रयोग किया है—

"सच है सभ्य देस की चीज, तुमको उसकी कहाँ तमीज।
औरों को झूठा बतलाना, अपने सच की डींग उड़ाना॥
ये ही पक्का सच्चापन है, सच कहना तो कच्चापन है॥
बोले और करे कुछ और, यही सत्य है कर लो गौर॥
झूठ को जो सच कर दिखलावे, सोई सच्चा साधु कहावे॥"

इसी प्रकार बालमुकुन्द गुप्त उन सभी अवसरवादियों पर व्यंग की वर्षा करते हैं जो देशहित का ध्यान छोड़ कर केवल अपने स्वार्थ का ध्यान रखते हैं। जो अपने लाभ के अनुकूल वेष बनाया करते हैं और जो मान मर्यादा का ध्यान छोड़ कर खिताब पाने के लिये 'सब्रूट चरणं शरणम्' जाते हैं। अपनी

नमकहलाली का विश्वास दिलाने वाले का जो खाका कवि ने खींचा है उसका एक उद्धरण दिया जाता है—

"आप सभी हैं जानते हम हैं नमक हलाल।
औरों से मिलता नहीं तभी हमारा ख्याल॥
"घूसखोर" ही है कहा, मारी तो नहिं लात।
फिर क्यों कुरसी त्याग दें ऐसी है क्या बात॥
अब प्रभु कीजै दीनका ऐसा कुछ उद्धार।
राय बहादुर बन सकें जिससे इस ही बार॥"

अवसरवादियों और पदलोलुप चाटुकारों पर की गई व्यङ्गोक्तियों में उपहास के साथ कवि की मार्मिक व्यथा भी छिपी है। इन पर हँसी एक प्रकार से अपनी हँसी है, उस दीन भावना की व्यञ्जना है जिसमें आत्ममर्यादा, देशभक्ति, लोकलाज आदि का ह्रास होजाता है। कवि देख रहा है कि गुलामी की आग में देश का बाहुबल, बुद्धि विवेक आदि स्वाहा हो रहे हैं। गुलामी में देश-अपनी मानमर्यादा का जुआ खेल कर सब कुछ हार चुका। स्वाधीनता गंवाकर दास बने हुए अब एक युग बीत गया।

"....बहु दिन बीते राम प्रभु खोयो अपनों देस..."
"धनबल जनबल बाहुबल, बुद्धि विवेक विचार
मान तान मरजाद को बैठे जूओ हार॥"

'दासता के बीच क्या ऊंच नीच का भेद। हमारी क्या इज्जत क्या आबरू, "धर्म कर्म संयम नियम" आदि

"इन सब को बहु दिन भये खेलि चुके हम फाग।"

अब हम किस आधार पर घमण्ड करें। हम अब क्या अपनी जाति की उच्चता की डींग मारें और जातिवर्ण विशिष्टता का डंका पीटें। हमारे लिये धर्म अर्थ काम आदि के सिद्धान्त भी अर्थ शून्य हैं। न हमारी समाज-व्यवस्था का कोई गौरव, न धर्म और (संस्कृति व) सभ्यता का महत्त्व क्यों कि कवि एक क्षणके लिये भी यह नहीं भूल पाता कि सभी जातियां गुलाम हैं और देशपरतंत्रता इस तीव्र वेदनामयी अनुभूति से तिलमिला कर कवि को अत्यन्त व्यथा भरे शब्दों में यह कहना पड़ता है कि

"हमरे जाति न वर्न है नहीं अर्थ नहिं काम।
कहा दुरावैं आप से हमरी जाति गुलाम॥"

और

"...अब या भारतभूमि में सबै बरन हैं दास..."

कवि एक बार फिर स्वाधीन भारत का गौरवमय दृश्य देखना चाहता है। स्वाधीन भारत की रागिनी सुनने को वह उत्सुक है। स्वतन्त्र भारत (के पूर्व समय) की शोभा और उत्सवों के दर्शन के लिये उसकी आँखें

सलक रही है। कवि अपनी बंदी आत्मा को सम्बोधित कर कहता है कि या तो वह स्वतन्त्र हो या कवि कि मृत्यु हो जाय। कोकिल या तो अपने पिंजड़े को तोड़कर निर्मुक्त हो और स्वच्छंद विचरण करे और ऐसा न हो सके तो दासता के करुण दृश्य को देखने को जीवित न बचे। बहारके (उपयुक्त समय के) आने पर मूक कोकिल से कवि का यही कहना है कि

"अब क्यों मौन गह्यो प्रिय कोकिल, आई बहुरि बहार
अब दिन फिरे तुम्हारो प्यारे पंचम स्वरहि पुकार
कूक बसन्ती कोकिल प्यारे हृदय खोलि कर कूक
करि अपने पिंजरा के चाहे मेरे हिय के टूक
वह पहली शोभा बसंत की वह सुठि सुंदर फाग ॥"

जिस प्रकार कवि आर्थिक क्षेत्र में आलोचना मात्र से संतुष्ट न होकर देशवासियों का कार्य क्षेत्र में आह्वान करता है। कवि के समय की मुख्य और महत्त्वपूर्ण राजनीतिक घटना बंग-भंग है। यह देश के आत्म सम्मान की कसौटी थी और देश इसमें खरा उतरा। कांग्रेस या "जातीय आंदोलन" के समान कवि ने भी वंग-भंग का विरोध किया और उसके विरुद्ध का अभिनंदन किया। बंग-भंग के द्वारा सरकार ने घर के आंगन में ही दीवाल बना कर भाई को भाई से अलग करना चाहा है।

"देख देश को अपने ख्वार, बंग निवासी उठे पुकार
आंगन में दीवार बनाई, अलग किये भाई से भाई
भाई से किये भाई दूर, बिना विचारे बिना कुसूर।"

कवि सरकारी नीति से विरोधभाव प्रदर्शन के लिये कांग्रेस के समान बहिष्कार और स्वदेशी को प्रयोग का उपदेश देता है*। भोग-विलास के त्याग और प्रेमभाव की प्रतिष्ठा पर कवि का विशेष आग्रह है। कवि चाहता है कि सब अपने को बङ्ग माता की सन्तान समझे और एक साथ जीने मरने की प्रतिज्ञा कर दृढ़ता तथा आत्मोत्सर्ग और बलिदान के पथ का अनुसरण करें।

"आओ एक प्रतिज्ञा करें एक साथ सब जीवें मरें।
चाहे बङ्ग होय सौ भाग, पर न छुटे अपना अनुराग।
भोग विलास सभी दो तोड़, बाबूपन से मुह लो मोड़।
छोड़ो सभी विदेशी माल, अपने घर का करो खयाल।

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* "Even such a moderate as Gokhale accepted boycott of British goods as the last protest and perhaps the only constitutional and effective means left of drawing the attention of the British public to the action of Govt. of India in persisting in their determination to partition Bengal in utter disregard of universal prayers and protests of the people" (Renascent India, by H.C.E. Zacharia, p.143.)

अपनी चीजें आप बनवाओ, उनसे अपना अङ्ग सजाओ।
भजो बङ्ग माता का नाम, जिससे भला होय अञाम।

उपर्युक्त पंक्तियों से कवि का स्वदेशानुराग और उसकी दृढ़ता साफ झलकती है। कवि ने इस प्रकार भावपूर्ण शब्दावली द्वारा अनेक स्थलों पर निराश जनता के बीच आशा उत्साह और स्फूर्त्ति का संचार किया, मातृभूमि के प्रति प्रेम और भ्रातृत्व की भावना जगाई और देशवासियों में साहस तथा दृढ़ता तथा बलिदान का प्रसार किया। बालमुकुंद गुप्त का यह कार्य अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। क्योंकि ऐसी विशिष्टताओं से समन्वित जाति क्या नहीं कर सकती।

निबंध समाप्त करने के पूर्व यह कहना कदाचित् अप्रासंगिक न होगा कि 'हिंदू' 'धर्म' आदि शब्दों की पुनरावृत्ति तथा हिंदू विचारधारा का बाहुल्य होने पर भी कवि में सांप्रदायिक संकीर्णता नही है। इसके विरुद्ध "कौमी निमक हरामी" और वृथा किसी संकीर्ण हृदय की गुलामी करने वालों को इसने बुरा-भला कहा है। कवि के आर्थिक दशा के चित्रण बिना किसी जातिगत या वर्णगत भेदभाव के समान रूप गरीबों का सहानुभूति पूर्ण वर्णन किया है। इसी प्रकार उसकी भावना में समग्र सन्निहित है और किसी जाति का बहिष्कार नहीं है। शक्तिस्वरूपा मातृभूमि भारतभूमि की अभ्यर्थना और उपासना में समग्र भारतवासी—तीस करोड़—हाथ जोड़ खड़े होते हैं। मातृभूमि की वंदना में कविकंठ से समग्र जन संख्या की वाणी प्रतिध्वनित होती है, शीश झुकाते हैं और "कर साठ कोटि जोरें खरे"।

"जाग जाग जगदम्ब मात यह नींद कहां की।
कस दीन्हीं बिसराय बान सुत बत्सल मां की॥
एक पूत की मात नींद भर कबहुँ न सोवत।
तीस कोटि तब दीन हीन सुत तव मुख जोवत॥
उठहु अम्ब! संकट हरो निद्रा दूर बहाय कै।
कर साठ कोटि जोरें खरे, द्वारे तब सुत आय कै"॥

अन्त में कवि के हृदय में आशा का संचार होता है और उसे विश्वास हो जाता है कि उसकी प्रार्थना मान ली गई और शक्तिस्वरूपा भारतमाता इस देश में सदा निवास करेगी। कवि को देश के उज्ज्वल आशापूर्ण भविष्य का विश्वास हो जाता है। उसका हृदय कह उठता है कि "सुख को भयो प्रभात" और देशवासियों को इस आनंदोत्सव में सम्मिलित होने के लिये आमंत्रित करता है। चारों ओर जय जयकार का शब्द गूंज रहा है। भारत के सुखप्रभात की शोभा को देखने के लिये देवता आकाश में अपना विमान रोके हुए हैं।

"जय जय ध्वनि रही पूरि बजत आनन्द बधाई
नभ ठहराय विमान देवगन देखैं आई॥
सुख को भयो प्रभात उठौ सब भारतबासी।

निरखहु नयन उघारी मातं आई सुखरासी
सब पूजहु मात सनातनी आदि शक्ति कहं धाय कै
रलि मिलि आनंद उत्सव करहु नाचौ दुख विसराय कै ॥"

यह आशाहिता कवि की अपनी विशिष्टता है। ऐसी रचनाओं के द्वारा कवि ने जनता की निराशा को दूर किया और उसे उज्वल भविष्य पर विश्वास दिलाकर कर्मपथ पर अग्रसर होने का सम्बल प्रदान किया, कवि के इस कार्य की जितनी प्रशंशा की जाय थोड़ी है, देशहित के लिये आशा का आधार अत्यावश्यक है। बालमुकुंद की रचनाओं ने आशा और विश्वास का वातावरण तय्यार किया, आशा, उत्साह, और विश्वास से ओतप्रोत जातियां अपने देश की सफलता के लिये सब कुछ न्योछावर कर सकती हैं।

पूर्व पृष्ठों में बालमुकुंद गुप्त की आर्थिक तथा राजनीतिक भावनाओं की जो संक्षिप्त रूपरेखा उपस्थित करने का प्रयास किया गया है उससे कवि की प्रतिभा, स्वतन्त्र व्यक्तित्व, भावानुभूति की सत्यता का पूरा परिचय हो जाता है। कवि की पर्यवेक्षण शक्ति, वर्णन प्रणाली और विश्लेषण की क्षमता से उसकी विस्तृत मनोदृष्टि, संवेदनशीलता और उदार हृदयकी स्पष्ट झलक मिलती है। कवि की स्वदेशभक्ति की भावना साम्प्रदायिकता से दूर और अत्यन्त उदार है। कवि के समय में देश के आधुनिक (राजनीतिक, आर्थिक तथा सामाजिक) जीवन के प्रारम्भिक पृष्ठ लिखे जा रहे थे। वह युग अत्यन्त ही महत्वपूर्ण था। यह कहना अत्युक्ति न होगी कि बालमुकुंद गुप्त समय की कसौटी पर खरे उतरे और उनका संदेश युगविधायक और देश के सर्वथा अनुकूल था। उन्होंने जनता में आत्म-निर्भरता का संचार किया और अपने पैरों पर खड़े होने का उपदेश दिया। पारस्परिक सहायता, आतृभावना, प्रेम, एकता, सहयोग, सम्मिलित उद्योग तथा अनीति के विरोध का जो संदेश बालमुकुंद गुप्त की रचना अपने समय का दर्पण है जिसमें युग की प्रवृत्तियों के साथ साथ कवि की स्वतंत्र प्रतिभा के भी पूर्ण दर्शन होते हैं।

भक्त माल की अभिनव मीमांसा

पं० पद्मनारायण आचार्य, मीमांसा परिषत्, भदैनी, काशी

शंकर, रामानुज अथवा तिलक जैसे किसी बड़े आचार्य का भाष्य और प्रवचन पढ़ने पर आलोचक का ध्यान प्रायः इस ओर नहीं जाता कि मूल गीता का अपना एक निजी साहित्यिक और स्वतंत्र अर्थ भी है। स्वयं भाष्य से पढ़ने वाले मूल के स्वाध्यायिओं और आजकल के व्याख्यात्मक अथवा अनुवचनात्मक आलोचकों के अनुसार तो यह निश्चित और सर्वमान्य हो चुका है कि अच्छी टीकाओं का स्वतंत्र ग्रन्थ के समान आदर और मूल्य होता है। और मूल का महत्व अलग समझना पड़ता है।

हिन्दी में नाभादास का भक्तमाल गीता के समान ही लोकप्रिय हुआ और उस पर टीकायें भी अनेक लिखी गईं। मूल ग्रन्थ गोसाईं तुलसीदास जी के काल में लिखा गया था उसमें तीन सौ सोलह ३१६ छप्पय और दोहे हैं। लगभग पचास वर्ष बाद प्रियादास ने उस पर टीका लिखी। उस टीका का इतना प्रभाव बढ़ा कि उसी ढंग पर केवल हिन्दी में ही नहीं, बंगला मराठी आदि में भी अनेक संतचरित लिखे गए। उसी प्रियादासी टीका का प्रभाव है कि आज के ग्रियर्सन, की, ग्रीव्हज़ आदि आधुनिक इतिहास लेखक और आलोचक कवियों के जीवन वृत्त की खोज चमत्कारपूर्ण कहानियों में भी करना चाहते हैं। उसी के प्रभाव से आज के वैज्ञानिक युग में भी तुलसीदास और ज्ञानेश्वर जैसे संतों के चित्रपट चमत्कारों और पारलौकिक घटनाओं से भरे रहते हैं। उसी टीका की स्वाभाविक प्रसिद्धि का ही फल यह भी है कि आज हिन्दी साहित्य के आलोचक नाभा दास की मर्म भरी आलोचनाओं तथा साहित्यिक निर्णयों की ओर ध्यान ही नहीं देते। इस ओर स्वतंत्र आलोचना की आवश्यकता है। आधुनिक आलोचना इस दिशा में अधिक काम कर सकती है।

आधुनिक आलोचन का परिणाम

नई दृष्टि से मूल ग्रन्थ का स्वतंत्र और सम्यक अध्यन करने से कई महत्वपूर्ण बातें सामने आती हैं। प्रथम तो यह ग्रन्थ व्यापक और उदार दृष्टि से लिखा हुआ भक्ति आन्दोलन का इतिहास है। इस दृष्टिसे इसका विचार करना मध्यकालीन संस्कृति और हिन्दी साहित्य की मध्ययुगीन धारा के अध्ययन में बहुत सहायता देता है किस प्रकार उस युग में विश्व धर्म की कल्पना हो रही थी और किस प्रकार भक्ति, भक्त, भगवान् और गुरु सबका अपने जीवन और अनुभव में समझने और समन्वय करने का प्रयास हो रहा था। ऐसी बातें भी भक्तमाल में सहजही मिल जाती हैं।

भक्त भक्ति भगवन्त गुरु चतुर नाम वपु एक।
इनके पद वंदन करौं, नाशै विघ्न अनेक।

साहित्यिक आलोचना की सामग्री

इन महत्वपूर्ण बातों के अतिरिक्त नाभादास की कविता में साहित्यिक आलोचना की सामग्री मिलती है। आज का आधुनिक आलोचक किसी साहित्य अथवा कवि का संपूर्ण आलोचन करने पर जिस प्रकार चतुराई से उपसंहार में आलोचना का सार तत्त्व रखने की चेष्टा करता है, उसी प्रकार की चेष्टा नाभादास ने की है। यहां हम केवल पांच उदाहरण लेंगे। कबीर, तुलसी, सूर, मीरा और पृथ्वीराज हिन्दी के प्रसिद्ध साहित्यकार हैं। पांचो क्रमशः पांच भिन्न भिन्न शाखाओं के हैं, कबीर निर्गुण राम भक्त हैं, तुलसी सगुण राम भक्त हैं, सूर सगुण कृष्ण भक्तहैं, मीरा गोपी पथ की कृष्ण भक्त हैं, और पृथ्वीराज दरबारी कवियों की वीरता और सरसता दोनों के लिए प्रसिद्ध हैं। भक्तमाल के मूल रचयिता नाभादास ने पांचों की उचित और विदग्ध समीक्षा की है। पहले हम पांचों के संबन्ध में आज कल का निर्णय सामने रखलें तब नाभादास की उक्तियों से तुलना करें।

कबीर

कबीर मर्यादा वादी नहीं थे तुलसी और कबीर की तुलना से यह स्पष्ट है कि एक परंपरा की मर्यादा को लेकर चलता है और दूसरा उसको छोड़कर। दूसरी बात कबीर ने कवि और सुधारक के नाते जिस धर्म का प्रतिपादन किया वह विश्वधर्म था—भक्ति का धर्म था। वह किसी संप्रदाय के भीतर बद्ध न था तीसरी बात है उनका योगमार्गियों और सिद्धों के समान यज्ञ, पूजा, मंदिर, मस्जिद आदि के कर्मकाण्ड तथा आचार विचार की रूढियों की जड़ता का खण्डन। सभी महापुरुषों के समान वे चेतन और सजीव अनुभव को महत्व देते थे। उनका साहित्य इससे भरा पड़ा है। उनकी चौथी विशेषता यह है कि संतों के समान उन्होंने प्रत्येक व्यक्ति को स्वतंत्रता दी है कि वह साहित्य को ही धर्म ग्रन्थ माने। साहित्य तीन प्रकार का होता है (१) पहला वह मन को रमाने वाला साहित्य जो हमारा संध्या अथवा नित्य स्वाध्याय का ग्रन्थ बन जाय। यह परनिर्मित और स्वनिर्मित दोनों प्रकार का हो सकता है। (२) दूसरे प्रकार का साहित्य ऐसा होता है जो हमें अनुभवी रहस्य वादियों और 'मरमी' साधुओं से मिलता है ऐसी संत वाणियों को चाहे अविकल मूलरूपमें चाहे अनुवाद रूप में अपनाने से जीवन में संबल मिलता है। (३) तीसरे प्रकार का साहित्य वह है जिसमें स्वयं हमारे अनुभव को साक्षी रहती है। इसप्रकार की त्रिवेणी में ही जीवन का रहस्य मिलता है। इसलिए कबीर ने क्रमशः रमैनी, सबदी और साखी को ही हिन्दू मुसलमान सबके लिये जीवन ग्रंथ माना है। कबीर की पांचवी और छठवीं विशेषता है उनका पक्षपात रहित होना और सर्वभूत हितरति अर्थात् अहिंसा, विश्वमैत्री आदि का आदर्श। उन्होंने सभी को खरी खोटी सुनाई है किसी का भी पक्ष नहीं किया न हिन्दू, न मुसलमान, यहां

तक कि वैष्णवों तक के कर्मकांड की कटु आलोचना की है। उनका अहिंसा और प्रेम का स्वर तो पूरे साहित्य में व्याप्त है।

अन्तिम बात जो सबसे अधिक महत्वपूर्ण और प्रसिद्ध है वह कबीर का रहस्यवाद। कबीर ने आत्मा परमात्मा-अहं और इदं का समन्वय है करके जो समझा बूझा था उसे चरितार्थ करके जीवन बिताया था और स्वयं लिखा है कि कथनी से करनी कठिन होती है। इसी अपनी करनी और आप बीती बातों का प्रकाश उन्होंने साहित्य द्वारा किया है। उनके रहस्यवादी साहित्य में मुहं देखी मीठी बातें नहीं है और न कोरी सुनी सुनाई शास्त्रों और सिद्धों की बाते हैं।

तुलसी

इन सात आठ बातों में ही कबीर की आधुनिक आलोचना का निचोड़ आ जाता है उसी प्रकार तुलसी दास की मार्मिक व्याख्या करने वाला केवल यही कहता है कि तुलसीदास उस युग के सबसे बड़े प्रबंध कवि थे। कबीर, सूर, मीरा आदि के मुक्तकों की तुलना में तुलसी के उत्तम मुक्तकों की तुलना करना रोचक विवाद और आलोचना का विषय होता है पर इतना निर्विवाद है कि उनके समान प्रबंध का महाकवि कोई नहीं हुआ। दूसरी बात यह है कि उनका काव्य बालमीकि रामायण के समान चरित ग्रंथ नहां है, भक्तिग्रंथ है। इस आलोचना में ही तुलसी के प्रेम, भक्ति, संस्कृति आदि सबकी बात आ जाती है। वे वाल्मीकि के समान विवेक वादी और आदर्श वादी थे परंपरा और मर्यादा के कट्टर प्रतिपालक थे पर साथ ही वे नरगाथा कहने वाले नहीं थे नारायण गाथा कहने वाले और भक्ति का संदेश देने वाले भक्तों के सेवक कवि थे—सन्त कवि थे।

सूरदास

सूर के संबंध में इतनी बातें सर्वमान्य हैं—

(१) वे कृष्ण प्रेम के कवि थे (२) वे हिन्दी काव्य में मंगल की धारा बहाने वाले हैं। (३) वे करुणामृत के कवि हैं बाल लीला के रूप में। (४) वे रसिक जनों में हृदय के समान स्थान पाते हैं। (५) हारावलि के धारण करने वाले हैं। (६) हरि के हाथ पकड़ने की कथा से मालूम होता है कि वे लीला के कवि हैं। (७) और हरिस्मरण के साथ ब्रज वधू विलास का वर्णन करने वाले हैं।

मीरा

मीरा के साहित्य में जो भक्ति है वह शृंखला को त्याग कर चलने वाली है। उन्होंने 'गिरिधर' के रूप का चित्र खींचा है अपने काव्य में। 'गिरिधर' नाम ब्रज लीलाओं का प्रतीक है। उन्होंने प्रति रूप में कृष्ण का रहस्यपूर्ण चित्र खींचा है। उनका लोकापवाद और परलपान भी साहित्य में मिलता है। वह इतिहास का सत्य हो या न हो पर साहित्यिक जीवन का प्रतीक निश्चय

ही है दूसरों के कटु व्यवहार को अमृत के समान भगवान का प्रसाद मानकर पीना ही गरलपान है। यह मीरा की साहित्यिक रचनाओं में मिलता है।

कवि पृथ्वीराज

बीकानेर के राठौर राजा पृथिवीराज 'प्रताप के दोहे' और वेलिक्रिसन रुक्मिणी नामक काव्य के लिए प्रसिद्ध है। उनका संस्कृत, प्राकृत, डिंगल कई भाषाओं पर अधिकार था। उनके साहित्य में श्रृंगार, पर दुःख से उत्पन्न करुणा, हरिस्मरण आदि अनेक बातें हैं। वे शास्त्र के पंडित और अभ्यास वाले निपुण कवि है। उनका अर्थ वैचित्र्य भी प्रसिद्ध है।

अब इन पांचों के संवंध में भक्तमालकार आलोचक प्रवर नाभादास की उक्तियाँ सुनिए—

इन कविताओं में जो कवि समय से सिद्ध और व्यंजना पूर्ण शब्दों का प्रयोग हुआ है उन पर विचार करने से उद्धृत आधुनिक आलोचनाओं का सत्य स्पष्ट हो जाता है और कुछ अधिक भी मिलता है।

एक बात और अध्ययन के लिए सामने आती है। वह है साहित्यिक आलोचना से जन श्रुतियों और ऐतिह्यों का जन्म और विकास। नाभादास और प्रियादास की तुलना से इस प्रकार की जन श्रुतियों का अध्ययन बड़े आनंद और लाभ की वस्तु हो सकता है इससे साहित्यिक क्षेत्र के न जाने कितने भ्रम दूर हो सकते हैं। भक्त माल अभी इस नये दृष्टि कोण से पढ़नेपर आलोचना का बहुत बड़ा उपकार करेगा। भक्तमाल के अलोचनात्मक उद्धरण—

कबीर

कबीर कानि राखो नहीं वर्णाश्रम षट्दरशनी॥
भक्ति विमुख जो धर्म सो अधर्म की गायो।
योग यज्ञ व्रत दान भजन विन तुच्छ दिखायो॥
हिन्दू तुरक प्रमान रमैनी, सबही साखी।
पक्षपात नहिं वचन सबन्हि के हित की भाषी॥
आरुढ़ दशा है जगत पर मुख देखी नाहिनभनी।
कबीर कानि राखो नहीं वर्णाश्रम षट दरशनी॥

मीरा

लोक लाज कुल श्रृंखला तजि मीरा गिरिधरभजी।
सदृश गोपिका प्रेम प्रगट कलियुगहि दिखायो।
निरंकुश अति निडर रसिक यश रसना गायो।
दुष्टन दोष विचारि मृत्यु को उद्यम कियो।
बालनवाँको भयो गरल अमृत ज्यों पीयो।
भक्त निशान बजाय के काहू ते नाहिन लजी॥
लोक लाज कुल०॥

तुलसीदास

कलि कुटिल जीव निस्तार हित वालमीकि तुलसी भयो
त्रेता काव्य निबंध करिब सत कोटि रमायन
इक अक्षर उच्चरे ब्रह्महत्यादि परायन
अब भक्तन सुखदेन बहुरि बपुधरि लीला विस्तारी
राम चरण रस मत्त रहत अहनिशि व्रतधारी ।
संसार अपार के पार सुगम रूप नौका लयो ॥



MAITHILI LITERATURE-A BIRD'S EYE VIEW.

by

Kumur Ganganand Sinha M. A., M. L. C.

Maithili, the mother tongue of the people of the tract of the conntry constituting the ancient kingdom of Mithilā, was almost unknown to foreign scholars before a mention was made of it in 1771 in the preface to *Alphabetum Brahmanicum.* In 1801 Colebrook's reference to this language in *Asiatic Researches* (Vol. VII p. 199) established its independent existence. Afterwards, Maithili was noticed by Aime Martin of Paris in his *'Lettres edi fiantes et Curieuses'* (Vol. II p. 295) in 1804. Dr. Francis Buchanan, who surveyed the provinces subject to the Presidency of Bengal in 1807 under the orders of the Governor General in Council, mentions of the prevalence of Maithili in the Purnea district (The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India by Montgomery Martin Vol. III p. 128) and Sir George Campbell has noticed it in 1874 in *Specimens of Lauguages of India.* In 1875 Mr. Fallon wrote a note on it in Indian Antiquary (Vo. IV p. 340). But none of these scholars did justice to the subject and it remained in obscurity till Sir George Grierson, who was a Sub-divisional Officer at Madhubani (the heart of Modern Mithila), threw a flood of light on it. His Maithili grammar was published in the year 1880-81 and it was followed in 1883 by Seven Grammars of Bihari languages in several volumes. They include different dialects of Maithili. But it was in his monumental work, The Linguistic Survey of India, that the language has been thoroughly examined with details brought prominently to the notice of English knowing scholars. By the time his reports on the Linguistic Survey of India were out, he (along with Hoernle) published a grammar of Guadian languages in which he has definitely indicated that Maithili is an independent language and not a form of either Hindi or Bengali, as believed by a certain section of scholars. In 1893 Rev. S. H. Kellogg

dealt with this language in his Grammar of the Hind Language and philologists like Beames, and Egglling, hav taken notice of it while writing about Sanskrit books. Among the Non-Maithila Indian scholars who have made a scientific study of this language and its literature we cannot omit to mention Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, Rai Banadur Dinesh Chandra Sen, Sjt. Nagendra Nath Gupta, Mahamahopadhyaya Hara Prasad Sastri and Dr. Nalini Mohana Sanyala.

Although we find Maithili equivalents of even Sanskrit words in works like the *Bhūmatī*, commentary of Vāoaspati (9th century) and Sarvānanda's Commentary on Amarkośa (11th century), we do not find any composition of literary value in which the language is traceable, till we come to the period of the composition of *Dākavacanāvali Caryācaryaviniscaya.* The *Dākavacanāvali*, if we take into consideration the form of the language in which they are availale to us, will appear to be modern, but it must be remembered that they have been transmitted to us orally for generations and put to writing only during recent years. It is by the examination of subject-matter and its prevalenee in various linguistic forms in various parts of N. India that we are compelled to place it alongside with *Caryācaryaviniscaya*. The *Caryācaryaviniseaya.* is a collection of 47 *pādas* originally brought by M. M. H. P. Shastri from Nepal and published under the title *Hajāra Vatsarerā Purva Bāngla Bhāsāya Bauddha Gāna-o-dohā.* The *caryās* are the works of Budhist Siddhas of Vajarayāna or Sahajayāna School the chief among them being Kānha Bhusuka, Kukkuri, etc. These names have been referred to by Jyotirīśvara Thākura in *Varnaratnākara* (13th century), out and out a Maithili work, and they go to show the influence that these Siddhas exerted on the mind of the people of Mithilā of the time. The *caryās* in all probability cover the period of about 250 years (viz, about 950 to 1200 A. D.). Thus we can safely assume that whereas local forms of Maithili words were shaping themselves between the 9th and the 11th centuries,

the language was trying to assert itself in the centuries that followed, through the composition of the authors of the *caryās*. Judging from the modern standard, the words having shaken off their original inflexion, the language may be called bald, but on the literary side they supply the cultural background for our study of later works. The *caryās* are the typical compositions of the age to which they belong—, the age which marked the fusion of Buddhist Tantricism and Brahminism,-and they are Buddhist literature only in a restricted sense.

It is only when we come to the 13th century that we see the end of the old or formative period and the birth of the Maithili language as a separate entity. The first important work of this period, so far brought to light, is *Varna-ratnākara* of Jyotiriśvara Thākura. It has recently been published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and edited by Dr. Suniti Kumara Chatterjee and Jyotisāchārya Pandit Babuāji Miśra. This is a prose work giving a fair picture of the life and culture in a Hindu territory of the time, and there is not a single instance of literature of this type either in Bengali or Hindi belonging to that time. The period between the 13th to the 18th ceutury, which for the sake of convenience we may call medieval period of the Maithili literature, was marked by the literary activities of very high order and to this period belongs the celebrated Vidyāpati, whose Maithili compositions have won a very wide appreciation from Maithils and non-Maithils alike. After Vidyāpati we come across detatched verses from various authors whose language, theme, taste, thought and diction betray affinity with the earlier poets and writers. Among such authors Candrakalā (daughter in-law of Vidyāpati), Mahesha Thakura (the founder of the present Darbhanga Raj family), Umāpati (the author of *Pārijāta-harana* Nātaka), Locana (author of Rāgatarangini), Govinda Dāsa Jhā (author of *Padāvalis*), Rāmadāsa Jhā (author of *Ānandavijaya* Nātaka), Mahīnātha Thakura (an ancestor

of the present Maharajadhiraja of Darbhanga) deserv special mention.

When we come to the 18th century, we come acros Maithili poets and dramatists, who were patronised by th Çourt of Nepal in the latter part of the 17th and the earlie part of the 18th century. These are Kāśīnātha, Kṛsṇadeva and Dhanapati. Their works have been brought to light by M.M. H. P. Sastri, who brought the Mss. from The Nepal Darbar Library and got them published by Bangiya Sāhitya Parishad, in a collection which he called or miscalled Nepāle Bānglā Nāṭaka. The Chief of Mithilā from 1703 to 1739 was Maharaja Rāghava Sinha and of this period we have the verses of Bhajana Kavi, whose songs are still very pupular in Mithilā.

The verses of celebrated Nandipati, who was contemporary of Maharaja Vishnu Simha (1739-1743), Maharaja Narendra Simha (1745-1759) and Maharaja Madhava Simha (1774-1806) find the next place from choronoligical point of view.

Maharaja Narendra Simha was the patron of two other Maithila poets viz, Ramāpati (the author of *Rukmiṇi Pariṇaya* Nātaka), Lāla Kavi (the author of the *Gaurīpariṇaya* Nātaka.), Manabodha (the author of *Kṛṣṇa Janma*) also flourished during this period. Quite a large number of their detatched verses are also available. Besides these well known authors there are some obscune poets like Modanārāyaṇa, Chakrapāṇi, Caturbhuja, Śripati, Mahīpati, Rańokamaṇi, Mādhava, Ādinātha, Somanātha, Yadunātha, Buddnilāl, Kṛiṣṇapati, Śivadatta, Kriṣṇakavi, Baṭukanātha Karnajayandā, Tulārāma, Rāmabhadra and Keśava.

Although we have no definite knowledge about their time, yet judging by a careful study of their works it will not be far wrong to place them among the poets of the Medieval period of the Maithili literature.

This period clearly indicates a change in popular taste in the matter of song. Bhajana spirit or songs full of purely devotional sentiment of a supplicant seems to have taken the place of the predominently artistic and amorous frame of mind of the earlier poets. It has been recognised as the golden age of Maithili literature, for perhaps never before was its influence so widely diffused. The culture and literature of Mithilā did not remain confined to Mithilā alone; it spread to the province of Bengal and Assam as well as to the kingdom of Nepal. It was a very significant fact that although politically it was the period of Moslem ascendancy, it did not at all touch the cultural life of Mithilā. The whole litrature of this period is impregnated with Sanskritic culture, which was ruling the life and character of the people of Mithilā. Although each author has his individuality, all of them seem more or less to have been inspired by the classical Sanskrit writers. The political upheavals left very little trace behind them. Mithilā, which had its own school of thought and was an important centre of learning in the North Eastern India, attracted students from far and near, and those that came from outside its territory returned to their homes not only with Sanskrit learning in their heads but also with songs of Maithili poets on their lips. Not only this, but the students going back to their respective places must have imitated Maithila life in other ways, for it is certain that there was much to take from Mithilā of that age.

The modern period of Maithili literature begins with the reign of Maharaja Chhatra Simha (1806-1840). The compositions of this period have many linguistic and literary features, which distinguish them from the earlier ones, but as before the political and economic changes are not reflected in the literature of Mithilā. The mind of the poets is absorbed with the things of the past. Like those that preceded them they seem to have got their inspiration largely from Sanskrit. The tradition therefore continued.

Ratnapāṇi Jha, a contemporary of Maharaja Chhatra Simha and Maharaja Sir Laksmisvara Simha of Darbhanga, is famous for his drama *Ushāharaṇa* and verses in honour of *Daśamahāvidyā*. Laksminath Gosain and Harikinkara Dāsa, Ramarūp Dasa and others are known in the literary world of Mithilā for their devotional and semi-philosophical songs, which are still sung in Mithilā households with a considerable amount of veneration. These verses, however, very prominently bring out the religious thoughts that surged in Mithilā during the period and afford to the students of Indian culture materials by which they can visualise the culture and civilisatiom of Maithila community.

During the time of Maharaja Sir Lāksmisvara Simha of Darbhanga there were a number of Maithila poets. Prominant among them are Bhānunāth Kavi (popularly known as Bhana Jha, the author of *Prabhāvatīharaṇa*) Halli Jhā, (the author of *Durgāsaptaśati*), Visvanāth (alias Balaji, the author of *Ushākaraṇa* and other works) Candrakavi (popularly known ās Chandā Jhā I, the author of the clebrated *Mithila Ramāyana* ānd *Ahalyōdhāra*) Babu Tulāpati Simha, Raja Kamalānand Simha of Srinagar (Purnea), the author of several devotional songs, Harsanātha, the author of *Ushāharaṇa, Mādhavananda Sudāmā caritra* etc.) and Jtvana Jhā, the author of *Samavati Punarjanma, Narmadā Sāgara Sattaka* and *Sundāra-saṁyoga*).

Coming to the 20th century we find a great change in the outlook of the authors. Prose literature predominates. Weeklies and monthlies are published in Maithili. Current topics, specially those pertaining to Mithila, are discussed through the Press in Maithili rather than in Sanskrit as before. Both its prose and poetry are influenced by the modern Hindi and Bengali literature. English thoughts, words and style also play an important part in the formation of the modern literature. Sanskrit however has not been altogether excluded, but it seems that it is gradually losing its grip. The modern tendency is that the language should be so moulded that it may meet all the present requirements and its literature may reflect the problems of the day rather than things of the past.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO HINDI LEXICOGRAPHY[1]

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It is now considered essential to a dictionary that the words to be explained should be arranged alphabetically. But originally the term was applied to any book of words and phrases (*dictiones*), even if grouped under subjects or classes, as we find in old dictionaries in Sanskrit and other civilised languages. The earliest Hindi dictionaries, which by modern definition would be called vocabularies, were of this type.

Nandadas, a Vaisnava poet, who wrote his works under the patronage of Raja Man Singh in the latter half of the 16th century, is the earliest compiler so far discovered. His lexicons are of two categories, namely, (a) collections of synonyms or *Nāmamālās*, and (b) glossaries of words, chiefly nouns, and their various possible meanings, called *Anekārtha Sangrahas*. Later lexicons of a similar type are —

(1) नाम माला by Banarasi Das Jain, 1670,—not available; vide "Arde Katha" by Dr. M. P. Gupta, p. 11.

(2) अनेकार्थ नामावली by Nath Avadhuta, belonging to the last decade of the 17th century and containing about 3000 Hindi words.

(3) अमरकोष भाषा by Harija Mishra, 1735, written under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor of Delhi and containing over 800 couplets.

(4) नाममाला by Basahu Ram, the date of which is not known.

(5) [illegible] कोष dy Subamsa of Sitapur, 1797; written for Raja Umrao Sinha of Chhattarpur and contains about 2616 couplets on the lines of the Amara Kosa.

(6) शब्द रत्नावली by Prayaga Das, a Bhāt of Chhattarpur, 1812; contains about 1200 words and their meanings.

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1. *The original paper read at the Conference has been summarised to one third of its length.*

(7,8) Lastly we have two works by Naual Singhā, another poet of Chhattarpur, namely नामचिन्तामणि, a glossary of Hindi words and their meanings, and नामरामायण, a collection of groups of synonymous words.

EUROPEAN CONTRIBTIONS

The earliest Hindi dictionaries of English origin were prepared by J. Furgusson, and printed in Roman characters in London, 1773,—one Hindustani-English, and the other English-Hindustani.

There is in the India House Library "A Dictionary, English and Hindustani", by Dr. Harris, printed at Madras in 1790.

The work of Gilchrist is famous. His "Dictionary English and Hindustani" in two volumes with appendices was printed at Calcutta in 1787 and reprinted in one volume at Edinburgh, 1810.

"A Dictionary, Hindustani and English, originally compiled for his own private use by capt. Joseyh Taylor, revised and prepared for the press with the assistance of the natives in the College of Fort William, By William Hunter, M.D.", was published at Culcutta in 1808.

The Encyclopaedia Britanica, 11th edition, Vol. VIII, page I98, also mentions Reuseau's Dictionary, London, 1812. But none of the later lexicographers refers to it.

J. Shakespear's Dictionary—Hindustani-English—was first published in 1817 in London. It was enlarged in the 3rd edition by the addition of words from Dakkhini, and in the 4th edition, 1849, it included a second volume, English-Hindustani. The first part—Hindustani-English—has 2239 pages, and contains, at a rough estimate, about 70,000 words, Sanskrit, Hindi, Persian, Arabic, but mostly Hindi. It is the first European work which gives Hindi words, though not all, in Deva-Nagari script, especially when etymology is attempted or when the word is purely Sanskrit. It gives some words in Persian script followed by the phonetic equivalent in Roman.

Capt. Price's "Vocabulary of words in the Prem Sagar" is a useful record. But it is intended to assist in the reading of that work only and does not include even all the words used in it. This was succeeded by the Hindi Dictionary of the Rev. T. Adam, an agent of the London Missionary Society at Benares. It is an exceedingly useful lexicon, and the first of its kind in Hindi. It gives both the words and their meanings in Hindi, and, therefore for a long time it was the only dictionary which could be used by Hindi students, the previous dictionaries being all meant for English-knowing people.

It would not be just to omit Elliot's Supplement to the glossary of Indian terms. Though published for a special purpose (we know that very few copies were published by the Government of the N. W. Province), and embracing numerous words not Hindi, it refers to so many purely Hindi customs and views as to afford, occasionally, aid otherwise unattainable to the student, and to be a valuable guide to future lexicographers.

J. T. Thompson's "Dictionary in Hindi and English", published in 1846 in Calcutta, is a great advance on the previous compilations. It is unfortunate that the writer has not availed himself of the useful experiments of his predecessors. For example, in Price, Shakespear and Adam, we learn by letter-markings whether a word is Sanskrit, Hindi, Arbic or Persian. Thompson has given up this good custom; but not because there are only Sanskrit and Hindi words in his compilation. It does contain Persian and Arabic words. Again, Price and Shakespear generally give the derivations of words. Not a single instance is to be noted in Thompson.

Like his predecessors he gives the pronunciation of Hindi words in Roman characters, but he does not distinguish between cerebrals and dentals and between short u (उ) and long u (ऊ). The meanings of words are not given in semantic order. Grammatical designations are occasio-

nally wrong, as is the case in many other foreign dictionaries. I have also noted the absence of many a common word. His selection of words is arbitrary.

Falling under the class of Roman-Hindi (or) Hindustani) lexicons, yet showing a further advance in the compilation and selection of standard words, is "A Dictionary, Hindustani and English", to which is added a reverse part, English and Hindustani, by Dr. Duncan Forbes, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in King's College, London, 1848. The scheme is this :—a word comes first in Persian script, then in Roman, and then in Deva-Nagari characters. Then follows grammatical designation, which is occasionally misleading. No derivations are attempted. Explanations of meaning are brief, and shades of meaning are not to be found. No semantic relations among meaings are traced.

About this time the following three dictionaries were published in France,but they are of no historical or linguistic importance:—

Bertrand, 1858

Vocabulaire Hindou Français,

Hindi French Dictionary, 1875.

A Dictionary of the Hindi Language, by J. D. Bate, Missionary, Benaras, 1870, is another landmark in the history of Hindi lexicography. The main work is preceded by short essays on Hindi grammar and phonetics. Hindi words are given in Deva-Nagari script only. The author gives with great profusion every concievable form of which Hindi words are capable. Dialectic forms from Braj Bhasha Marwari, Mewari, Bhojpuri and other rustic varieties of speech are freely given. So also loans from foreign languages. But unfortunately, he does not distinguish such words with labels. It creates rather a feeling of surprise to come across such name as [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], etc. Besides these proper names, we find a large number of words hopelessly doubtful. Accidentally

about 12 words on page 392 (1st edition) do not appear in the Hindi Sabda Sagar. Compare नैरंग, नौं, नोह, नोचा, नोना नोनेर. नोन्चै, नोल, नौं, नौगरी, नौड़ना and नौड़ाना।

On the derivation of words Bate furnishes no information. Exception might also be taken to the author's practice of inserting under व a large number of wo s beginning with ब. The grammatical designation of so words is incorrect, and of some not shown at all. Idiom are not given. The renderings of meanings and thei various shades are generally judiciously set forth, though they are again unrelated historically. If dialectical, provincial, slang. colloquial and obsolete words could be clearly marked, Bate's would be a good book for lingu.st' purposes. It is still the last attempt of its kind.

The Hindustani Dictionary of M. W. Fallon, published at Benares in 20 parts, aims at a special object, distinct from that pursued by fom er lexicons. It gives special prominence to popular and rustic forms of words quite a large number of vocables are labelled H. (Hindi) or P. (Persian), although nothing is said of many others. Further, the reader cannot discover which words are literary and which are non-literary. Etymologies of only a small number of words are attempted. These words are mainly semi-*tatsama* Many of the etymologies are wrong. Compare सखाटा, बाछ, अटक, कुआ. The terminations and affixes are not explained. Many of the standard words are mis-spelt. The pronunciation of words, as given in Roman characters, is sometimes faulty. The grammatical designations of some words are omitted. It has at its end a list of errata of about 800 words. Such a profusion of errors ought to be avoided in a reference book where every letter is taken as an authority.

In spite of these short-comings, the dictionary is a definite contribution to the progress of Hindi lexicography. It is a better record than any previous ones of words, phrases, idioms and illustrations.

Last in the galaxy of European lexicographers comes Platts. J. T. Platts was at one time Inspector of Schools, C. P., and later Persian teacher at Oxford University. The first edition is dated 1884 and the fourth 1911. The words are arranged acording to the Urdu alphabetical order in Persian script, followed by Deva-Nagari where the word is Hindi, and then in Roman characters. If Platts had issued his Hindustani lexicon in two volumes, (1) Hindi-English and (2) Urdu-English, his Hindi edition would have been the best of European dictionaries. Platts appears to be the only lexicographer in Hindi who has made full use of phonological and semantic researches in the language. He admits that in the etymology of Hindi words he derived much help from Cowel, Pischel, Beams, Hornle and others.

Themain characteristics of Platts work are the following—

1. The space assigned to etymologies of words;

2. Clear grammatical explanations;

3. The admission of numerous words which do not find a place in the literary language;

4. Separate treatment of words which have come by accident to be spelt in the same way but which have very different meanings and are derived from very different sources;

5. A better arrangement of related meanings. Still it has to be noted that the dictionary cannot be used by Hindi students with advantage.

Dictionaries by Nathaniel Brice (1864), Crampon (1881-95), Wilson, Mathura Prasad Misra (1850), Munni Lal (1887), and those published by Lazarus, 1895, and Ram Narain Lal, 1893, have little linguistic value for scholars. They are intended for the use of school students or translators, and do not pretend to be critical.

INDIAN LEXICONS

There is no European contribution since 1885, when the period of Indian dictionaries commences. Most of these

dictionaries are Hindi. I do not find any specialty in these except in the Hindi Sabda Sagar. In some the number of words may be less or more than in others. Some may include more Braj, some more Awadhi, and others more Persian words. But so far as lexicography is concerned, or so far as their intrinsic value as sources of linguistic inspiration goes, they are practically worthless. Many of these are in fact mere school dictionaries. But one thing is remarkable. The number and quality of words in each has been steadily rising. More and more significations are recorded. Still, they are commercial rather than literary enterprises, and some of them are too full of typographical errors to render their use desirable.

These dictionaries are listed below in their chronolgical order of publication.

1. हिंदी कोश by Radhe, Gaya, 1873.

2. गुलशने फैज़ by Sayyad Jamin Ali Jalal, Lucknow, 1880, containing Hindi words in Persian script.

3. कैसर कोष by Mirza Kaisar Bakhsh, Inspector of schools, Allahabad, 1886, containing 3156 words mainly from school and college text books.

It is a valuable record of the Hindi Language of the time as used in poetry as well as in prose.

4. मधुसूदन निघंटु by Pt. Madhusudan of Lahore.

5. विवेक कोश by B. Baiju Das, Bankipur.

6. शब्दार्थ संग्रह by a number of scholars, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

7. श्रीधर भाषा कोश named after its compiler, Nawal Kishore Press, Luckhnow, first edition in 1899 and the fifth one in 1931. It has an introduction on Grammar, which is Sanskrit rather than Hindi, and appendices of geographical names and Sanaskrit and Hindi authors and their works. All words, totalling nearly 20,000, are treated as main words. No subordinate words are shown and even idioms are given as separate words. Etymologies of very few, and those only ordinary words, are attempted. The

meanings are brief and as disorderly as we find in English works.

8. हिंदी शब्द संग्रह the joint work of Sri Mukundilal and Rajavallabha Sahai, first published in 1907 by the Jnana Mandal. The second edition has about 5000 words more than the first, giving a total of 36,259 words, of which nearly 7000 are illustrated from Hindi prose ond poetry. It is decidedly a better collection than its predecessors of words and their uses in Hindi literature, but it has not much semantic value. The meanings are extremely brief and few. Shades of meaning are not usually distinguished. No etymologies have been attempted. Some words have wrong grammatical designations and several words have no grammatical comment at all.

9. One of the greatest lexicographical undertakings, and one which eminently scholarly is the Hindi Sabda Sagar, edited by the late Babu Rai Bahadur Dr. Shyam Sundar Das, with the help of a board of experts, and published in several parts between 1912 and 1927. It contains about 1,00,000 words. The worth of the dictionary is universally recognised. It is the completest dictionary in Hindi and the richest mine of Hindi phrases, idioms and quotations. It is so full of original research that no Hindi scholar aud no Indian linguist should be without a copy of it.

As a compiler Shyam Sundar Das is most careful. He rarely copies doubtful words from other dictionaries without removing the doubt. I find in his practice here a bias to Sanskrit words, including many not used in Hindi. The selection of Persian and Arabic words is also not quite happy. The derivations are the weakest aspect of the Sabda Sagar. They are generally fanciful, unlearned and unscientific. The words घुड़कना, घिसघिस, पैदल, पौधा, बेड़ी may be refered to, as examples. The derivations of suffixes and verbal terminations are seldom given. Arabic and Persian words are confused, and a large number of Arabic loan-

words are dubbed as Persian and *vice versa* while many a word (सूथनी and मोचना for example) is said to be Desi or Tadbhava, when in fact it may be Persian, Arabic or Turkish.

The Sabda Sagar is generally sound in the arrangement of words and in the ordered treatment of related meanings, although there is much scope for further improvement. For example, meanings under उड़ाना, कंकड़, प्रात, निर्वाण, फलक, etc. have not beenl ogically arranged. I also find, though in rare cases, that all meanings have not been given. Two meanings of और, namely 'and' संयोजक शब्द and 'more' अधिक are stated. But the meaning 'different' as in मैं और नहीं तुम और नहीं has been omitted.

Some words have too much of explanation, words denotng plants and animals, for instance, are followed by very lengthy informations, which has made the dictionary appear so encyclopaediac.

Quotations are usually referred to their sources, but here also the principle is not consistently followed.

Lastly it may be noted that the final part of the dictionary is rather brief, meanings become curt and short, and examples few and far between.

10. शब्द कल्पद्रुम claims to be 'हिन्दी भाषा का अपूर्व वृहत् कोश' (i. e. an unprecedentedly large dictionary of Hindi) which it certainly is not. It is an ordinary dictionary type of the Sabda Sangraha mentioned above.

11. मंगल कोश.

12. शब्दार्थ पारिजात by Dwarka Prasad Chaturvedi, Allahabad, 1924, may be rightly called the dictionary of Sanskritised Hindi. Persian and other foreign words, now common in Hindi, have not been given due place. Its etymologies, which are not regularly attempted, can be perhaps, understood by Sanskritists only. Examples अंशु = अंश + उ, आम = अम् + छत्रं; आमन्त्रण = आ + मन्त्र, अनडुह् आमय = आ + मय + ग्रह, etc.

13. रामगुलाम शब्द कोश.

14. Imperial Hindi and English Dictionary, Bombay, are so extremely full of etymological, typographical, grammatical, and semantic mistakes that they cannot at all be recommended to students of Hindi.

15. संक्षिप्त शब्द सागर, Indian Press, Allahabad, and

16. भाषा शब्द कोष by Dr. R. S. Shukla 'Rasal', Allahabad, are merely abridged editions of the Hindi Sabda Sagar. Both of them are popular among Hindi readers.

SPECIAL DICTIONARIES

Hindi is, indeed, poor in the variety of its lexicographical literature. It has no dictionaries of biography, bibliography, geography, birds, plants, flowers, gardening, chronology, genealogy, abbreviations, proper names, and a host of other subjects for which modern European languages such as English, French and German have quite a good number. Hindi lexicography is in its infancy. We have merely a couple of usable dictionaries of idioms, one by Dinkar Sharma and the other by Dr. Sarhandi. There idioms are fully illustrated with examples. But the authors have not been able to distinguish between idioms and figurative uses of words. They have also confused phrases and words on the one hand, and idioms and proverbs on the other. The collections by Jambunathan of Mysore University and by Ambika Prasad Vajpeyi, Calcutta, are intended for school children. They contain no examples at all. The compilation of Ram Dahin Misra, Bankipur, is better than the last two, but even this is not uniform in its explanation of idioms and phrases. Examples are given here and there only.

We have only one dictionary of synonyms, namely the पर्य्यायवाची शब्दकोष by Krishna Shukla, which is incomplete and imitative of the Amar Kosa. It is disproportionately full of Sanskrit words. Hindi words are not numerous; moreover, it is just a collection of synonymous words

classified under different subjects. No meanings or explanations are given. We badly need a Hindi dictionary of synonyms. A dictionary of antonyms would also be most welcome.

लोकोक्ति कोश by Vishwambharnath Khatri, Calcutta, is the only dictionary of proverbs worth the name. कहावत कौमुदी by Pt. Ram Din Prashad and Pt. Ramcharan Lal, Kishangarh, हिंदी लोकोक्ति सोपान by S. P. Ghosh, Danapur (Patna), कहावत रत्नाकर published by the Bharat Dharma Syndicate, Kashi, and the proverds of Bhandri and Ghagh, Allahabad, are ordinary collections.

A comparative dictionary of Hindi dialects is another desideratum.

It is a matter of gratification that scholars have recently turned their attention to lexicons of technical terms. But as most of them are English-Hindi, they serve as helps to translators rather than as reference books for Hindi students. We do have Hindi-English glossaries, but no dictionaries.

Of the English-Hindi technical dictionaries, the following are important.

(1) Hindi Scientific Glossary, 1960 V. S. published by the Nagari Pracharini Sabha, Benares under the able superintendence of B. Shyam Sundar Das, containing about 550 wordsof Geography, 1000 of Astronomy, 1300 of Economics, dan 3700 of Philosophy, in one volume.

(2) Baj Vallabh's works, including a medical, a commercial, a grammatical and a law dictionary, published between 1908 and 1920.

(3) हिंदी विद्युत् शब्दावली, Benaras, 1925,—a glossary of 60 pages containing English-Hindi electrical terms.

(4) Volumes of terms used in Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics and Astronomy, compiled by a number of professors of the Benares Hindu University. These lexicons contain a large number of words coined by experts, but without a sound linguistic basis such terms cannot gain currency.

(5) The Vijnana Parisad, Allahabad, published a work of 4821 scientific terms collected from various writers. Besides other subjects it included Anatomy and Biology.

(6) अर्थशास्त्र शब्दावली is a useful glossary of economic terms by Daya Shankar Dube, Gadadhar Prasad and Bhagwan Das Kela, Brindaban. Mr. Kela has also written a glossary of political terms.

(7) आयुर्वेदीय कोष, in two volumes, by Vishweshwar Dayal Vaidya, Itawa, is an important contribution to the lexicography of medical terms.

(8) The most comprehensive of all these is the "20th Century English-Hindi Dictionary", edited by Mr. Sukhsampatti Bhandari, Ajmer, Two volumes have so far been issued and the third is shortly expected. It contains about 15,000 words belonging to all scientific and technical subjects, and covers a wider field than most existing dictionaries in modern Indian laguages.

(9) समाचारपत्र शब्दकोश by Dr. Satya Prakash, Sahitya Sammelan, Prayag, is a recent addition of journalistic terms to our lexicographical literature.

A number of technical dictionaries are shortly expected from Allahabad, Benares and Lahore. But since the publication of the Sabda Sagar no concentrated attempt has been made or is likely to be made in the near future to produce a really good general dictionary, although much remains to be done even in this respect. The Hindustani Academy, under the able guidance of Dr. Dhirendra Varma, hopes to bring out a standard etymological dictionary, and the Nagari Pracharini Sabha has been well advised to revise its Sabda Sagar. It has been suggested that these bodies should enlist the co-operation and help of prominent crities, literary men, grammarians, philologists and research scholars, who fully understand the principles of modem lexicography. To prepare a dictionary of a cultivated and growing language like Hindi is no longer a task for individual enterprise. It is a colossal undertaking which only a board of experts can accomplish successfully.

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